







THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW,

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*'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'*—MILTON.

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## NOTICE.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW being the only quarterly publication on this side of India devoted to the discussion of public questions, its pages are necessarily open to all shades of opinions. The only conditions required from a writer are these ; that, whatever may be his opinions, they shall be calmly and temperately expressed, and that, however he may regard the public measures of a public man, he shall refrain from personal attack, and from the imputation of motives. As every public question has more than one side, and many men have many minds, it naturally follows that the same subjects are argued in these pages from different points of view. With the sentiments expressed by each writer regarding either men or measures, the Editor has no concern. Each writer is solely responsible for his own opinions. It is the care of the Editor to see that the bounds he has referred to are not overstepped by any one. This accomplished, he leaves to each contributor the free expression of his particular views.



# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. XC.

## CONTENTS.

### ART. I.—THE LAST STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE.

1. The Sêir Mutakherin. By Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, an Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as an actor and spectator. Calcutta. 1789.
2. *Mémoire à consulter et pour consultation pour le sieur de Bussay.* Paris. 1766.
3. *Mémoire pour le comte de Lally, contre Monsieur le Procureur Général.* Paris. 1766.
4. *Memoirs of Count Lally, to which are added, accounts of the prior part of his life, condemnation, and execution, with such other pieces, (most of them produced on his trial) as were thought most necessary to illustrate his civil and military character.* London: F. Newberry. 1766.
5. *Fragmenta relating to some Revolutions in India, and the death of Count Lally. Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire.* London: J. Nourse. 1774.
6. *An account of the War in India, between the French and the English, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the year 1753 to the year 1760.* By Colonel Lawrence. London. 1761.
7. *A Journal of the siege of Fort St. George from 12th December, 1758, to 17th February, 1759.* By J. Call, Chief Engineer. London. 1761.
8. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745.* By Robert Orme, M.A., F.A.S. London: John Nourse. 1773.
9. *Historie de la Conquête de l'Inde par l'Angleterre, par le Baron Barchou de Penhoen.* Paris. 1844.
10. *Inde, per M. Dubois de Jancigny et par M. Xavier Raymond.* Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. 1845.
11. *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army.* By Captain Arthur Broome, Bengal Artillery. Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co. London: Smith Elder and Co. 1850.

ART.	12.	Historical Sketches of Southern India. By Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. London: Longman. 1810.	
	13.	The History of British India. By James Mill, with Notes by Professor H. E. Wilson. London: Madden and Co. 1858 .....	237
"	II.—	BENGAL MILITARY ORPHAN SOCIETY.—(Continued.)	
	1.	Unpublished Records of the Military Orphan Society.	
	2.	Calcutta Gazettes .....	296
"	III.—	RADHAKANT DEB .....	317
"	IV.—	AN OLD BENGALLEE IN SWITZERLAND. Notes of a Trip abroad, with details of a six days' walk in Switzerland, in May, 1866. By an Old Bengallee.....	327
"	V.—	THREE MILITARY QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.	
	1.	Three Military Questions of the day. By Sir Henry M. Havelock, Bart, Major unattached. Longmans Green and Co., London. 1867.	
	2.	Notes on Cavalry. By Captain Montgomerie. 20th Hussars. Clowers and Co. London. 1866.....	382
"	VI.—	THE LAND AND LABOUR OF INDIA. The Land and Labour of India. A Review. By W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D. Williams and Norgate. 1867...	397
"	VII.—	MR. MONTEATH'S EDUCATIONAL MINUTE ...	414
"	VIII.—	SIR CECIL BEADON'S ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL .....	451
"	IX.—	MR. WHEELER'S HISTORY OF INDIA. The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; Secretary to the Indian Record Commission; Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c., &c. Vol. I. The Vedic Period and the Mahā Bhārata. London: Trübner & Co. 1867 .....	470
X.—		ANCIENT ASSAM.	
	1.	The Mahā Bhārata.	
	2.	The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal .....	509

## SHORT NOTICES.

1.	Poems and Ballads. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London. 1866 .....	533
2.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Edited by the Philological Secretary. Part I. No. IV. 1866 .....	536
3.	An Essay on the Philosophy of Lord Bacon. By Bholanath Paul, M. A. ....	543

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. LXXXIX.

## CONTENTS.

PAGE.

### ART. I.—FROM GODEHEU TO LALLY.

1. The Sëir Mutakherin, by Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, an Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as actor and spectator. Calcutta, 1789.
2. Mémoire pour le sieur Dupleix contre la compagnie des Indes, avec les pièces justificatives. Paris, 1759.
3. Mémoire à consulter et pour consultation pour le sieur de Bussy. Paris, 1766.
4. A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan from the year 1745, by Robert Orme, M.A., F.A.S. London, John Nourse, 1773.
5. A Voyage from England to India in 1754, and an Historical Narrative of the Operations of the Army in India under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, by Edward Ives, Esq., formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's Ship, and of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies. London, 1773.
6. An Account of the War in India, between the French and the English on the Coast of Ooromandel, from the year 1753, to the year 1760. Compiled by Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq. London, 1761.
7. History of the Mahrattas, by James Grant Duff, Esq. London, Longmans, 1826.
8. Histoire de la conquête de l'Inde par l'Angleterre, par le Baron Barchou de Penhoen. Paris, 1844.
9. Inde, par M. Dubois de Jancigny et par M. Xavier Raymond. Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, 1845.
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11. Historical Sketches of Southern India, by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. London, Longman, 1810.
12. The History of British India, by James Mill with Notes by Professor H. H. Wilson. London, Madden, 1858.
13. The History of Bengal, to its conquest by the English, by Charles Stewart, Esq. London, 1812.

**ART. II.—FOREST CONSERVANCY IN THE PUNJAB.**

1. Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalaya. By H. Cleghorn, M.D., Conservator of Forests. 1864.
2. Reports upon the Deodar Forests of Bissahir. By D. Brandis, Ph.D., Deputy Inspector-General of Forests; Dr. J. L. Stewart and Captain Wood, Officiating Conservators of Forests. 1865.
3. Report on the Deodar Forests on the Bias, 1865. On the Chenab and Ravi, 1866. By Dr. J. L. Stewart, Conservator, Punjab.
4. Annual Reports of Forest Administration in the Punjab, 1863-4, 1864-5, and 1865-6.
5. Ladak. By Alexander Cunningham, Brevet Major, Bengal Engineers. 1864.
6. Hoffmeister's Travels. 1848.
7. Major Madden on Himalayan Coniferæ. Journal Agricultural Society of India. Vols. IV., VII., VIII. 1846-49. ... .. 56

**ART. III.—THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY. ... 106****ART. IV.—THE LAW OF EVIDENCE IN INDIA AND IN ENGLAND**

1. A Treatise on the Law of Evidence, as administered in England and Ireland, with Illustrations from the American and other Foreign Laws. By John Pitt Taylor, Esq., Judge of the County Courts for Lambeth, Greenwich, and Woolwich. Fourth Edition. London. 1864.
2. Best's Principles of the Law of Evidence. Third Edition. London. 1860.
3. Greenleaf on Evidence.
4. Starkie on Evidence. Third Edition. London. 1842.
5. Archbold's Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases. Fifteenth Edition. London. 1862.
6. Roscoe's Digest of the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases. Sixth Edition. London. 1862.
7. The Law of Evidence applicable to the Courts of the late East India Company explained in a course of Lectures, delivered by the Hon'ble John Bruce Norton, Advocate-General, Barrister-at-Law, late Professor of Law at the Madras Presidency College. Fifth Edition. Madras. 1865.
8. The Law of Evidence as administered in England and applied to India. By Joseph Goodeve, Esq., of the Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn, Barrister, Acting Master of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, Member of Senate of the University of Calcutta, and Lecturer on Law and Equity in Presidency College, Calcutta. 1862.
9. A Manual of the Law of Evidence of the Madras Provinces. By J. R. Kindersley, M.C.S., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Madras. 1865.

10. A Lecture on the Law of Evidence in India, delivered by the Hon'ble Justice Phear before the Bethune Society on the 8th March, 1866.
  11. Act II. of 1855 of the Legislative Council of India.
  12. Act XV. of 1852 of the Legislative Council of India.
  13. Act XIX. of 1853 of the Legislative Council of India.
  14. Act VIII. of 1859 of the Legislative Council of India.
  15. Act XXV. of 1861 of the Legislative Council of India. 126
- ART. V.—MAJOR LEES' MEMORANDUM ON THE TEA DISTRICTS OF ASSAM.
1. A Memorandum written after a tour through the Tea Districts of Eastern Bengal in 1864-65. By W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D. 1866.
  2. Memorial of Proprietors of Tea Estates in Eastern Bengal, presented to the Governor-General in March, 1867.
  3. Reply of the Governor-General thereto. ... 155
- ART. VI.—CAPTAIN MUSAFIR.
1. Unpublished Journal of Captain Musafir. ... 178
- ART. VII.—THE BRITISH CAPTIVES IN ABYSSYNIA.
1. The British Captives in Abyssinia. By Charles T. Beke, PH.D., F.S.A., Fellow and Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society; Author of "Origines Biblicæ," "The Sources of the Nile," &c. Second Edition. London. Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1867. 205

### SHORT NOTICES.

1. Descriptive Catalogue of Vernacular Books and Pamphlets, forwarded by the Government of India to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, compiled by the Rev. J. Long, Church Missionary, Calcutta. To which is added a list of Vernacular Works sent from the Agra Presidency, and a list of the Vernacular Works published in 1865 in the N. W. P. Calcutta. 1867.
2. Act XXV. of 1867 of the Legislative Council of India.
3. Discours de M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, à l'ouverture de son cours d' Hindoustani à l' Ecole Impériale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, le 3 Décembre, 1866. Paris ... 218
2. Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs, from 1859 to 1866. By Algernon West, Deputy Director of Indian Military Funds, and lately Private Secretary to the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, Bart., M.P., G.C.B., and the Earl de Grey and Ripon. London. Smith Elder and Co. 1867. ... 221
3. The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Secretary to the Indian Record Commission, Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c., &c. Vol. I. The Vedic Period and the Mahá Bhārata. London. Triebner and Co. 1867. ... 226



	PAGE.
4. The Káshmir Hand-book, A Guide for Visitors, with three Maps. By John Ince, M.D., M.B. C.S., S.G.A.S. Bengal Medical Service. Calcutta. Wyman Bros. 1867.	227
5. Yesterday and To-day in India. By Sidney Laman Blanchard. London. W. H. Allen & Co. 1867. ...	228
6. An Antidote to Brahmoism, in four lectures, by the Rev. Lál Behari Day, Pastor of the Free Mission Church, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta. G. O. Hay & Co. 1867.	229
7. Sitana, a Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Affgha- nistan in 1863, by Colonel John Adye, C.B., Royal Artillery. ... ..	230
8. A Correspondence from Sir Henry Ricketts. ...	233

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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NO. LXXXIX.  
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- ART. I.—1. *The Seir Muta Sherin*, by Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, an Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as actor and spectator. Calcutta, 1789.
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BEFORE his departure from Pondichery, Dupleix had laid before his successor a detailed account of the military and other operations that had taken place in the Dekkan, in the Carnatic, and before Trichinopoly, and had indicated at great length the measures which he, had he continued at the head of affairs, would have adopted, in order to ensure the triumph of the French arms. He advised him to maintain Bussy at the court of the Subadar, Moracin in the ceded districts, Mainville at the head of the army before Trichinopoly. He counselled that to this last the reinforcements then landing should be sent without delay, and that he should be instructed to use them effectually before Admiral Watson's fleet, then shortly expected, should arrive off Madras. He laid special stress on the retention of Mainville at the head of the army, not only because he had shown energy and capacity, but likewise because he had gained the complete confidence of the French allies,—the Regent of Mysore and Morari Rao.

For some time Godeheu made no sign. To Governor Saunders indeed, he forwarded proposals of accommodation, and as an earnest of his sincerity, restored to him, that they might be used against France, the Swiss soldiers captured by Dupleix during the previous year. But neither to Bussy, to Moracin, nor to Mainville, did he give the smallest indication of his policy. He contented himself with cutting off from Mainville those supplies of money with which he had been till then liberally furnished by Dupleix for the maintenance of his army.

This policy of negation, if indeed it was a policy at all and not, as we believe it to have been, the natural inaction of an undecided mind, had the worst possible effect. The air was at once filled with rumours, all injurious to the French. The English, flushed with joy at the recall of Dupleix, made no secret as to the means by which that recall had been obtained, and as to the

consequences that were to follow from it. Their stories, spread everywhere by their agents, were universally credited, and their effect exaggerated tenfold. The partisans of the French alliance were everywhere overwhelmed with shame, with mortification, and with fear.

At the court of the Subadar these feelings shewed themselves in the fullest strength. "Your nation," wrote Salabut Jung to Bussy, on the arrival of messengers from Pondichery informing him of the arrival of Godeheu, "your nation has supported and succoured me till now. I have recognised to the utmost of my power the services it has rendered me. I have given to my uncle, M. Dupleix, the government of the Carnatic, and I have ever hoped that he would gain the upper-hand over his enemies. It is with the greatest chagrin that I have heard of his recall. To the messengers who were entrusted with my letters for him the new Governor said: 'Tell the Subadar, your master, that I am sent here by my Sovereign, who has forbidden me to interfere with the Mogul Government, and that he must defend himself as best he can.' They have also reported that the prisoners have been restored to Mahomed Ali, that Morari Rao and the Mysoreans have abandoned you. All this proves to me that the English have gained completely the superiority over your nation." The Dewar, Shah Nawaz Khan, writing to the Mahomedan governor of Hyderabad, thus expressed himself: "I cannot recover from the surprise which the news of the recall of the Governor Bahadoor has caused me. I cannot imagine what the French are at; but by that act they will lose their honour and their territories. I cannot conceal from you that we can arrange nothing with the new Governor, who has not the least knowledge of our affairs. Besides, it appears that the French are neither so powerful nor so generous as they would have us believe, and that the English have the absolute mastery over them. I will not hide from you then that I am about to negotiate with the English and Mahomed Ali."

The letters of the French officers themselves were not at all more cheerful. "I foresaw," wrote Moracin to Bussy from Masulipatam, "in the same sense as yourself, what would be the effect of the arrival in India of the King's Commissary. I wrote to him a fortnight ago, and I believe I gave him an opinion similar to your own. It is fit that I should inform you of the contents of the letters from Madras which our native bankers have shewn me. In these it is stated that the King of England has forced the King of France to recall M. Dupleix from Pondichery, under a threat of war; and that

" the King of France, in sending out the new Governor, said  
 " to him : ' go and make peace in India ; restore to the Nawab  
 " " the territories which he has given to the Company ; I will  
 " " not keep them, because to do so would annoy my brother,  
 " " the King of England'." Both Bussy and Moracin felt at  
 this time the utter hopelessness of their position so completely,  
 that nothing but the earnest exhortation of Dupleix to them  
 to continue to serve France, no matter by whom she was  
 represented, induced them to remain at their posts. The  
 answer of Bussy to this earnest exhortation deserves to be  
 recorded. " I reply," he wrote under date the 23rd August,  
 " to the letter with which you favoured me on the 4th. Your  
 " departure for Europe is a thunderbolt which has confounded  
 " and alarmed me. You, who are leaving, exhort me to conti-  
 " nue to serve the nation, and to support a work which is on  
 " the brink of destruction. Do you sincerely believe that  
 " I shall not be enveloped in the same disgrace as yourself?  
 " The blow is perhaps deferred, or suspended only to be struck  
 " with the greater force. But however that may be, I have  
 " ever considered it my duty to defer to your counsels, and to  
 " follow your reasoning. Under no circumstances shall I ever  
 " depart from that respectful and inviolable attachment, which  
 " has been till now my happiness and my glory, and which will  
 " always remain so. I await M. Godeheu's replies to deter-  
 " mine myself, although, like you, I am persuaded that I ought  
 " to await in India the replies of the M. de Conflans. If  
 " nevertheless in the post which I occupy I am not to be  
 " allowed liberty to act, if they shall endeavour to fetter me by  
 " the ideas of ignorant people and men without experience, my  
 " work will perish in my hands, and it will be concluded, either  
 " that I have destroyed it in pique, or that it was neither so  
 " splendid nor so well established as you and I have declared  
 " it to be. On the one side I declare that if the confidence  
 " with which you have honoured me is continued by M.  
 " Godeheu, I shall not refuse to devote myself to the service of  
 " the nation and the Company ; it is not that I expect that my  
 " services will be recognised or even acknowledged ; but I shall  
 " have, like yourself, the advantage of having served my country,  
 " without any emolument but the glory of having been useful  
 " to it, and the consolation of attributing its neglect and in-  
 " gratitude only to the factiousness of the envious, themselves  
 " too wanting in merit not to seek to obscure that of others.  
 " \* \* \* \* \* Do me the favour to inform me if you can of  
 " the views of M. Godeheu regarding the Dekkan. Personally  
 " I am disposed to abandon all and to retire to France. But I

"wait your answer and your advice. I am so overwhelmed that I cannot apply myself to business. The army is crying out from hunger;—no one pays,—and I am forbidden to act."

Such was the state of matters in the Dekkan and in the ceded districts. Before Trichinopoly it was worse. We left the French army under Mainville occupying the Five Rocks, completely shutting in the city; Lawrence absent at Tanjore, with the king of which country Dupleix continued up to the last to be in secret communication. Very shortly after the arrival of Godeheu the 2000 troops that sailed with him from France landed at Pondichery. These should have been sent, as Dupleix strongly urged, to reinforce Mainville, who could then have made sure of the city for which the French had been so long struggling. But, far from so acting, Godeheu sent only petty reinforcements; he cut off also from his army the supplies of money it had been in the habit of receiving; he stopped the transport of provisions; he sent no orders; the letters and remonstrances of Mainville he left unanswered. The consequence was that a portion of the army mutinied, and the *emeute* was only suppressed by the loyal exertions of the officers. The letter written by Godeheu to Dupleix on hearing of this outbreak serves to illustrate the character of the new Governor,—to shew in a striking light the crime committed by the French Government in sending out such a man to supersede Dupleix. "What resources would you have" wrote he, "in the same case? You were in a position to make advances from your purse and on your credit: I can do neither one nor the other."

But this was not all. The new Governor seemed determined to sacrifice not only the territories acquired by Dupleix but even the honour of France to the one great object of making peace with England. So transparent was this intention, so patent to all, that it produced in the French settlement and in the French army, a discouragement and a despondency fatal to the life of a people. It is not too much to affirm that had Governor Saunders himself been appointed successor to Dupleix he could not have more effectually injured French interests than did this nominee of the French Direction and the French Crown. He began by changing the superior command of the army. Mainville having been recommended by Dupleix as the most capable officer, as the man of all others the most acceptable to their native allies, Godeheu took an early opportunity of superseding him, appointing in his stead M. de Maissin,—a man remarkable for his little capacity and his want of resolution. Not the less however did he suit the purposes

of Godeheu. It would not be credited were there not evidence to prove it,\* that, at a moment when the English garrison in Trichinopoly was sorely pressed by famine; when the French army had only to hold the position at the Five Rocks and the dependent posts to prevent the possibility of the ingress of any convoy; Godeheu instructed his new general to connive at its revictualment, to offer no real obstacle to the retention by the English of that all important city. As, at this time as before, the result of the negotiations with the English still depended on the fortunes of the campaign, we can easily conceive how the interest of France suffered in the hands of her representative. To that campaign we purpose now to refer.

Mainville made over command of the French army to Maissin on the 16th August 1754. It had long been known that the English commander, Major Lawrence, had been waiting only the conclusion of an arrangement for native assistance with Maphuz Khan, elder brother of Mahomed Ali, to endeavour to escort supplies into Trichinopoly. Of the movements of this convoy Mainville had had the most certain intelligence, and he had made all his arrangements to cut it off. Only three days after he had delivered up his command to Maissin he learned that the convoy, escorted by 1200 English troops, 3000 Sepoys and fourteen field pieces, with a native contingent of 5500 men and several guns, had arrived at a village six miles to the east of Elmiseram, and that it would endeavour to force its way the next morning between the Sugarloaf and the French Rocks. Mainville, who had employed the previous two months in reconnoitering this ground, at once informed his successor of the intended movement, and strongly urged him to move out at once, and take possession of a watercourse running out of the Cauveri, the nearer bank of which commanded the country beyond. He indicated to him also the names of two officers, MM. Gaudart and Aumont, who were thoroughly acquainted with the country, and to whom Mainville himself, when in command, had confided his intentions. Maissin listened to the communication with apparent pleasure, and set out with the avowed intention of putting it into execution. No sooner, however, had he reached the Sugar-loaf Rock, than, obedient to his secret instructions, he drew up his army close to a tank in front of it, and, leaving the watercourse unguarded, waited the approach of the enemy. When Lawrence did appear,—his convoy defiling on his right,—marching as much

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\* Mainville's Report—Letter from Nunderaj, Regent of Mysore to his agent at Pondichery. Vide also Orme.

at ease as on a field day, and opened fire from a battery he had erected on the high bank of the watercourse, Maissin declined an action, and retired without even firing a shot.\* Whilst this was going on, a Mysorean officer, named Hyder Naik, (the Hyder Ali afterwards so famous,) moving round the English force, fell upon the rear of the convoy, and captured thirty-five carts all laden with supplies and stores. This attack diverted the attention of Major Lawrence from the French, and offered them a good opportunity to assault with advantage. In vain did the Regent urge Maissin to use it; in vain did he point out that one charge would finish the campaign; Maissin was deaf to every representation; reposing on the secret instructions of his superior, he moved quietly back to his position at the Five Rocks. Meanwhile, not only Lawrence's convoy, but others from different parts of the country, poured into Trichinopoly.

A few days later, Maissin retired to Motachellinore on the Cauveri, abandoning his posts around Trichinopoly. He had not the firmness to remain even here, when, some few days later, Lawrence appeared before the place,—which nevertheless was strongly fortified,—but retreated precipitately into Seringham. The English, satisfied with this success, proceeded to house themselves for the rainy season in the Warriore pagodas, nearly due west of Trichinopoly.

Meanwhile, Godeheu, by his unskilful efforts to bring about peace at any price, had been working the most effectual damage to French interests in the eyes of the native powers. His lieutenants were everywhere left in a state of the most painful uncertainty. After wavering long as to whether he should withdraw his support from Salabut Jung, or leave Bussy with diminished influence and restricted powers at his court, he wrote on the 16th September that he was convinced of the necessity of not abandoning the Subadar. To Moracin, however, he threw out hints in the same letter regarding his projected renunciation of the territorial acquisitions of the Company, on the ground that "he preferred a safe and extended commerce to any other advantage.†" It was in vain that Moracin assured him in reply that whoever had persuaded him that the peace and security of one part of the French possessions would be best maintained by the abandonment of another part could know nothing either of the map of the country, the locality, or the interests of the Company. It was to no purpose

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\* M. de Mainville says; "il se retira sans qu'il y eût une amorce de fusil brûlée."

† Letter to Moracin, 16th September, 1764.



that he warned him that such an act would be but the prelude "to our total and proximate expulsion from this part of the Dekkan.\*" Godeheu's mind was made up. To undo the work of Dupleix, to make peace with the English, the honour and interests of France were but light sacrifices.

Negotiations had meanwhile been pending with the government of Madras. Mr. Saunders had indeed been recently re-inforced by the arrival of Admiral Watson's fleet, having on board Her Majesty's 49th Regiment and several recruits for the Company. This advantage was however to a certain extent counterbalanced in the mind of Mr. Saunders by the fact that Colonel Adlercron, who commanded the 49th, superseded the tried and gallant veteran who had so often led the English forces to victory. As the French had just before received re-inforcements certainly not inferior in number, it was still a question as to which of the contending parties, in the event of a continuation of the war, would have the advantage. But the folly of Godeheu had given Saunders a moral superiority of which he did not fail to make the fullest use. The wise forethought, likewise, of the English Government, in despatching a fleet to influence the negotiations for peace, produced a wonderful effect. Saunders was not insensible, however, to the advantages to be derived from the feverish impatience of Godeheu, and he readily acceded, on the 26th October, to a truce for three months, during which commissioners should meet at Pondichery to discuss the conditions of a permanent peace. The principal articles of this truce declared, that, till the 11th January, 1755, no act of hostility should ensue between the French and English, or between their allies; that commerce should be free to both nations in the Carnatic; that there should be a mutual, but *ad valorem*, exchange of prisoners; and that commissaries should be appointed on both sides to see that the conditions of the truce were not infringed.

Two months later a treaty of peace was agreed to, so far only provisional, that it required the ratification of the East India Companies of France and England. The first condition of this treaty laid down that the two companies should "renounce for ever all Mogul dignities and governments, and should never interfere in the differences that might arise among the princes of the country;" the second and third, that the English should possess Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Devikottah; the French, Pondichery and a limited settlement at Nizampatnam, it being arranged, that to the French should be allotted either a

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\* Reply of Moracin, dated 8th October, 1754.

territory between Nizampatnam and the river Gondeama, to compensate for the inferiority of Karical to Devikottah; or that the districts of Pondichery should be made equal to those of Fort St. George and Fort St. David, the French in that case abandoning the country about Nizampatnam. The fourth clause abandoned for the French their claims on the ceded districts, it being arranged that equal territories should be there assigned to the rival Companies. The fifth, sixth, and seventh clauses regulated the navigation of certain rivers, and the possession of certain other minor territories, on the same principle. The eighth provided for the prolongation of the truce till the confirmation of the treaty should arrive from Europe. The ninth for the non-building of any ports or obtaining any new grants of territory during the truce. The tenth, for the principle of *uti possidetis* till the treaty should be confirmed from Europe; and the eleventh for some future plan of indemnification for the expenses of the war.

When we commented on the conditions of peace which the agents of Dupleix submitted to the Conference of Sadras in the autumn of the previous year, we noticed that the French proposals were remarkable more for their omissions than for what they contained. The same observation is applicable, in one particular point, to the treaty of which we have here given an outline. No mention is made of Mahomed Ali; not a single reference to the Nawabship of the Carnatic. It was not however the less clear from this omission, that the English had gained, in this particular, all for which they had been contending. The clause which forbade either nation to accept office or government from the native authorities was an unmistakeable renunciation on the part of Godeheu of all the dignities and governments which the Subadar had conferred upon his predecessor. The French competitor for the office of Nawab having thus resigned his claims, on whom but on the rival competitor, Mahomed Ali, would the vacated government devolve? For five years had the French and English battled for this single point; to maintain the French view Dupleix had risked and lost his semi-regal seat in the Council of Pondichery, he had refused substantial offers of territory which did not include this concession. His successor tamely renounced it, without however obtaining those substantial advantages which alone could make it palatable.

But the third and fourth clauses, and especially the fourth, contained concessions not only damaging to French interests but disgraceful to French honour. The third, under the pretext of giving to each nation equal possessions on the Coromandel coast, kept indeed 'the word of promise to the ear,' but only

'to break it to the hope.' Karical was not the equivalent of Devikottah as a place of commerce. But,—what was worse, what was even insulting,—to bring about on another part of the coast this declared equality, the English proposed, and the French agreed, to take a district which actually belonged to the French, which was their own, their property, and to give them only a small portion of it, restoring the rest to the native powers. We allude to the agreement to form a settlement to be confined rigidly to the country between Nizampatnam and the river Gondeama, at a time when the entire coast from Nizampatnam to Juggernath was French,—French by gift, French by actual possession. The alternative proposal, to make the districts of Pondichery equal to those of Fort St. George and Fort St. David together, was even more dishonouring and insidious, for the effect of it would be to agree to abandon for ever, though without special mention of them, those ceded districts or Circars which the genius and policy of Dupleix had gained for his country.

But of all the clauses the fourth was the most directly injurious to French interests. This actually proposed that the city of Masulipatam with certain districts round it, and the island of Divi, both actually French property, should be divided between the rival powers. The carrying out of this proposition would alone entail a sacrifice on the part of the French of a fixed annual revenue of 4,000,000 francs (£120,000). The fifth, sixth, and seventh articles dealt likewise with French territory to the advantage of their rivals.

The remaining articles of the treaty, especially those which referred to the native allies of the two powers, were equally one-sided. The English had but one ally, the king of Tanjore,—for Mahomed Ali was but their helpless tool, the puppet in whose name, and under the shadow of whose usurped authority, they had endeavoured to overthrow French influence. The French, on the contrary, had the Mahrattas, the Mysoreans, and the Subadar. These knew not a word of the treaty. The effect of it, therefore, was to impose English law, not alone upon the French, but upon the independent princes of India, to force Salabut Jung to accept as Nawab of the Carnatic a man whom he had frequently declared to be a rebel and an outlaw; to compel the Mysoreans and Mahrattas to desist from their views on the city which they already regarded as their own! As a climax to this condition, the French, the allies of these princes, were to guarantee that they would execute it!

Such was Godeheu's treaty,—a treaty in which he renounced all that the French had been contending for. He gave up

the Nawabship of the Carnatic; he gave up the Circars; he gave up his allies; he gave up French influence and French honour. Could there have been a greater contrast to Dupleix! To him the English had offered to guarantee the possession of all his territories, provided he could give up the position and office of Nawab of the Carnatic. His successor not only renounced that office, but with it those material advantages which France had secured, the undisputed possession of which would still have left her, under any circumstances, infinitely more powerful than her rival. It is certainly not too severe a sentence, not too extravagant a criticism, to pronounce such a treaty to have been, in a French point of view, disgraceful. It was disgraceful to France, disgraceful to the man who made it. To his timorous love of peace, fostered by the mean and unworthy desire to undo the work of his predecessor, Godeheu sacrificed, and sacrificed knowing what he was sacrificing, the very foundations of an Indo-French empire.

For, indeed, great as were the material advantages given up, they were less important than the abnegation of moral influence, of the prestige of superiority which their renunciation implied. The treaty in fact was an announcement to the native princes of Southern India, that thenceforth France was not strong enough to contend with England on the soil of Hindostan; that she gave up the struggle; that she abandoned her allies to their fate. The impression produced by the arrival of Godeheu upon the bankers of Masulipatam has been already quoted. Damaging as that was, this confirmation of the views then entertained, and declared by Moracin and others to be exaggerated, was a hundred times more injurious. We shall see, as we proceed, the fatal effects produced upon the princes of India by this policy of abnegation.

In striking contrast to the conduct of the French governor was the action of the Englishman, Saunders. If the empire of Hindostan is an appanage of which the English have reason to be proud, if the possession of India has brought with it solid advantages to Great Britain, then do his countrymen still owe to the memory of Mr. Saunders a debt which was never fully acknowledged to himself. It was his constancy and resolution; his determination, when the English fortunes were at their lowest, to support Mahomed Ali, in order that through him he might stop the progress of Dupleix; that more than any other circumstances changed the face of events; that tended by a slow but certain procedure, to lower the pride of France, to exalt the fortunes of England. Never did he despair, never did he hesitate in his determination to oppose those pretensions;

which, if submitted to, would, he felt, have overwhelmed the English settlement in ruin. True it is, that he was fortunate; true, that he enjoyed the rare advantage of having a Clive and a Lawrence under his command. But it is not too much to affirm, that but for his stubborn policy even these advantages would have availed nothing; that but for his promptitude in recognising and employing merit, Clive might even have languished in obscurity. Nor was his tact inferior to his determination. He would have treated with Dupleix, Dupleix being absolute master of his Presidency, on better terms than he offered Godeheu; for he could not but feel that if France were to support Dupleix, a prolongation of hostilities must end in an increase of French territory. He was prepared, therefore, to give up everything but that one point he considered necessary to the safety of the English, *viz.*, that the Nawab of the Carnatic should not be a French nominee. But with Godeheu he pursued a different treatment; he saw that from the fear and malice of such a man he could wring almost anything; he squeezed him, therefore, to an extent that left him powerless and exhausted.

That, whilst doing justice to the merits of Saunders and vindicating the policy of Dupleix, we have not wronged the memory of Godeheu, is clear from the recorded sentiments of this functionary. What, indeed, but a feverish desire for peace at any price, and a mean jealousy of Dupleix, could have prompted him on the 11th January to sign the ignominious treaty to which we have referred, when, on the 17th December preceding, the terms of the treaty having been virtually settled and the truce still existing, he had written these words to Moracin at Masulipatam: "Prepare everything with all promptitude to the extent of your ability, so as to make yourself safe from a *coup-de-main*, for it is quite possible you may be attacked before the end of January. It is by such sudden enterprises that the English begin to declare war!" He thus prepared Moracin for an attack on the Circars at the end of December, and yet, on the 11th January following, virtually resigned them up to the English!

Not long did he remain in India to watch the working of his treaty. On the 16th February, 1755, after holding office little more than six months, he embarked for Europe, leaving the affairs of the French settlement to be administered by a secret committee, composed of M.M.<sup>s</sup> Barthelemy, Boileau, and Guillard, until the arrival of the officer nominated to be his successor, M. Duval de Leyrit. His departure was hailed by the colony as a national benefit. That alone of all his acts produced a good

effect for French interests throughout Southern India, for it gave rise to the rumour, artfully encouraged by Bussy, that it was but the prelude to the return of Dupleix.

But the recall of that statesman had had more than a transient effect. The members of the secret Committee, having before them his example, and ignorant of the political views of M. de Leyrit, would do nothing. Writing to Bussy, who pressed the Pondichery government for instructions as to the course of conduct he should adopt in the difficult circumstances we shall have to record, they could only reply that they had received all the letters he had addressed to M. Godeheu; that he himself had not replied to them, because certain points in them were of too delicate a nature to allow him to arrive at a fixed decision; but that M. de Leyrit, on his arrival, would probably explain himself fully upon all the questions at issue.\* The same conduct was pursued in every other subject of importance, the consequence being, that from the 16th February, the date of the departure of Godeheu, to the arrival of de Leyrit on the 25th March of the same year, the government of French India was but a blank.

De Leyrit, though a very ordinary man, was an improvement on the secret Committee. He too had been trained in India in the civil branch of the service, and had been a contemporary of Dupleix. \*At the time of the expedition of La Bourdonnais, he had been the French agent at Mahé, and he had succeeded Dupleix as Director-General of Chandernagore in 1741. He would have made probably an excellent head of a purely trading corporation, for he was well versed in mercantile operations; but he was most unfit for the conduct of the delicate policy by which the relations of Pondichery with the native chiefs required to be guided; equally was he wanting in the firmness of purpose and determination of will by which alone the aggressive policy of the English could be stayed. In a word, though well-meaning and honest, he was slow, undecided, wanting in forethought and energy.

Yet at that time, if at any, French India required other qualities in her chief ruler. Godeheu had not even quitted the scene of his inglorious labours, scarcely dry was the ink with which he and the English Commissioners had signed the treaty,—one clause of which provided that the English and French “should never interfere in any difference that might arise between the princes of the country,”—when the English began to equip a force to assist their ally, Mahomed Ali,

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\* M. Barthelemy to Bussy, 28th February, 1755.

in his endeavours to coerce the Polygars of Madura and Tinivelly, his right over whom was simply the right of the strongest. Although the English were actuated in this policy by purely mercenary motives, hoping to obtain from those districts the means of re-couping themselves for the expenses of the war just closed, there can be no doubt but that it was a glaring infraction of the treaty. That it was attempted is a clear proof of the contempt in which the power of the French on the Coromandel coast had come to be regarded.

In the beginning of February, under orders received from Madras, an English force under Colonel Heron, of H. M.'s 49th foot, was detached from Trichinopoly on this service. Whatever might have been the apparent success of this enterprise, —and Colonel Heron did succeed in occupying both Madura and Tinivelly,—it must not the less be regarded as a failure. The English soldiers, commanded by an officer ignorant of the country, were allowed to insult the religion and to deride the prejudices of the people; the money gained in the foray was not sufficient to pay the expenses of the expedition;\* and, worse than all, an example was given of the little respect entertained by the Government of Fort St. George for the most solemn engagements, when their own interests were concerned. De Leyrit had not been an inattentive spectator of this action on the part of the English. No sooner had he landed than he addressed to the Madras Government a strong remonstrance on the infraction of the treaty. It was replied to him, however, that Colonel Heron's expedition was not an act of war in any sense of the word; that the Nawab was simply engaged in the collection of his rents. However specious this reply might have appeared, de Leyrit was for the moment forced to be content with it; for Admiral Watson was on the coast, and de Leyrit, new to the scene, felt that it would be impolitic to inaugurate his career as Governor by a renewal of hostilities. He determined, therefore, to rest satisfied with his protest, inwardly resolving, however, to follow the example so imprudently set him. Accordingly, when, some few weeks later, he found that the rents due from the lands west of Ootatoor and south of the Valaru river, known by the name of Terriore, and in which the French had been empowered to act as agents of the king of Mysore, were not paid in to the Pondichery treasury, he sent Maissin at the head of 500 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys to make arrangements which should be satisfactory for the future. The English made no opposition to

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\* Colonel Heron, on his return to Trichinopoly in June, was ordered to Madras, tried there by a Court Martial, and found guilty of malversation.

this movement. But when the French, succeeding in Terriore, were tempted to move against the more eastern lands nearer Palamcottah, and stretching almost from the Valaru to the Coleroon, and which the English chose to regard as feudally dependent on the Nawab, orders were sent to Calliaud to oppose the movement, if necessary, by force. If the French had persisted in their pretensions, war was then inevitable. But de Leyrit, still unprepared, yielded, and withdrew his force. Nevertheless a precedent of interference had been established on both sides, and before Godeheu reached Europe, the treaty which he carried with him had been violated in that part which was alike its main principle, and its only possible justification,—by the English in acting as allies of Mahomed Ali, by the French as agents of the Mysoreans.

De Leyrit indeed had not been long at Pondichery before he became convinced that the theory of non-interference, on which Godeheu had based his policy, was, in the actual state of India, simply impossible. Both the rival powers on the Coromandel coast having armies and strong places, both brought constantly into contact with possessors of territory whose weakness they had proved and who were continually tempting them with offers, it was impossible that either should have the virtue on every occasion to abstain, always to restrain their hands. Excuses were to be found to justify, at least to their Directors in Europe, every infraction of the treaty. It is clear from the correspondence of de Leyrit with Bussy and with Dupleix,\* that this feeling on his part grew stronger every day, and that he became more and more convinced of the insensate folly of Godeheu in consenting to divide the five Circars with the English. Of these, however, the French still held possession, and were empowered to hold possession, till the ratification of the treaty should arrive, that is, till about the middle of 1756. As de Leyrit saw clearly that war would then be inevitable, all his foreign policy was directed to nurse the resources of Pondichery, to avoid committing himself to a contest, until his own private knowledge of the confirmation of the treaty would render it advisable for him to provoke hostilities on other grounds. Should the treaty not be confirmed, war would naturally ensue.

This exposition of the policy of de Leyrit will enable us to comprehend and account for the cautious policy he continued for some time to follow. We shall understand why it was he continued to support Bussy at Hyderabad, why, when the

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\* De Leyrit to Bussy 29th July and 17th August, 1755; to Dupleix 16th October, and others. •



English again infringed the treaty, he confined himself to threats and to protests, until, learning that the treaty had been confirmed by his Directors, he made the aggression of the English a pretext for renewing hostilities, endeavouring thus to retain for France permanent possession of the five Circars. It was undoubtedly, in theory, a sagacious and able policy, but to succeed it required the possession of greater energy and vigour in action than de Leyrit and his subordinates, always excepting Bussy, possessed.

Opportunities for protesting were never wanting to either party. In the autumn of the same year, 1755, the French having taken possession of some lands contiguous to Sadras, midway nearly between Pondichery and St. Fort George, the English remonstrated, and the dispute only terminated by an equal division of the contested territory.\* But in the following year affairs took a turn which could not fail to embroil the two nations.

The English had always been jealous of the position held by Bussy at the court of the Subadar. The influence which thus accrued to the French could not fail to make itself felt on both sides of the continent of Hindostan, at the court of the Peshwa, as well as with the various petty chieftains in the Carnatic. Although, in the treaty made with Godeheu, no special reference had been made to Bussy, there had been a tacit understanding that it had no reference to the affairs of the Subadar, who indeed had never committed hostilities against the English. Unable then to demand as a right the expulsion of Bussy, the English were yet desirous to weaken the influence he was able to exercise by his position at Hyderabad, either by undermining him with the Subadar, or by gaining new possessions for themselves on the western coast. The manner in which the first was attempted, and how it succeeded, will be related when we have to refer to the operations of Bussy. But, before that, the return to India of Clive, with the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel and Governor of Fort St. David, gave the English an opportunity of trying the second. Clive, under orders from the Court of Directors, had been sent in the first instance to Bombay, in order that he might be ready to co-operate in an expedition which they contemplated in concert with the Peshwa against the northern parts of the Dekkan. Colonel Scott, the officer appointed to command the English contingent, dying in Bombay, his place was at once occupied by Clive, and it needed but the orders of the Bombay government to enter

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\* A truly European mode of settling a dispute,—the lands in question having belonged to native princes who were parties to the treaty!

upon the contemplated movement. The members of that government, however, regarding Godeheu's treaty as prohibitory of any such undertaking, hesitated to embark in it, until at least they should have received the opinion on that point of the Madras authorities. These had no such scruple. And, although they were ignorant of the views of the Home government regarding the disposal of Clive's force; although, indeed, they were not destined, at the time, to be enlightened,—the ship which conveyed the despatches of the Bombay Government having been wrecked,—yet no sooner had they heard of the arrival of Clive at Bombay, than they sent to suggest the mode in which his force could be best used,—a mode almost identical with the plan of the Court of Directors. But, before their despatch could reach Bombay, the Government of that Presidency, more cautious than that of Madras, had determined to employ Clive's force and Admiral Watson's fleet, for the reduction, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, of the fort of Gheriah, the principal stronghold of the famous pirate Angria.

It forms no part of this history to give the details of this expedition, unconnected as it was with French interests. It will suffice to say that it was attended with complete success; that Gheriah was taken, Angria's fleet destroyed, and the ten lakhs of prize-money captured divided on the spot amongst the English,—the Mahrattas being excluded\* from all participation therein, notwithstanding that it was to them, and not to the English, that Angria surrendered.

This expedition terminated, Clive and Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, the former taking up his government at Fort St. David, the latter repairing to Madras. He reached this place on the 16th May, and began at once to concert with Governor Pigott† a scheme which the expulsion of Bussy by Salabut Jung seemed to facilitate for replacing French by English influence in the Dekkan. But just two months after his arrival, accounts were received of the capture of Kassimbazar, and three weeks later, of the taking of Calcutta, by the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. Clive was instantly summoned from Fort St. David to take part in the deliberations having for their object the recovery of the English settlement in that province. In the

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\* Before the expedition left Bombay, the English had agreed amongst themselves that the Mahrattas were to be excluded from all participation in the prize-money; nay more, although it had been previously agreed that Gheriah should be given up to the Mahrattas, the English determined to keep it. This was not perhaps the most effectual mode of inducing a hearty co-operation against the Subadar. •

† Governor Pigott succeeded Governor Saunders at Madras,

presence of such a calamity it appeared advisable to give up the projected expedition into the Dekkan, even to allow Madras to shift for herself, in order to concentrate the undivided energies of the Presidency on the recovery of Calcutta and the punishment of the Nawab Nazim. After some discussion, Clive was appointed to the command, with independent and practically unlimited powers. On the 16th October he sailed, having with him 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys, on that enterprise to which, in so far as relates to its connection with Chandernagore, we shall have presently to refer.

Meanwhile the English had not been idle in the Carnatic. Their protégé, the Nawab, being still in want of funds, and being thus unable to settle the claims they had against him, it was determined at Madras to make another attempt to extract money from some of the subordinate princes of the Carnatic. Mortiz Ali, Governor of Vellore, was selected for this purpose. It will be recollected that Mortiz Ali had been set up by Dupleix, on the renunciation of his claims by Chanda Sahib, as Nawab of the Carnatic. As soon, however, as the fall of Dupleix appeared imminent Mortiz Ali had hastened to disclaim all pretensions to the title, and had made his submission to Mahomed Ali. By this means he hoped to be allowed to remain unmolested in his possessions. But it was not to be. He suffered under the great misfortune of passing for the richest man in the Carnatic, a crime that could only be atoned for by the surrender of his property. It was easy to find a pretext to attack him. Some old story about arrears of tribute was raked up; and, almost without warning, a force of 500 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys, under Major Killpatrick, appeared before Vellore on the 30th January.

Vellore had the reputation of being the strongest fortress in the Carnatic. Its walls were built of large stones, and were strengthened by bastions and towers. It was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch cut out of the rock, and always filled with water swarming with alligators. It commanded the high road to Mysore, and was in other respects the most important position in the upper Carnatic. De Leyrit would have been weak indeed had he allowed such a place to fall into the hands of the English. Nor did he. No sooner then had he heard of the movements of Killpatrick, than he despatched a messenger to Madras to intimate that he would regard an attack upon Vellore as an infraction of the treaty, and that he should oppose it with all his available force. Not content with that, he ordered 300 Europeans and 300 sepoys to march instantly in the direction of that fortress, supporting them two days later by

a reinforcement of 400 of the former and 1,200 of the latter, the whole taking up a position between Gingee and Chittaput. This demonstration so far succeeded that it prevented an attack upon Vellore. There was no Dupleix, however, at Pondichery to improve the occasion to the advantage of France; no persuasive eloquence to induce Mortiz Ali to admit French troops into Vellore. That chieftain indeed feared his allies probably as much as his enemies; and, after a negotiation of three weeks, he was glad to purchase the retirement of the latter by the payment of 400,000 rupees.

The departure in the following October of the English armament for Bengal, and of 320 French to aid Bussy in the July preceding, the circumstances relating to which belong properly to the account of that officer's proceedings, left the rival powers in the Carnatic almost too powerless to cause one another effectual injury. The English however experienced, to its fullest extent, the inconvenience of having placed at the head of the affairs of the Carnatic, a man without personal resources and without ability. In January 1757, they found themselves once more compelled to levy contributions from Madura and Tinivelly; and Calliaud, who then commanded at Trichinopoly, was directed to proceed with the greater part of the garrison into those districts. He accordingly marched at the head of 180 Europeans, 1,000 sepoy, and six pieces of cannon to Tanjore, to endeavour to obtain from the king succours for his purpose. The king, however, and his ministers, tired of contributing to successes which brought only advantage to his allies, practically refused his aid; whereupon Calliaud, hearing that some of the insurgent Polygars were ravaging the district, moved without delay to Tinivelly. Here he was detained for some time by difficulties regarding supplies and money, and it was not till the 10th April that he was able to march towards Madura. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 1st May, he attempted to take this city by surprise, but, being repulsed, took up a position on the south-east face of the town, there to await the arrival of two 18-pounders he had sent for from Trichinopoly. Instead of these guns, however, he received at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 11th the startling intelligence that the whole French army, taking advantage of his absence, was attempting Trichinopoly! Intelligence of the same nature recalled to Madras Colonel Forde, who at the head of 100 Europeans, 56 Africans, 300 sepoy, and 10,000 auxiliaries had, till then unsuccessfully, been attempting the reduction of Nellore held against Mahomed Ali by his brother.

The time had indeed arrived when de Leyrit felt himself empowered to put into execution the schemes he had been long

meditating. On the 17th May, war, which for two years previously had been impending between France and England, was formally declared. Intelligence of this event reached de Leyrit at the end of 1756, accompanied however by the intimation that France was about to make a tremendous effort to recover her waning influence in India, and that he was to attempt nothing till the armament then fitting out should arrive. But de Leyrit, knowing that the few English troops in the Presidency were occupied before Madura and Nellore, having himself, too, just welcomed the annual detachment from Europe, under the command of the veteran d'Auteuil, thought the moment too opportune to be neglected. On the 6th April therefore, 200 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys were despatched into the interior, their commander, d'Auteuil, having secret instructions to feign to be entirely occupied by an attack upon the fort of Elvasanore,—a few miles north of the Goudelour river and on the high road between Gingee and Trichinopoly,—and other strongholds in its vicinity, whilst he should secretly collect all his forces for a combined attack upon the city which had so long bade defiance to French arms. De Leyrit justly argued that the English, engaged with their own plans, would care little about so unimportant a place as Elvasanore; that they would the rather on that account believe that no intention existed to attack Trichinopoly.

It turned out as de Leyrit had imagined. D'Auteuil was allowed, unmolested, even unsuspected, to capture Elvasanore and other places in its vicinity. His action there, tended, as de Leyrit had hoped, to make the English feel all the more secure regarding Trichinopoly. Suddenly, however, d'Auteuil massed his forces, amounting to 1,150 Europeans 3,000 sepoys and ten field-pieces, and on the 12th May occupied the island of Seringhatn. To enable him to collect so large a force of Europeans, not a single soldier, fit for duty, had been left in Pondichery.

The garrison of Trichinopoly at this time consisted of but 165 Europeans, 700 sepoys, and 1,000 native auxiliaries, the whole commanded by Captain Joseph Smith. But guarded within the walls were 500 French prisoners, and d'Auteuil naturally hoped that these, if they could not openly aid him, would, at all events, draw off the attention of a great part of the garrison. On the morning of the 14th, the French leader, crossing the river, took up a position at the Warriore pagodas, nearly three miles west of the city; from this place, he opened a fire of shot and shell, and continued it to the 20th, when he sent a summons to Smith to surrender. This summons was however answered by defiance.

It had been the intention of d'Auteuil to attempt an assault on the morning of the 21st, but he received during the day intimation that Calliaud, at the head of 120 Europeans and 1,200 sepoys, was in full march from Madura to relieve Trichinopoly. He deemed it, therefore, advisable to defer his attack in order the better to intercept this force. Instead, however, of massing the greater portion of his troops, leaving a few only to watch Smith, and moving out to crush Calliaud on the road, he resolved to follow the old plan,—*dear*, we must suppose, from its repeated failure,—of occupying the strong places to the south and east of the town. Like Astruc and Brennier before him, he marched to take up a position stretching from the Five Rocks to the French Rock, occupying, besides those two, in considerable force, the Fakeer's Tope and the Golden and Sugar-loaf Rocks. He thus shut out Calliaud from Trichinopoly on the only side on which he could hope to gain it; should the English attempt to force in their way between any of the rocks indicated, it would, he calculated, be in his power to crush them at a blow. The better to acquaint himself with the movements of the enemy, he had arranged that several spies should join them, and with these he had settled an efficient mode of communication.

But this was, after all, but a gouty mode of carrying on war. To sit still, and to depend on spies for information, was to give full play to the activity of an enemy who had hitherto shown himself not wanting in expedients. If d'Auteuil thought at all on the subject, he could not have believed that Calliaud was so wanting in ordinary perception as to run his head against the positions he occupied. A strong reconnaissance on the Madura road would have compelled Calliaud to fight. But if governments will entrust the command of their armies to gouty octogenarians, they must refrain from expecting that activity of movement, that watchful and daring vigour, which are almost always synonymous with success.

D'Auteuil, meanwhile, well satisfied with his arrangements, received information, early on the evening of the 25th, that Calliaud had just reached Aour, a village ten miles south east of Trichinopoly, and that he intended, a few hours later, to force his way between the Five Rocks and the Sugar-loaf Rock under cover of the darkness of the night. He instantly massed his forces about half a mile in front of the Golden Rock, denuding even the other positions in order to concentrate every available man against the enemy. All night long he remained in a state of anxious expectation; day dawned, yet there was no appearance of an enemy; at last, the sun itself appeared gilding the

horizon ; still not a hostile soldier was to be seen ; but scarcely had the entire disk become visible to the still expectant d'Auteuil when a triumphant *feu de joie* from the walls of Trichinopoly announced to him the terrible fact, that he had been out-witted and out-manceuvred, and that Trichinopoly was relieved !

It was too true. Fortunately for the English, their commander was still young, hale, and active, fully impressed with the necessity of using all his faculties, mental and bodily, when he had a great end to pursue. Breaking up from Madura on the 11th, Calliaud had marched at the head of the small force we have indicated, without tents, baggage, or artillery. On the morning of the 25th, arriving at Eliapore, nineteen miles from Trichinopoly, he had learned from Captain Smith the disposition made by d'Auteuil. The same evening, he marched, as truly reported by the spies, to Aour. Here he halted, giving out that he intended in half an hour to force his way through the space between the Five Rocks and the Sugar-loaf Rock. The time fixed for this march being so close, the spies instantly made their way to the French camp, and reported it to d'Auteuil with the result we have seen. Calliaud, half an hour later, did actually commence his march, but on arriving within two miles of the Five Rocks, he struck off to the right till he came opposite Elmiseram. The ground here being entirely under water on account of the rice cultivation, the French had supposed it impassable for troops, and had neglected to guard it. It was indeed heavy and swampy ; but it was Calliaud's best chance, and, strictly enjoining silence, he attempted it. The distance was about nine miles. In seven hours, he had accomplished only seven. But by this time the day had dawned, and the sight of the city inspired the gallant band to new efforts. Still struggling on, Calliaud himself supported by two grenadiers, they entered the city in time to be welcomed by the rising sun. A salute was at once fired to convey to the Frenchman the notification of the defeat of his plans.

We will not stop to dwell on the mortification of d'Auteuil. So badly had his position been taken, all his troops concentrated upon one narrow point, that it would have been possible, as it turned out, for Calliaud to have marched in under the very shadow of the Sugar-loaf Rock. A body of sepoys he had sent to make a false march in that direction, in the hope to persuade the French that he himself was moving that way, were able to convert it into a real one, advancing under the lee of the rock without once having been challenged. The course followed by d'Auteuil after this check was not inspired by greater wisdom than his previous strategy.\* It is, however, always useless to

endeavour to analyse the motives of a man who is himself incapable of thinking. Had he been other than he was, d'Auteuil would have recollected that notwithstanding the reinforcement brought by Calliaud, he still outnumbered the English in his Europeans by four to one. But it would not appear that such a thought occurred to him. Utterly discouraged, he crossed the Cauveri the same evening, and proceeded next day to Pondichery.\*

Meanwhile the Madras authorities, not trusting entirely to the efforts of Calliaud, had ordered every available man into the field. These, forming a force of 430 Europeans and 800 sepoys under Colonel Adlercron, had already reached and captured Outramatore when they heard of the relief of Trichinopoly. As the French garrison of Outramatore had thrown itself into Wandewash, one of the most important towns in the Carnatic, sixty-four miles south-west of Madras, Colonel Adlercron marched forward with the apparent intention of besieging that also.

Meanwhile, de Leyrit had been neither unskilfully nor unsuccessfully employed in other parts of the coast. No sooner had the news of the fall of Chandernagore,—the account of which will appear in its proper place,—reached him, than he ordered Moracin to take possession of the English factories on the Godavery, and sent instructions to Bussy to attack that of Vizagapatam. Both these officers acquitted themselves of this service without any difficulty,—the garrison of Vizagapatam surrendering to Bussy on the 25th June. Whilst thus satisfying himself regarding his territories in the north, by a policy which gave him uninterrupted possession of the coast from Ganjam to Masulipatam, de Leyrit was not neglectful of the south. He had hoped to avenge the fall of Chandernagore by the capture of Trichinopoly; and though disappointed of that by d'Auteuil's unaccountable strategy, he still endeavoured to use the troops he commanded to some satisfactory purpose. On the return of d'Auteuil to Pondichery, therefore, he removed him from the command, and replaced him by M. Saubinet, a man of capacity and energy. To him he gave instructions at once to concentrate his army, which lay scattered at Gingee, at Tiruvadi, and at Pondichery, and to march to the relief of Wandewash, then threatened by Adlercron.

When Saubinet, at the head of 600 Europeans and about 200 sepoys, arrived before this place on the 1st June, he found Adlercron in possession of the town, and preparing to batter the fort. The approach of the French, however, combined with orders he received from his own Presidency to return, induced Adlercron

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\* *Vide Orme and Lawrence.*



at once to quit this enterprise and to retreat towards Madras. Before doing this, he very barbarously and very unnecessarily set fire to the town, thereby injuring only the unoffending inhabitants. Saubinet instantly followed him upon the Chingleput road, whilst he despatched 200 Europeans and 500 sepoys to attack Conjeveram, a most important town with a strongly fortified pagoda, only forty-six miles from Madras. This detachment was however repulsed from Conjeveram, and retired after following the example of the English, by burning the town. The main body, after recapturing Outramatore, retired to Wandewash, and intrenched themselves about a mile in front of that town. Here they were followed to within four miles by Adlercron, under whom Lawrence, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, had consented to serve as a volunteer. For six weeks the two armies, nearly equal in numbers, remained facing one another, the English anxious for a decisive action before the expected reinforcements of the French should arrive, the French on that account desirous to avoid it. Finding their efforts to force a battle unavailing, the English army broke up on the 26th July, retiring, the greater part to Conjeveram, the remainder to Chingleput and Carangoly. Sanbinet, thus left master of the campaign, remained at Wandewash till the middle of September. Learning then that a considerable squadron, having on board the *Chevalier de Soupire* with the Regiment of Lorraine, fifty artillery men and twenty siege guns,—the advanced guard of the force destined for the conquest of India under the Count de Lally,—had reached Pondichery, Saubinet made a sudden attack upon Chittaput. Capturing this after a desperate resistance, he moved against Trinomalee. Not this only, but several other forts in the Carnatic fell into the possession of the French, who were thus enabled to collect contributions from all parts of the province. It was not, however, until the arrival of Count Lally, on the 28th of April in the following year, that the French ventured to carry out the scheme originally intended to be commenced by de Soupire,—a scheme beginning with the intended capture of Fort St. David, as a preliminary to the entire rooting out of the English from the Carnatic. We shall see, when we come to that exciting portion of our history, how it was that de Soupire delayed this attack; we shall notice likewise the prompt and energetic action inaugurated by Lally himself. We leave the Carnatic, on the eve of his arrival, overrun by French troops; all its strong places, with the exception of Arcot, Vellore, Conjeveram, Chingleput, and the two English seats of government on the coast, in their hands; the English shut up in Madras and Trichinopoly, sensible of the storm about to burst over their heads, and conscious of having no efficient

means to protect themselves against its downpouring. We leave them thus, whilst we proceed to trace, on the one side, the fate of the French settlement in Bengal, on the other, the still eventful action of Bussy, ever gathering new triumphs, till recalled by the new Lieutenant-General of the armies of France from the scene of his brilliant successes to take part in the enterprise that, he fondly hoped, was to sweep the English into the sea.

Chandernagore, after the departure of Dupleix in 1741 to take up the Governor-Generalship of French India, had not long continued under the influence of the impulse which he had given to it. Whether it was that his successors were restricted in his powers or were too indolent; that the duties on commercial enterprise amounted almost to prohibition of trade; that it was neglected by the Home Government; or, more probably, from a combination of all these causes; it is certain that its once flourishing trade had decreased; that it was burdened with debts, and that it was being maintained at a loss. In 1756, the Director-General of the settlement was M. Renault de St. Germain, whilst the dependent factory of Kassimbazar came early in the year under the charge of M. Law. The garrison in the former place consisted of 146 Europeans and 300 sepoys.\* Law had with him about a score of European and sixty native soldiers.

The calamity which had overwhelmed Calcutta in 1756 had left Chandernagore uninjured. When the first-named city was threatened by Suraj-ood-dowlah in that year, the English, despairing of assistance from their own people, had invited the Dutch of Chinsura and the French of Chandernagore to make common cause with them against the enemy. Whilst

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\* All the English historians give the number of the French garrison as at least 300 Europeans and 300 natives. That Clive and Watson believed this to have been their numbers we cannot doubt, nor equally, that the same impression prevailed amongst the English in India generally. It is nevertheless incontestable that the numbers given by us in the text are correct. In the official despatch sent by M. Renault to Count Lally regarding the events connected with the loss of Chandernagore we find the following statement: "In every letter we used the strongest and most touching language to demonstrate the absolute necessity of sending us such assistance as would place this settlement beyond the chance of similar misfortunes" (such as had happened to the English). "We received 67 sepoys and a detachment of 61 Europeans, of whom 45 were invalids, which added to the 85 Europeans we then had, made 146 Europeans. We expected then every day to learn that war had been declared against England, and there was preparing at the time a considerable armament to re-take Calcutta." This extract is decisive as to the number of Europeans.

the Dutch had positively refused, the French, more courteous, had offered the English protection within the walls of Chandernagore. This offer, which would seem to have been made in good faith, was however regarded as an insult by the English, and declined. Certain it is that when themselves threatened with the full weight of the Nawab's anger in case they should refuse to assist him in his operations against the English, the French resolutely declined to aid him,—and this, although they knew well that the extermination of the English, if unavenged, would probably be only a prelude to an attack upon their own settlement. It happened, indeed, that after the capture of Calcutta and the flight of the surviving English to Fulta, the Nawab, recognising the loss of revenue caused by their expulsion, appeared disinclined to take hostile measures against the other European settlements on the Hooghly. Contenting himself with quelling the disaffection which had appeared in other parts of his government, he apparently forgot his European enemies and lulled himself into a too confident security.

Such was the state of Bengal, when the fleet and army under Watson and Clive, which had arrived at Fulta at intervals between the 2nd August and the 20th November, left that place on the 27th December with the intention of recovering Calcutta by force of arms. But the instructions given to these two leaders permitted them to look to something more than the mere recovery of Calcutta. They were directed, should they deem it necessary, to attack the Nawab in his own capital; especially were they exhorted, in case the news of the declaration of war between France and England, then expected, should reach them whilst they had so strong an armament in Bengal, not to fail to use it for the destruction of the rival settlement of Chandernagore.\*

The surrender of Calcutta on the 2nd January, 1757, and the capture and sack of Hooghly eight days later, are incidents which belong solely to the history of the English settlements; it will therefore be sufficient here to record the bare facts. But it was during the march to Hooghly that Clive received the long-looked-for intimation of the declaration of war by France against England. To him and to all the members of the Calcutta council it seemed that this intelligence reached them at the most opportune moment.\* They could not but congratulate themselves that the French had not learned it before the success of the operations of Clive and Watson against Calcutta had

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\* Orme.

been assured. It came to them just after the difficulties of the river navigation had been overcome, when Calcutta had surrendered, and when they did not doubt that the attack upon Hooghly would produce a strong moral effect on the natives of Bengal.

Still, however, the situation of Clive, in itself one of great difficulty, could not bear to be compromised by a too early manifestation of hostile intentions against the French settlement in Bengal. He could not but feel that the Nawab would not leave unavenged the expulsion of his troops from Calcutta, and that he would not easily pardon the raid against one of the principal stations of his province. He could not shut his eyes to the possibility that the French, learning that war between the two nations had been declared, might yet unite with the Nawab, and, by this union, not only baffle his designs on themselves, but crush the attempt permanently to re-occupy Calcutta. It was not, therefore, the time to publish to his enemies all that he had in his heart. It was his part rather, under such circumstances, to temporise, to watch carefully the course of events, and to suffer no opportunity to escape him.

The Nawab, meanwhile, furious at the loss of Calcutta and the destruction of the town of Hooghly, hastily assembled an army of 10,000 foot and 15,000 horse, and marched to recover the retaken city of the English. He sent at the same time to the French chief, M. Renault, and invited him in the most pressing terms to join with him in crushing the nation that was as much the enemy of the French as of himself.

Renault, for his part, was in a situation of very great perplexity. He too knew well that war had broken out,\* but

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\* Professor H. H. Wilson conjectures that the French may not have known that war had been declared. His conjecture, however, is entirely unfounded. Through the courtesy of M. Derussat, the present chief of the French establishments in Bengal, we are able to present to our readers an extract from the registers of the proceedings of the 'Conseil de Fabrique' for 1757, which is decisive as to the fact that the French knew of the declaration of war on the 2nd January, 1757, the date on which it was first known to the English. The minutes of the proceedings run as follows: "Thus things remained till the beginning of January, 1757. Then M. Renault and his council, *learning that war had been declared between France and England*, fearing to be attacked and to lose the place by means of the church and the parsonage which commanded it, assembled a council of war on the 2nd January, in which it was resolved and decreed to begin the demolition of both on that very day, and that until the new house and the new church should be fit for use, they would, &c. &c." There cannot then be the shadow of a doubt that the French knew of the declaration of war on the 2nd January, 1757.

it was a question, and a most difficult one, whether with his 146 Europeans, of whom 45 were invalids, he should aid the Nawab, or endeavour to arrange a treaty of neutrality with the English. The former course would lead, in the case of the Nawab's failure, to the certain capture of Chandernagore; he had, besides, received the most positive orders from de Leyrit in no case to attack the English. Would it not then, he argued, be a sounder policy to endeavour to win from the fears of the English, who had then a great respect for the power of the Nawab, and greatly dreaded his junction with the French, the neutrality which should place Chandernagore beyond the reach of danger? After much deliberation, feeling keenly the loss of the opportunity which the indolence and want of enterprise on the part of de Leyrit\* compelled him to forego, Renault sent a proposition for neutrality during the European war to the council in Calcutta.

To Clive and Watson, believing as they did that the European troops at Chandernagore amounted to 300 men, and that Law had nearly 100 at Kassimbazar, this proposition was like a messenger from Heaven. From their previous experience in forcing their way up the river Hooghly, they had been inclined to rate the soldiers of the Nawab as infinitely superior, in fighting capabilities, to the levies of Mahomed Ali and Chanda Sahib. They knew that the Nawab, full of angst, was marching against them, and they looked upon the result of a battle with him alone as by no means certain. Were he to be reinforced by the 300 French soldiers whom they believed to be at Chandernagore, they would have but little hope of success. Great, therefore, was their relief when they received this message from Renault proposing neutrality during the war with Europe.

Instantly they acceded to it; the French Director-General was requested to send deputies to Calcutta to arrange regarding the conditions. This was at once complied with. The French deputies came to Calcutta; the conditions were discussed and agreed upon; the treaty itself was written out fair and was ready for signature, when instead of signing it, Clive and Watson intimated their intention of proceeding with their whole force for the reduction of the settlement whose representatives they had been thus amusing. Events, in fact, had effaced

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\* De Leyrit excused himself vaguely by asserting the difficulty of sending reinforcements into Bengal at a time when he expected the arrival of an English fleet: yet Law with his 61 Europeans, who did not leave the ceded provinces till November or December, arrived there in safety; why then could not 300?

from the minds of the English commanders all fear of the Nawab, and had left them free to act as they wished.

There can be no question, in fact, that Clive had accepted in good faith the proposition of M. Renault in the first instance, solely because he saw in that a means of preventing the dreaded junction of the French with the Nawab. But, on the 4th February, he attacked the army of the Nawab before Calcutta, and inflicted upon it a blow that utterly disheartened its leader; on the 9th he concluded with him a treaty. Thus free from his principal enemy, the thought came into his mind that such an opportunity for crushing those French at Chandernagore would probably never occur again; that it would be feeble policy to neglect it; that there was yet time to do it, as notwithstanding that he and they were mutually agreed upon the terms of the treaty, the treaty itself had not been signed. There was but one obstacle. He did not deem himself strong enough to attack the city whilst there should yet remain a chance of his being attacked by the Nawab. He, therefore, on various pretexts, detained the French deputies in Calcutta, whilst he should endeavour to obtain the permission of the Nawab to assail their settlement.

The Nawab refused it. Nevertheless Fortune favoured Clive. Satisfied by the Nawab's refusal that an attack upon Chandernagore would be too dangerous to attempt, he prepared to sign the treaty. When, however, on the point of so doing, he met with an unexpected scruple on the part of Admiral Watson, who declined to sign on the ground that the settlement of Chandernagore not being an independent settlement, but under the orders of the Pondichery authorities, the treaty would require ratification at that city. The Calcutta government, he argued, was an independent Presidency. For it to agree to a treaty with a dependent settlement was to agree to a treaty liable to be upset. He therefore refused to sign. Clive placed before him the only other alternative, that of attacking Chandernagore. This, however, he refused to attempt without the consent of the Nawab.

But it was written that Chandernagore was to fall. The very next day a messenger reached the Nawab with the news that Ahmed Shah Abdalli had taken Delhi. Seeing in his own mind the Affghans marching upon Bengal, the terrified Nawab at once wrote to Clive offering him 100,000 rupees a month if he would march to his assistance. Two days later a boat from Hidgellee arrived off Calcutta with the intelligence, that three English ships of war with three companies of infantry and one of artillery were at its mouth, and that another, the *Cumberland*, was off Balasore. These two items of intelligence removed any

apprehensions that Clive might have had regarding an attack from the Nawab's army; they appeared likewise to silence the scruples of Watson.\* Was it considered that in giving them this increased force, and in paralysing for the time the movements of the Nawab, the voice of Providence had spoken out too clearly to be misunderstood?

Meanwhile, Renault, having heard from his agents the acceptance of the terms of the treaty, had regarded the matter as settled, and had ceased to disquiet himself as to the possible movements of the English. His surprise then may be imagined when his deputies, returning, brought him, instead of a signed treaty, the terrible intelligence that the English fleet and army were on their way to Chandernagore. However indignant he might have felt, however much he may have reproached his superior at Pondichery for exposing him to such a danger, Renault yet prepared, on its approach, to meet it with courage and vigour. Chandernagore possessed many capabilities of defence. The square fort, called Fort d'Orléans, situated at an equal distance from either extremity of the town, immediately on the river bank, mounted ten 32-pounders on each of its bastions. On the ramparts, at regular intervals between the bastions on the river and southern faces, were 24-pounders; the south-western curtain angle was covered by a ravelin, on which were eight 32-pounders; whilst the flat terrace of the high church within the fort, and which over-topped its walls, had been converted into a battery and armed with six guns. An outer ditch and glacis were being constructed, though all the houses on the proposed glacis had not been demolished at the time. Beyond this glacis however, especially on the river and southern face, several batteries had been thrown up, commanding all the approaches to the fort. The garrison consisted, as we have said, of 146 European troops and 300 sepoys, but nearly 300 Europeans were collected from the inhabitants and sailors, and were armed for the defence. Prominent among these last was Captain de Vigne, the commander of one of the French ships, to whom the defence of the bastions had been consigned by Renault.

But it was not alone in their fortifications that the French confided. The river Hooghly at Chandernagore was not, even in those days, easily navigable by ships of heavy burden. There

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\* We are aware that Watson based his final acquiescence on a letter from the Nawab, abounding in oriental imagery, and which was interpreted as a permission to act as he chose. But the receipt of a letter the next day from the Nawab, positively forbidding him to attack Chandernagore, whilst it revealed to him the real mind of the Nawab, did not stop his preparations.

was in fact but one practicable channel, and this could be blocked up by sunken ships. Here, accordingly, Renault ordered several ships to be sunk, about a hundred and fifty yards south of the fort, and on this point the guns of one of the batteries outside the fort were directed. In this operation an artillery officer named Terraneau co-operated.

The English force, numbering 700 Europeans and 1,500 natives, marched from Howrah on the 7th March, 150 artillery men with their guns following in boats, escorted by Admiral Watson's fleet.\* On the 14th, Clive came with his little force in sight of Chandernagore. Avoiding the batteries in front of the western and southern faces, he took possession of the high road on its northern side, and then changing direction towards the fort, occupied the houses on the north-west, the French skirmishers retiring, as he approached, to a battery on the road commanded by the north-west bastion. From the houses he kept up all night a strong fire, which compelled the French to evacuate the battery and to retire within the fort. The abandonment of this battery necessitated the abandonment of all the batteries, except those on the river face. The following day the English strengthened their position in the houses, suffering but little from the fire of the fort. On the 16th, the guns were landed, and for the next five days a mutual cannonade was kept up, on the whole to the advantage of the garrison, the fire from whose heavy guns told with tremendous effect on the brick-built houses which the English had improvised as batteries.

It was not however, Renault well knew, on the shore, that the fate of Chandernagore was to be decided. Could he but beat off those powerful men of war, who were making their way slowly and cautiously through the intricate channels of the Hooghly, he would care but little for all the efforts of the English troops on the mainland. He could at least hope that the Nawab,—to whom he had sent a pressing appeal for assistance, and part of whose army was then marching towards the town of Hooghly,—would speedily operate on their rear. Meanwhile, however, the English ships approached. On the 20th, they neared the place where the ships had been sunk. This however did not stop them. The French artilleryman, Terraneau, to whom we alluded as

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\* This fleet was composed of

<i>The Kent</i>	64	guns.	Captain Speke;
<i>The Tiger</i>	60	"	Captain Latham;
<i>The Salisbury</i>	50	"	Captain Knowler;
and other smaller vessels.			



co-operating in this work, had in consequence of some quarrel with Renault, deserted to the English, and had sold them the secret that the channel had not been entirely closed by the ships, but that there was way for a passage round them.\* This information proved to be correct. The task was then easy. On the morning of the 24th, the *Tiger*, having Admiral Pocock on board, sailing up till opposite the ravelin, compelled its evacuation; she then proceeded on and anchored opposite the north-east bastion. Admiral Watson's ship, the *Kent*, was not so fortunate. Assailed by a tremendous fire from the south-east bastion when about to anchor opposite the ravelin, her captain was killed, and the ship, drifting down, anchored, stern foremost, below the bastion. One consequence was that the *Salisbury* was unable to come up, and could exercise but a slight influence on the attack.

The French, by this time, had abandoned all their outside batteries and were concentrated within the fort. Here they were under the orders of de Vigne. But, with a limited garrison, many of them civilians, exposed for the first time to fire; having, too, to defend the land face against Clive, whilst he returned the fire of the ships from the river front, even his energy and courage were of but little use. It very soon became apparent that resistance was hopeless. After defending the place with great spirit† for three hours, and having lost 110 men, including the inhabitants, in killed and wounded, Renault determined to surrender. The white flag was therefore hoisted, the firing at once ceased, and at 3 p.m. conditions of capitulation were agreed upon.

By these it was arranged that the Director-General of the settlement, his councillors and civil officers, should go where they would, taking with them their effects; the Jesuits were

\* It may not be generally known that this Terraneau sent a portion of the price of his treason to France, for the use of his father, who was poor and old. It reached the old man safely, but as soon as he learned the means by which it had been acquired, he refused to touch, or to make use of, it. This information is on record at Chandernagore. The same story is also related by the translator of the *Saïr Mutakherin*, who adds that in despair at the style of his father's letter, Terraneau hanged himself at his own door with his own handkerchief.

† Dr. Edward Ives, surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship, and who was present at the attack, writes thus in his journal regarding the behaviour of the French: "It must be acknowledged that the French made a gallant defence; for they stood to their guns as long as they had any to fire. We never could learn how many of their men were killed and wounded on the whole; though they confessed they had forty dead carried from the south-east bastion. The north-east bastion was also cleared of its defenders twice."

permitted to take away their church ornaments, but the garrison remained prisoners of war. A few days after, the party at Kassimbazar under the command of Law, reinforced by some fifty of the garrison of Chandernagore, who had managed to escape when surrender was no longer doubtful, retired to Bhagulpore. Thenceforth they may be regarded rather as adventurers taking service under native princes than as an integral portion of the French power in India. It will be sufficient only to state that, to the last, Law remained true to his character for feebleness; that he remained at Bhagulpore whilst Plassey was being fought; that when a forward movement after that battle would have saved Suraj-ood-dowlah, he did not make it; and that finally, he was taken prisoner after the battle of Gyah in 1761, fighting gallantly it is true, atoning to some extent by his personal valour for his many faults as a general and a leader.

The capture of Chandernagore was not less a seal to French dominion in Bengal, than it was the starting point of British supremacy in that province. It was necessary for the schemes of Clive. With the example he had had before him of the constant warfare between the French and English in the Carnatic, he dared not hesitate, when he had the means in his power, and when the occasion was propitious, to prevent for ever the possibility of similar contests in Bengal. He crushed Chandernagore, just as, we believe, had Dupleix been at that settlement, Dupleix uniting with the Nawab would have striven to crush him. It was unfortunate for France that at such a crisis her interests were so feebly appreciated, that her representative at Pondichery possessed neither the foresight nor the energy to provide Chandernagore against a contingency that was always possible. The misfortune was fatal to her. Clive, freed from apprehension as to French rivalry, speedily overthrew the native powers in the country, not pausing till he had completed the conquest of the richest province of Hindostan; till, from Calcutta to Allahabad, the law of the English ruler was undisputed. Chandernagore, on the contrary, received her death-wound. Though restored to France, it has only been that she might drag out an existence replete with memories of former greatness; that she might witness, powerless to prevent it, the exaltation and supremacy of the nation with which, for eighty-one years, from 1676 to 1757, she had contested the trade of Bengal. This was but one result of the policy of a nation which could remove a Dupleix to replace him by a man who succeeded too surely in infusing his timid and feeble spirit into his subordinates.

We left Bussy at Masulipatam, engaged in settling the affairs of those four Circars, which the policy of Dupleix and his own

great ability had added to the district of Guntoor, previously ceded to the French. There he was, and there he continued till the close of that year (1754.) Godeheu, after many hesitations, had resolved to walk in the steps of Dupleix so far as to maintain Bussy and the French contingent at Hydrabad. "I feel," he said in a letter to Moracin, "all the necessity of not abandoning Salabut Jung in the position in which he now is, and I have, therefore, ordered M. de Bussy to rejoin him as soon as possible." It was in consequence of these instructions that Bussy, after settling the revenue administration of the ceded districts, and seeing French authority enforced from their most northern to their southern point, returned to Salabut Jung, and resumed his old position at his court.

It very soon appeared, however, that the recall of Dupleix and the substitution in his place of one so imbued with *doctrinaire* principles as was Godeheu, had made a profound impression upon the Mahomedan nobles in the Dekkan. To them, up to this point, the very name of Dupleix had had a magic sound; they had regarded him with respect, with veneration, with a sort of dread. He had combined in their eyes all the energy and daring of the Northern race with the tact, the subtlety, the management of the Eastern. Feeling that he was their master, they yet had not chafed under the yoke. Affection was mingled with their respect, and reverence with their dread. The Subadar himself had always addressed and spoken of him as his uncle. By all he was regarded as the leader who could not fail. And now, suddenly, he was dismissed—dismissed too with every mark of ignominy—dismissed to be replaced by one who openly declaimed against warlike enterprises, and declared that the mission of the French nation in Hindostan was purely commercial! This declaration sounded strange, indeed, in the ears of the proud nobles of the Dekkan,—the descendants of the men who had followed Akbar, who regarded commerce as the pursuit of an inferior race and of inferior men. Little likely were they to consent to remain subordinate for long to the representatives of such a policy! When we recollect too that with these accounts came also details of the triumphs of the English both on the field and in negotiation, we shall be able to understand how it was that a feeling of doubt and distrust began to undermine the confidence and regard which Bussy till then had known how to evoke towards himself, and his nation.

Nor was this feeling lessened by the communication made by Bussy to the Subadar, almost immediately after his return to Hydrabad in January, 1755, of the details of the treaty concluded between Godeheu and Saunders at the end of that month. In

the course of an interview granted for the purpose of hearing this communication, the Subadar, instructed beforehand by his advisers, inveighed bitterly against the new policy that had been inaugurated at Pondichery. "Your sovereign," said he, "promised to support me against my enemies, to establish my authority, and to make it respected. Of this you yourself have given me assurances on which I have always depended. Yet, I now hear everywhere that it is the king of England who specially concerns himself with the affairs of India, even with those which affect me." Bussy endeavoured to put the best possible gloss upon the proceedings of Godeheu. The Subadar and his ministers heard him but without being convinced. They were indignant that the fate of the Carnatic should have been settled without reference to the Subadar, its liege lord. "You have put me," said Salabut Jung, "in the balance against Mahomed Ali; you have allowed to be placed at the head of one of my tributary provinces a man whom I have never employed, who has always rebelled against my authority. Nay more, if I were to proceed to the Carnatic to drive him out of it, the English would support him, and you, on account of this truce, would hold back; you, who are engaged to support me on all occasions, would aid me neither against the English nor against Mahomed Ali." The Subadar concluded with these significant words,—words the more significant in that they were prophetic; in that the necessity for the ruler of the Dekkan to lean upon a stronger power, clearly seen then, has been admitted by all his successors, and has shaped the policy which has preserved to the province they have governed a vitality and a force, such as has rarely been witnessed when those conditions have been neglected. "You know," he said, "that the state of my affairs necessarily demands the support of an European power; on this condition I am able to govern; either you must remain here, or I must enlist the English in my interest. Are you disposed to render me the services which you have rendered hitherto? I must do you the justice to say that I am grateful for them; but it would appear now that you have neither the power nor the inclination."

To these questions, the natural result of the impressions produced on the native mind by the abnegation policy of Godeheu, Bussy could only reply generally. He declared that the French nation possessed the power, and would ever be influenced by the ardent desire to be of use to him; and that he would promise him beforehand that he would be as much satisfied with the future services of the French, as he had been with

those he had so cordially acknowledged. An opportunity soon presented itself to Bussy of giving a practical indication of his sincerity, endeavouring by these means to chase from the mind of Salabut Jung the thoughts regarding the English to which he had given utterance. As representative of the Mogul, the Subadar of the Dekkan possessed, in theory, feudal authority over all the countries south of the Vindya range. This authority never embraced, and never was intended to embrace, more than the right of levying an annual tribute, the token of the supremacy of the Delhi emperor. Its execution, even its recognition, depended solely on the power of coercion in the hands of the Subadar. Thus, theoretically, the rights extended over the Mahratta country; yet, so far from being exercised in any of the territories occupied by them, that free-booting people not only kept their own revenues to themselves, but were in the habit of extorting one-fourth of the yearly revenue due to the Mogul government from many villages and districts in the Dekkan. Mysore was equally liable in theory to the imposition, yet it was never acknowledged or paid, except when the Subadar was able to enforce it. For many years prior to the date at which we have arrived, Mysore, aided by the Mahrattas, had been comparatively strong, whilst the Dekkan, torn by internal factions and foreign invasions, had been powerless for aggression. But in 1755, Salabut Jung found himself undisputed master, at peace with his neighbours, and with a body of French in his pay. Mysore, on the contrary, had sent all her available forces to Trichinopoly, which her regent had pledged herself to reduce. It was nothing to the Subadar that the Mysoreans were also allied with the French; Bussy was bound to support him in all his enterprises. The opportunity likewise was too tempting to be foregone. A few days, therefore, after the interview we have recorded, the Subadar intimated his plans to the French leader, adding that he should require his co-operation.

Bussy felt all the difficulty of the situation. To march against the Mysoreans might be to dissolve their alliance with the French; to augment immensely, by throwing them into their hands, the influence of the English. To refuse to march, would be to annihilate French influence at Hyderabad, to impel the Subadar to summon the English to his aid. But in this crisis, the tact and ability for which Bussy had ever been remarkable did not fail him. He entered with apparent heartiness into the scheme of the Subadar, whilst he wrote at the same time to the regent of Mysore, warning him of the danger, and advising him to satisfy the claims urged against him. Meanwhile, the army

marched, Bussy at the head of his 500 French really directing the operations.

Deo Raj, brother of Nunderaj,—the regent who was conducting the operations of the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly,—would willingly have paid the tribute demanded by Salabut Jung, but his treasury was empty, and he was unable even to promise compliance. Trusting, therefore, to the anticipated slowness of the movements of the Mogul army, he despatched a messenger to his brother before Trichinopoly, requesting him to take the enemy in flank whilst they should be marching upon Seringapatam. The celerity of Bussy's movements, however, rendered such a manœuvre impossible. His very name struck terror into the Mysore soldiers, and disposed them to regard opposition as hopeless. The only fort that did not at once open its gates to him, Kongul, he stormed. Between that place and Seringapatam, a distance of fifty-four miles, there was nothing to oppose his progress. He rapidly traversed it, and appearing before Seringapatam on the third day, summoned it to surrender. It deserves to be recorded, that throughout this march, rapid as it was, he carefully guarded the interests of the Mysoreans, protecting them as much as possible from plunder and damage;—the main object he had in view being to paralyse, by the celerity of his march, all chance of opposition, and to bring the operations to a close with the least possible delay.

An event happened soon after his arrival at Seringapatam, which tended very much to bring about this desirable result. The Peshwa, Ballajee Bajee Rao, had not witnessed unmoved the Mahomedan invasion of Mysore, but he had deemed it more advisable to endeavour to share in the spoils of that country, rather than to send his squadrons to be repulsed by the invincible Bussy. He accordingly invaded Mysore from the side of Poona. No sooner did intelligence of this invasion reach Deo Raj, than to avoid the danger of being entirely swallowed up, he determined to agree to the demands of Salabut Jung. After some discussion it was arranged that the king of Mysore should acknowledge himself a tributary of the Mogul, through his agent, the Subadar of the Dekkan, and that he should pay to that officer, as arrears of tribute, five million two hundred thousand rupees. Salabut Jung, on his side, engaged to rid Mysore of its Mahratta invaders. To carry out his part of the contract, his treasury being empty, Deo Raj was compelled to strip the Hindoo temples of their ornaments, and to give up all the jewels of the royal family. Even then he collected but one-third of the amount demanded; for the remainder the

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Subadar was forced to accept bills.\* Bussy, on his side, persuaded Ballajee to retire with the booty he had collected. The army then quitted Seringapatam, in April, and returned to Hyderabad in the July following.

For the remainder of that year peace and quietness reigned in the Dekkan. Whilst de Leyrit was occupied in endeavouring to maintain in the manner we have described, and not wholly unsuccessfully, French influence in the Carnatic, Moracin in the ceded districts and Bussy at Hyderabad found their position easier than at the beginning of the year they had dared to anticipate. This was no doubt owing to the success that had attended the French arms against Mysore. In a letter† to Dupleix, alluding to Bussy's conduct on this occasion, de Leyrit had written as follows: "The position of M. Bussy in the Dekkan is as brilliant as ever. It may even be affirmed that since the expedition to Mysore his influence has increased. He escorted Salabut Jung into that country,\* and he managed matters so well between him and the king of Mysore, who was also our ally, that even whilst extorting fifty-two lakhs of rupees from the latter, he satisfied both. He is even now in correspondence with the Grand Vizier, and has lately received very flattering letters from the great Mogul." In the same letter may be traced the determination of de Leyrit to have recourse to any expedient rather than carry out the partition system agreed to by Godeheu. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this determination and these favourable reports, it soon became evident that the recall of Dupleix, the triumph of the English, as evinced by the installation of Mahomed Ali as Nawab, and the policy of non-interference announced by Godeheu, had been working with a fatal effect on the minds of the proud Mahomedan chieftains of the Dekkan. Of those who regarded the late occurrences as surely indicating the predominance of the English, the most considerable was the prime minister, Shah Nawaz Khan, a man who owed his elevation to Bussy, and upon whom Bussy believed he might surely count. But this chieftain had another reason for his action. Like Syud Luskhur before him he had become jealous of the influence exercised by Bussy in the councils of his master; he could not but see that in all important matters, the wishes of the French were consulted, their advantage was

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\* These bills were never paid; the bankers who were securities for them mostly languished and died in prison.—*Wilks.*

† Dated 16th October, 1755.

mainly studied. In his quiet oriental manner he took care that every transaction tending to bring out this feature should come under the notice of the Subadar, nor were insinuations wanting as to the drift of all the public measures proposed by the French statesman.

An opportunity soon offered which enabled him to confirm in the mind of the Subadar the vague impressions to which his insinuations had given birth. In the month of February, 1756, the Hydrabad government resolved to send an expedition against the Nawab of Savanore, the successor of one of the four Affghan chiefs who had conspired against Nazir Jung at Gingee, and against Mozaffur Jung at Kuddapah. This Nawab had steadily refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Salabut Jung, relying on the friendship of the Mahrattas. At the same time Morari Rao, the Mahratta, had occupied the state of Gooti, and maintained it against his superior, the Peshwa, relying upon the protection of Salabut Jung. But in 1756, the Subadar and the Peshwa, being on good terms, resolved each to renounce the protection of the dependents of the other, and to compel them to submission to lawful authority. In accordance with these views, the armies of both nations, Bussy accompanying the Subadar, moved against Savanore.

Morari Rao showed on this occasion that he united to the capacity of a warrior the spirit of a statesman. Knowing that an attack on Gooti would inevitably follow the reduction of Savanore, he resolved to make common cause with the Nawab, and to defend his own possessions behind the walls of the chief city of his Mahomedan ally. He accordingly threw himself into Savanore. But he no sooner beheld Bussy and his French, backed up by the army of Salabut Jung, with that of the Peshwa ready to follow, than he recognised the futility of resistance. Having made his own terms with the Nawab, he secretly opened negotiations with Bussy. It happened that for his services before Trichinopoly he had received from the French authorities a bond which the policy of Godeheu had deprived them of the power of redeeming. In his communication to Bussy, he now proposed to give up this bond, on condition that Bussy would use his good offices to obtain for him from the Peshwa the cession in perpetuity of the district of Gooti, in subordination, however, to the chief of the Mahrattas,—the Nawab of Savanore at the same time acknowledging the supremacy of the Subadar. Bussy, who had received from Salabut Jung full powers to treat, accepted these conditions, and did effectually carry them out,—he, according to the secret agreement, receiving back the French bond. It was impossible, however, to keep such



an arrangement long concealed from the watchful enemies of the French leader. The transaction had scarcely been concluded before all the details connected with it were in the possession of Shah Nawaz Khan. The Dewan instantly communicated them to Salabut Jung; he painted in its blackest colours the "crime" committed by Bussy; pointed out that he had deprived the Nawab of the treasures which the capture of Savanore would have gained for him, merely to put this bond into his own pocket; called attention to the fact that notwithstanding that a Frenchman had been appointed Nawab of the Carnatic no rents had been received from the French; he intimated that now was the time for their expulsion, now, when he was at peace with the Mahrattas, when Ballajee himself would support him in his action, now, when Bussy was on the borders of the Mahratta country, cut off from the ceded provinces, from Hyderabad, and Pondichery. All these arguments, artfully inflamed, and supported by a large party amongst the nobility, so worked upon the feeble mind of Salabut Jung, that he was at last prevailed upon to sign an order dismissing Bussy and his corps from his service, and directing them to quit his territories without delay: to this was added a proviso, not intended to be kept, that they should not be molested on their way, except in case of their commencing hostilities.

The blow once struck, Shah Nawaz prepared to follow it up effectually. He instantly despatched a special messenger to the Madras government, giving full details of the operation, and requesting that the English would at once send a body of troops to aid in the expulsion of the French; to the Peshwa the proposition was of a different nature; he suggested the assassination of Bussy.

Both these applications failed, though from different causes. The English, who had nothing more at heart than the expulsion of the French from the Dekkan, who, in the early part of this very year had sent a force to the Bombay coast with the hope that it would be employed with Ballajee against the Subadar, received, indeed, the application of Salabut Jung and his minister with extraordinary pleasure, and at once transmitted to him a most favourable reply. A force of 300 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy were ordered into the field; they were on the point even of setting out, when there arrived from Bengal that disastrous intelligence of the capture of Calcutta, which compelled them to send every available man in that direction. From the English, therefore, Shah Nawaz received no aid.

Nor was he more successful with the Peshwa. Ballajee, indeed, received the project for assassination with disdain; but he did not the less, for his own secret ends, encourage Shah

Nawaz to procure the dismissal of Bussy. The real reason was, that he felt that as long as the Subadar should have in his service a leader so capable and troops so brave and disciplined, so long would the Dekkan be proof against the ambitious designs he had formed against it. He was anxious, therefore, not only that the Subadar should dismiss Bussy, but that, the dismissal having been effected, he might secure his services for himself. He, therefore, urged on the Subadar up to the point of dismissal, but aided him no further.

The conduct of Bussy on receiving this abrupt and contemptuous dismissal from the service of the Subdar deserves to be studied and admired. Of all the courses open to him, he chose the wisest and most prudent, that which marked him as a man who knew thoroughly how to keep all his passions under efficient control. He was well aware of his own strength. He knew that with the 600 European infantry, 200 European cavalry, and the 5,000 drilled sepoy of whom his force was composed, he could bid defiance to all the efforts of the Subadar; that he could force him to dismiss from his service, and submit to condign punishment, all those who had plotted against him; he knew that it needed but the faintest whisper to Ballajee to pour a Mahratta army into the Dekkan. But he was guided by other considerations than by a mere desire for vengeance, or by an anxiety to replace himself by force. He could not forget, in fact, that his position at Hyderabad had been the consequence of the earnest requests of the Subadar; that he had thus ever been regarded, at least, by the outer world, as conferring a favour by his stay; he could not forget that, though he might forcibly reinstate himself, that very resort to force would entirely change his position: that from being the invited protector, he would become the hated subjugator; nor that, sooner or later, under such circumstances, his fall would be inevitable. He knew, on the other hand, the facile disposition of the Subadar; he knew that he was acting merely from the influence of others; that in a little time he would feel the want of the counsels to which he was accustomed, the worthlessness of his new advisers. Under these circumstances he felt that it was his policy to act, as he had ever before acted, as the faithful servant of the Subadar; to obey his orders and instructions, leaving it to time to bring about that change which he distinctly saw looming in the future. No sooner then had he received the order dismissing him, than he prepared to march by way of Hyderabad to Masulipatam, there to await the course of events.

No sooner had he set out, (the 25th May), than he received a messenger from Ballajee, conveying his congratulations on having

quitted 'so perfidious and ungrateful' \* a nation as the Moguls and offering him at his own court the same position, the same emoluments, and the same allowances to his troops that had been granted at the court of the Subadar. But Bussy knew well the difference between acting as auxiliary to an able and capable leader, the head of the rising power of India, and being the moving spring of all public matters in the Dekkan; to have accepted it would have been to isolate himself from his own people at Pondichery, and to throw the Subadar definitively into the hands of the English. Pleading, therefore, the necessity of first obtaining orders from Pondichery, Bussy, though with many expressions of friendship and good will, declined the proffered alliance and continued his march. Ballajee, however, to ingratiate himself still more with one whom he so highly honoured, knowing too the hopes and intentions of Shah Nawaz Khan, despatched 6,000 horse under the command of one of the greatest of the Mahratta leaders, Málhar Rao Holkar, to escort the French troops until they should be out of reach of pursuit on the part of the Subadar. In this, doubtless, he had a double object, for any attack made on the French whilst Mulhar Rao should be with them, would give him just grounds for interfering in the affairs of the Dekkan, and he would then find himself fighting side by side with the French.

But Bussy was not to be entrapped into hostilities. He accepted the escort, but at the end of eight days he dismissed it with many presents and protestations of regard. Scarcely, however, had the intelligence of this occurrence reached the camp of the Subadar, than Shah Nawaz, who, from the fear of embroiling himself with the Mahrattas, had hitherto restrained his longing desires, despatched 25,000 men, under the command of one of his best generals, Meer Jaffier Ali, with orders to attack and destroy the French. Instructions were, at the same time, expedited to all the governors and the officers of the provinces to obstruct in every possible manner the retreat of the French; to hover around them; to remove all supplies from their path; to make, in fact, their march through the disturbed country, with an enemy hanging on their rear, absolutely impossible.

The position of Bussy had thus become both difficult and dangerous. From the south-west extremity of the Dekkan, he had to make his way to Hyderabad in its centre, thence, possibly, to the ceded districts on the western coast; this too, through a hostile population, in a difficult country, with the Kistna to cross, and pursued by a large army. He was not, however,

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\* Orme, who says, "these were his expressions."

appalled by any one of these considerations. His great object was to push on so as to reach the Kistna whilst it should be fordable. He did not doubt then that he would gain Hyderabad.

Fortune favoured him, as she always does favour those who are bold, self-reliant, and courageous. Arriving on the banks of the Kistna, though after many skirmishes with the levies that sprung up on the order of the minister all around him, he found that the rains, though threatening, had not fallen, and that the river was fordable. No sooner, however, had he crossed it than the waters commenced to swell, and for fifteen days imposed an impassable barrier between himself and his pursuers. At ease regarding his men he marched then leisurely to Hyderabad. There he resolved to make a stand. Policy counselled no further retreat. At Hyderabad, he was in the centre of the kingdom, at no impossible distance from Pondichery, within easy communication with Masulipatam; to have retreated to that place would have been to abandon the Dekkan. Time also was with him; for he could not doubt that the Subadar, a man of a fearful and timid nature, surrounded by men whom he distrusted, would soon feel the want of that firm support that had never failed him in the time of need. Urged by these varying considerations, he resolved to await at Hyderabad the reinforcements which, he doubted not, would be sent him from Pondichery. As, however, the city was in itself too extensive to be defended by so small a force, he took post in the vice-regal garden of Char Mahal, a walled enclosure about 500 yards square in the north-west angle of the town, on the banks of the river Moussi. This garden contained buildings capable of lodging his soldiers, it had a tank in its centre, and Bussy had well supplied it with provisions. It is a signal proof of the influence he possessed with the natives of the city, that, before even he entered it, when the governor had notified everywhere his hostility to the French, and when it was known he was being hunted out of the province by order of the Subadar, he was able to raise from the native bankers, on his own credit, a sufficient sum to settle the arrears of his army, and even to have a supply in hand. It deserves to be noted, that upon his sepoy, even thus early, he found he could place little dependence, for they began, after his arrival at Hyderabad, to desert him in great numbers. Bussy nevertheless remained in the open plain near the city, continually skirmishing with the enemy, whose detachments arrived fifteen days after him, till he had completed his arrangements regarding the Char Mahal. He then moved into it, but slightly molested, on the 5th July.

Four days after his entry into the Char Mahal, Jaffier Ali and the bulk of his army arrived, and for the following five weeks Bussy was exposed to their incessant attacks. His sepoys almost entirely abandoned him. Shah Nawaz Khan had hired a native soldier of fortune, one Murzuffer Beg,—who in previous campaigns had commanded the sepoys under Bussy, and who had obtained over them very great influence,—to debauch them from their allegiance. He succeeded only too well; on the occasion of every sortie, whole bodies of them went over to the enemy. Their conduct at length determined Bussy, notwithstanding that he had gained several brilliant successes in the field, to confine himself to the defence of the garden.

Meanwhile, intelligence of some of these events had reached de Leyrit at Pondichery and Moracin at Masulipatam. The action of both of these officers was prompt and energetic. De Leyrit at once detached 320 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and six field-pieces in the ship *Favourite* to Masulipatam. But before they could arrive Moracin had collected the scattered garrisons of the ceded districts, amounting in all to 160 Europeans and 700 sepoys, and placing them under the orders of M. Law, had directed him to force his way to Hyderabad, there to effect a junction with Bussy.

This was the same Law whom we met, six years earlier, combating against Clive and Lawrence before Trichinopoly, and forced, through his own bad generalship and incapacity, to yield himself and the greater part of his force prisoners of war. Exchanged in due course by the English, Law was at once placed under arrest for his conduct pending orders from France; but he was ultimately released, though with the intention of not employing him again in important military commands. On the arrival of Godeheu, he had been sent into the Dekkan to act under the orders of Bussy, who, on his own departure for Savanore with the Subadar, had sent him to Moracin. It thus strangely happened that the measures which had been taken to prevent his being employed in command, were the actual cause of his being placed at the head of so important an expedition as the relief of Bussy.

Law set out from Masulipatam at the head of his 160 Europeans, 700 sepoys, and five guns, on the 16th July, and reached Beizwarra, a town on the north bank of the Kistna, on the 20th. The excessive rains and the inundations of the Kistna fortunately detained him here several days, for, meanwhile the *Favourite* had arrived at Masulipatam, and the troops she brought with her, under the command of M. d'Arambare, a most capable officer, were able to join him before they

were in a position to move forwards. Law, as the senior officer, at once assumed command of the whole party, and leaving Beizwarra on the 3rd, arrived on the 10th at Mognapara, about fifty-two miles from Hyderabad.

Up to this point Law had met with no enemies. But his troubles were only now to commence. Salabut Jung himself had reached Hyderabad on the 1st August, and it was believed by the French in the Char Mahal that his arrival would be celebrated by an attempt to storm their position. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed near the Subadar; and it was resolved, instead of storming the place, to adopt the surer plan of intercepting and destroying the party marching to the relief of Bussy. This, it was believed, would render his destruction inevitable.

Under ordinary circumstances, due consideration being had to the character of the officer commanding the relieving party, this might have been quite possible, and considerable credit is due to Shah Nawaz Khan for preferring such a plan to the more showy scheme of an assault upon the Char Mahal. But in dealing with Bussy he had to do with a man who was not accustomed to be foiled, and whose resources were inexhaustible. It must not be supposed that when Shah Nawaz persuaded the Subadar to dismiss Bussy, he was supported by the entire voice of the nobility of the Dekkan. He had, indeed, at the moment, from various causes, a considerable party at his back, probably a numerical majority, but there were many, some of them very considerable men, who had remained thorough partisans of the French connexion. These were unable at the time to show their sentiments in any other manner than by communicating to Bussy all that passed in the camp of the Subadar. But there were others who were able to render him still greater service. In the service of Salabut Jung, were two Mahratta chieftains, tributaries bound to follow him in the field, Ramchunder Jadow and Janojee Nimbalkur; they commanded 6,000 horse, and, up to the time of which we are writing, had been conspicuous for the efficiency and gallantry of their action. On one occasion, indeed, Janojee had intercepted a corps of 600 Arabs and Abyssinians on their way to join Bussy from Surat, and, killing fifty, had made the rest prisoners. But with both these men Bussy had come to an understanding. He arranged with them that in the projected attack upon Law, they should only feign to take a part, and they had promised to hang out distinctive banners as an indication to the French leader that from them he had nothing to fear. Due intimation of this was at once despatched to Law.

Meanwhile, that officer, ignorant as yet of the means taken by Bussy to save him, had moved on the 11th from Mognapara, and entered a country, hilly and wooded, full of defiles, offering abundant opportunities to an enemy to retard his progress. In advance were 400 sepoy under the command of Mahmood Khan; then came the main body of the French, with the remainder of the sepoy in the rear. After marching nine miles, some parties of the enemy appeared on the road; upon which the 400 French sepoy, who had been already corrupted by the intrigues of Murzuffer Beg, went over to them in a body. The French were immediately attacked by the enemy, who harassed them by constant firing and desultory charges as they threaded their way through the defile. At length, however, they came to an open plain in which the French drew up and halted for the night. The enemy, whose powder had been damped by a heavy rain that had fallen, retreated to a little village at the foot of a hill. Before daybreak, the French marched against this village, and though surrounded by the Mahratta cavalry, they pushed on,—the body of horsemen commanded by Janojee and Ramchunder acting against them only in appearance. Another chieftain, however, not in league with Bussy, made a sweep upon their cattle and baggage-carriage, and carried them all off. This was a serious loss; nevertheless, as their only hope lay in advancing, Law pushed on to the village, and resting there all day, forced his way in the night to Meliapore, through a very difficult country, every inch of which he had to contest by the enemy. During the day he received from Bussy the letter sent to inform him of the arrangements made with the Mahratta chiefs. At Meliapore, which was about seventeen miles from Hyderabad, he put up in a ruined mud-fort near the town.

Hitherto Law had shown an amount of dash and energy, such as those who had studied his previous career would not have given him credit for. So long as he was moving on, the mere action of advancing, and the example set by his lieutenant d'Armbure, sustained him. But he had scarcely seen his men safely within the mud-fort of Meliapore before the old Seringham spirit came over him. Not that his losses had been heavy; only two men had been killed and but three wounded; but they were all exhausted by fatigue; the Mahratta cavalry had swept off their bullocks; and their carriage had been rendered nearly useless: the next march too was more difficult than any of the former.\* Law decided, therefore, to halt where he was, till at least the men should have

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\* Orme, from whom the details of this march are mainly taken.

recovered from their fatigue. It was not a wise resolve. Asiatic troops can bear anything but the onward march of Europeans; that at once unnerves them; but let the Europeans halt and the power of the Asiatic is increased by one half; let the Europeans falter or show a disposition to retire;—then, man for man, the Asiatic is his equal. The greatest European generals who have served in India have succeeded because they understood this, because they never hesitated to act upon it; Law, who was not a great general, neither understood nor conformed to it.

Law halted. With that halt, the dangers of his position, on which, in action, his mind would have had no time to dwell, became exaggerated tenfold to his mental vision. He began by degrees to lose sight of the great end for which he had set out from Masulipatam. His mind fell gradually under the conviction that it was for Bussy to relieve him, not for him to relieve Bussy. His situation assumed the most deplorable hues;—all appeared lost. The other officers caught the infection from their leader; and in a council of war it was resolved to send a letter to Bussy intimating the impossibility of further advance.

Bussy received this letter on the night of the 12th August on his return from a successful night attack on the enemy's camp, made solely by his Europeans. It perplexed him exceedingly, but knowing that the detachment was strong enough to force its way to Hyderabad, neutralised as had been the opposition of two of the Mahratta chieftains, he sent Law a despatch conveying, 'in the name of the King,' a categorical order to march forward at once and under all circumstances. At the same time, to paralyse any further movement on the part of the enemy, he marched out of the Char Mahal at the head of 150 Europeans and 300 sepoys, crossed the bridge over the Moussi, and pitching his own tent, known to every one in the Dekkan, on the other side, encamped there.

This single act on the part of Bussy showed not less courage and daring than a profound and intimate knowledge of the native character. He knew the impressionable minds, the light and credulous nature, of the people of the Dekkan. He knew that the fact of his tent being pitched outside the Char Mahal would of itself be sufficient to magnify tenfold the number of men by whom he was accompanied; that it would keep the entire force of the enemy on the *qui vive*, expecting an attack, not daring to make one. He knew that it would have the effect of preventing a single man being sent to reinforce the party that had been detached against Law. The result proved the clearness and excellence of his judgment. Not only did Shah Nawaz Khan make every preparation against attack, but he even



recalled the troops that he had detached the previous day to assist in the destruction of Law.

Meanwhile, that leader, on receiving Bussy's letter, had given the order to march. At 9 o'clock on the evening of the 14th, he set out, leading the advance himself, leaving the rear, the post of honour, to d'Armbure. The country between Meliapore and the little river Cingoram consisted of a long and difficult defile of four miles in length,—which, during their four days' rest at Meliapore, the enemy had considerably strengthened. This defile led into a thick copse, between which and the river the country was comparatively open; between the river and the town of Hyatnuggur, a distance of six miles, the country bore the same open character. Once arrived at that place, nothing could prevent their effecting a junction with Bussy.

During that long night, the French laboured vigorously to burst through the four miles of defile. In endeavouring to effect this movement, the brunt of the action fell upon d'Armbure; for Kandagla, the Mahratta chieftain who had not been gained over, entering the pass with his cavalry and infantry, took every opportunity of harassing and charging their rear-guard, whilst the party in advance, slowly and with difficulty, surmounted the obstacles in front of them. These obstacles consisted of felled trees, strong positions occupied by the enemy, sharp turns in the rock round which the guns had to be moved amid a continued fire; so great were they, that when day dawned, the French had advanced but three miles.

There remained now only one mile more of the defile. But with break of day the attacks of the enemy redoubled in intensity. D'Armbure plied the two field-pieces he had with him, no less than the small arms of his Europeans, with unabated vigour, but the enemy rode right up to the muzzle of his guns, and attacked with unwonted daring. At last as the sun rose the French emerged from the defile into the plain. Then, forming up, they allowed a party of the Mahrattas to follow them, but no sooner had these appeared in sufficient numbers than they opened out a heavy fire from all their pieces in the direction of the mouth of the defile. This had the effect of dispersing the greater part of the cavalry. Many, however, rode round to gain the river before the French to dispute with them its passage. This little river runs in a deep cleft between two high banks, the further of which was occupied by the enemy. It was necessary, therefore, that Law should keep the nearer bank in his own possession, till with a part of his men he should have driven the enemy from the further. It was arranged accordingly that whilst he crossed with the infantry, d'Armbure with all the guns,

should at the same time cover his passage, and keep off the enemy, who were collecting in large bodies in the rear. This service was performed by d'Arambure with great skill and gallantry. From the eastern bank of the river, he maintained a simultaneous fire on the enemy on the western bank, and on the enemy behind him. Having thus ensured Law's safe passage, he crossed his guns one by one, still keeping up a fire on the enemy,—the guns as they crossed being placed in position on the other side to cover his final movement. In this manner he effected the passage in safety, the Mahrattas never daring to come very near him.

The river crossed, the way was comparatively easy. Hydrabad was in view, and the sight cheered the hearts of the tired soldiers. Though surrounded and harassed, they pushed on, favoured considerably by the merely feigned action of Janojee and Ramchunder. It was not, however, till 5 p.m. that they reached the town of Hyatnuggur, having thus marched twenty-two hours without intermission, overcoming obstacles which alone were most difficult, but which were increased tenfold by the unceasing attacks of the enemy. Their losses had not been light: 25 Europeans, two of them officers, had been killed, 65 wounded; the sepoys, who were more in number, had likewise suffered more. Of the enemy it was calculated that upwards of 2,000 were killed: no wonder, when we find that the French fired 40,000 musket cartridges besides their field-pieces.\*

Four hours later Bussy heard of the arrival of the detachment at Hyatnuggur. He at once sent out a party he had before organised, consisting of 140 Europeans, 1,000 sepoys, with a large proportion of carriage for the sick and wounded, and with provisions, to bring them in. To prevent any attack being made upon this party, he availed himself of the opportunity to beat up the Subadar's camp with his remaining forces. Everything turned out as he had wished, and at ten o'clock the next morning, Law's detachment entered Hydrabad, without having seen an enemy between that place and Hyatnuggur.

The arrival, an hour later, of a messenger from the Subadar with proposals for an accommodation, showed Bussy that he had not ventured in too sanguine a spirit to maintain his post at Hydrabad. He felt again, as he had felt before at Aurungabad in 1758, that he was absolute master of the situation. Again too he evinced his unsurpassed tact and judgment in not insisting too strongly on concessions, which his position as master would have enabled him to enforce. He wished to return to his post on the invitation of the Subadar, to efface by his own dutiful conduct every recollection of the past three months,—

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\* Orme. *Vide* also the *Sâir Mutakherin*.

that alone excepted which fixed in the mind of the Subadar the conviction of French invincibility, of the absolute necessity of their presence as supporters of the vice-regal throne. He, therefore, imposed no terms beyond the abandonment of Murzufer Beg and the deserter Mahmood Khan; he did not even stipulate for the removal of Shah Nawaz Khan; he himself was to be received only in his former position, as the officer in the Dekkan whose authority was second only to that of Salabut Jung himself. On these conditions a reconciliation was effected, and on the 20th August, just three months after his dismissal, Bussy was publicly reinstated by the Subadar in all his titles, dignities, and honours.

Never, perhaps, had any statesman been subjected in a similar period to a harder trial. It is scarcely too much to say that one false step would have ruined him. Yet, however narrowly we may examine all the movements of Bussy in this critical period, we shall be unable to detect the faintest impress even of a turn in the wrong direction. From the very first, he did what was right, though exposed to numerous temptations to do what was wrong. His refusal alike of the Mahratta alliance and the Mahratta aid; his march on Hyderabad; his determination to wait there instead of moving on to the ceded provinces; his requests to the governments of Pondichery and Masulipatam to order the reinforcements, not to cover his retreat to the latter place, but to meet him at Hyderabad; his positive order to Law to move on; his own choice of the Char Mahal; the means he adopted to employ the main army whilst Law should be approaching; his firm consistency in refusing every offer to treat, except upon the condition of absolute reinstatement,—all these acts stamp him as a general and a statesman of the very first order. We can no longer wonder at his great influence, his greater reputation; we cease to be surprised that his name should have been invoked by all the principal opponents of English progress in Bengal as the name of one who was invincible, who would paralyse their onward march, and at some unexpected moment hurl them into the sea. We can but admire the tact, the judgment, the coolness, the address, and the valour, displayed, not in the heyday of prosperity, but under circumstances most difficult and most trying,—not when he had leisure to deliberate, but when the pressure of events was at its strongest, when upon the decision of the moment depended glory or shame.

Yet, successful as he was, triumphing as he did over difficulties almost unexampled and dangers apparently overwhelming, it is impossible that a critical observer should fail to remark the

immense importance to England of the events of those three months. When we recall to mind that the English were at that very time preparing for the re-conquest of Bengal; that their operations against Calcutta did not have effect till the end of December, nor against Chandernagore till the middle of the following March; that meanwhile Madras was denuded of troops, and all the strong places in the Presidency were left to fall into the hands of the French; that the news of the declaration of war reached Pondichery in November; we can easily imagine the effect which Bussy, trusted by the Subadar and his court, secure of his position at Hyderabad and in the ceded provinces, could have produced either in Bengal or at Madras. There would have been nothing to prevent him from co-operating with the Pondichery authorities against Madras itself, or from moving rapidly with 800 or 1,000 veteran Europeans through Orissa into Bengal. ~~France~~ <sup>France</sup> making one or other of these attempts he was prevented by this three months' campaign in the heart of the Dekkan, and by that alone. Though victorious in that campaign, his confidential intercourse with the Subadar and his ties with the other chiefs had been, in the interval, rudely shaken; and not only that, but the officials established by himself in the ceded provinces, seized the opportunity to endeavour to rid themselves of the rule of France, and to establish their independence. Instead, therefore, of operating against the chief possessions of the English, and of crushing them in Bengal or at Madras, the events consequent upon his sudden dismissal from the service of the Subadar compelled Bussy to forego that grand opportunity, in order to devote all his efforts to the re-establishment of French power in the provinces ceded to Pondichery. Who shall say then how much the English are not indebted to that abortive effect of Shah Nawaz Khan?

From the 26th August to the 16th November Bussy continued at Hyderabad, interfering as little as possible with the affairs of the Subadar, but engaged in arranging for the prevention of the possibility of being subjected in any future time to a similar danger. Having effected this, so far as it was possible for him to effect it, he proceeded on the last-mentioned date towards the ceded provinces, at the head of 500 Europeans and 4,000 sepoy, there to re-establish his authority. With the Subadar, who was about to proceed to Aurungabad, he left 200 Europeans and 500 sepoy under a trusted officer.

It is unnecessary to enter into minute details regarding the successful march of Bussy throughout these provinces. His principal object was to reward those who had remained faithful to the French in their hour of dilty, to punish the chiefs

who had evinced disaffection or who had rebelled. Nowhere, except at Bobilee, did he meet with any real opposition. At this place, however,—the Rajah of which had a private quarrel with one of Bussy's most trusted feudatories,—the resistance was so determined, that the defenders stabbed their wives and children, and then threw themselves on the bayonets of the French, rather than surrender. From these districts, by order of de Leyrit, he had despatched Law with 61 men into Bengal, to strengthen the garrisons at Chandernagore and at Kassimbazar. It had been his own intention to follow him so soon as the pacification of the ceded districts had been concluded. This, however, could not be brought about until April; he was then preparing to set out, when the fatal tidings reached him of the surrender of the French settlement on the Hooghly.\* Considering it too late then to start upon such an expedition, he proceeded to the reduction of the English factory of Vizagapatam. This he accomplished, the garrison surrendering at discretion, on the 25th June. The English factories of Madapollam, Bundermalanka and Ingeram, situated on the three arms of the Godavery near its mouth, surrendered likewise to his detachments. Whilst thus engaged, however, the intrigues of Shah Nawaz Khan had once more brought affairs of the Dekkan to the verge of a revolution. Intelligence of this reached Bussy at the end of the year, just after he had completed the pacification of the ceded provinces, and forced him to set out, without any delay, for Aurungabad. It will be necessary, before we accompany him, to give a brief outline of the events which thus called him from his post.

It will be recollected that the former Dewan, Syud Lushkur Khan, had endeavoured to instil into the mind of the Subadar suspicions of Bussy, and had persuaded him to imprison his two brothers, thinking that the French leader, interceding on their behalf, would convert those suspicions into certainty. We have seen likewise how the conduct of Bussy completely frustrated this intrigue. The confinement of the princes did not long follow the fall of Syud Lushkur, for the Subadar, completely reassured as to Bussy, and following his advice, almost immediately released them, giving them each a liberal income, but without any administrative or political power. Thus they continued till the period of Bussy's dismissal in May, 1756. Then it was that Nawaz Khan, dreading the facile

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\* It is clear from this that but for the three months' campaign, the events of which we have recorded, and their consequences in the ceded provinces, Bussy would have marched to Bengal in time to prevent the capture of Chandernagore by the English.

character of Salabut Jung, and fearing that he would recall the French, hoping more from the determined character of the next brother, Nizam Ali, persuaded the Subadar to confide to him the government of Berar, and to Bussalut Jung, the younger, the government of the province of Adoni. The possession of some power would not fail, he knew, to induce them to aspire to more.

The success of Bussy at Hydrabad delayed for some time the plans that Shah Nawaz had formed, but as the French leader did not interfere after his own reinstatement with the arrangements made by Salabut Jung regarding his brothers, Shah Nawaz took advantage of the subsequent march of Bussy to the ceded districts to renew them. In the month of May following, affairs appeared to him ripe for a movement. He took advantage, then, of the death of his predecessor, Syud Lushkur, to summon the fortress of Dowlutabad, in which the treasures of the deceased minister, computed at nearly a million sterling, and which of right reverted to the Subadar, were stated to be concealed, and which the governor refused to deliver up. At the end of a month Dowlutabad surrendered, and was immediately taken possession of by Shah Nawaz, the office of governor being bestowed upon a dependent of his own. His object was to take an early opportunity of confining the Subadar in Dowlutabad,\* of then proclaiming Nizam Ali, and of expelling the French from the Dekkan. The more effectually to carry out this plan he invoked the assistance of the Mahrattas,\* who, the better to aid him, were to appear under their ordinary guise of enemies.

No sooner was it known that the Mahrattas under the son of the Peshwa, Wiswas Rao, were approaching Aurungabad, than Shah Nawaz, under the pretext of massing all the forces of the province to oppose him, summoned Nizam Ali to that city. Bussalut Jung had preceded him. Immediately there was let loose a whole network of intrigue, which, balancing now to one side now to the other, ended in the investiture of Nizam Ali with the administrative work of the province, the title of Subadar only being left to Salabut Jung. Bussalut Jung was at the same time appointed keeper of the great seal. So entire was the transfer of power that but for the presence of the 200 French troops, the life of Salabut Jung would probably have been sacrificed; certainly he would have been effectually deprived of his liberty.

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\* Grant Duff considers it probable that the Peshwa himself designed the plot.

Such was the state of affairs when Bussy, marching quickly from the ceded provinces, arrived at Aurungabad. Nizam Ali in command of the army, Bussalut Jung his nominated minister, Salabut Jung a cypher, Shah Nawaz Khan in possession of the fortress of Dowlutabad, &c—all waiting for the movement which should deprive Salabut Jung of even the shadow of power. It is curious to notice how all these intrigues were disconcerted by the presence of Bussy. Having by a stratagem possessed himself of Dowlutabad, he imposed his law upon the brothers of the Subadar. Bussalut Jung he proposed to attach to the interests of Salabut Jung, Nizam Ali to invest with the government of Hyderabad, where he would be easily accessible to the French. All these arrangements had been concluded, when, on the eve of his departure for Hyderabad, Nizam Ali enticed the Dewan of M. Bussy, by name Hyder Jung, into his own tent, and caused him to be assassinated. In the tumult that followed, Shah Nawaz Khan was killed, whilst Nizam Ali fled for his life to Burhanpore, one hundred and fifty miles north of Aurungabad.

The flight of Nizam Ali simplified the arrangements that had been proposed, and which were in no other way altered than by his removal from the government of Hyderabad. An attempt, indeed, was made to pursue him, but it was speedily countermanded, and Bussy, more secure than ever in his position, prepared to accompany the Subadar and his new minister to Hyderabad. Here he arrived on the 15th July, and found waiting for him a letter from the Count de Lally, dated the 13th June, ordering him to repair at once to Arcot, leaving no French with the Subadar, and only so many in the ceded provinces as would be sufficient to maintain them. He was instructed to make over the command of these troops to M. de Conflans, an officer recently arrived from Europe, and who had but just joined him on the march, and to bring with him Moracin, who had hitherto administered the affairs of Masulipatam.

This letter was like a thunderbolt to Bussy as well as to Salabut Jung. It called upon the former to renounce at once the work of the past seven years and a half, to give up the province to maintain which Dupleix had not hesitated to risk the loss of the Carnatic, and Bussy had devoted, to an extent bordering on the superhuman, his never-tiring energies. He had however only to obey.\* But the Subadar, who had leant so long

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\* In his reply, dated the 15th July, Bussy writes: "I reply at once to the letter you have done me the honour to write to me on the 13th June last, which I received yesterday evening at 9 o'clock. There is one thing, Sir, which I have always known how to do better than anything else; it is to obey; and although your orders throw me into the

upon Bussy, who had so recently experienced the advantage of his alliance, could not but regard it as a fatal blow. "He took leave of Bussy," writes Mr. Orme, "with the utmost despondency, called him the guardian angel of his life and fortune, and foreboded the unhappy fate to which he should be exposed by his departure." But there was no help for it. Bussy endeavoured, indeed, to cheer him up by the promise of a return in which he himself, at the time, really believed. Five days later, at the head of all his troops, he set out, and reached Weyoor on the north of the Kistna on the 3rd August. Here having been joined by Moracin, he made over the government of Masulipatam to M. de Conflans, then,—most fatally for French interests,—turned for ever his back on the provinces he had gained for France, to join, with 250 Europeans and 500 sepoy, the new commander whose exploits we purpose to record in our next number.

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"greatest perplexity, considering the fearful situation in which I am, "I proceed to execute them with the utmost promptitude." The remainder of his letter is taken up in explaining the state of affairs as they affected him and the projected movement.



- ART. II.—1. *Report upon the Forests of the Punjab and the Western Himalaya*, by H. Cleghorn, M.D., Conservator of Forests. 1864.
2. *Reports upon the Deodar Forests of Bissahir*, by D. Brandis, PH.D., Deputy Inspector-General of Forests; Dr. J. L. Stewart and Captain Wood, Officiating Conservators of Forests. 1865.
3. *Report on the Deodar Forests on the Bias*, 1865. *On the Chenab and Ravi*, 1866. By Dr. J. L. Stewart, Conservator, Punjab.
4. *Annual Reports of Forest Administration in the Punjab*, 1863-4, 1864-5, and 1865-6.
5. *Ladak*, by Alexander Cunningham, Brevet Major, Bengal Engineers. 1864.
6. *Hoffmeister's Travels*. 1843.
7. *Major Madden on Himalayan Coniferae*. *Journal Agricultural Society of India*. Vols. IV. VII. VIII. 1846-49.

WHEN, in a late number of this *Review*, the subject of Forest Conservancy was dealt with, it was merely in relation to its general principles, and without special application to particular parts of India, or even as a rule to India at all. We now propose to treat this important subject with reference to a particular province of the empire, and in choosing the Punjab for this purpose, we have been guided by various considerations.

Firstly, then, the Punjab has special necessities as regards forest conservancy, and in it certain measures have been or are being adopted to meet these necessities. Then it so happens that numerous reports relating to forest conservancy have been printed, and so rendered easily accessible, in the Punjab. These present a mass of matter which is frequently intensely statistical or technical, and which contains nothing very lively or sensational, but which has been put together with intelligence, and is calculated to give full information on the various subjects treated. Partly because these reports have been placed

at our disposal, and partly from other causes, we are in a better position to deal with the subject in that province, than perhaps in any other part of India. And, lastly, the recently established Punjab Forest Department has lately been exposed to floods of comment in several of the less influential up-country newspapers, in which the line is often not very clearly defined between fair criticism and interested oburgation, between an intelligent statement of facts and an ignorant or one-sided representation of fancies. Thus it seems to us that it may be well to attempt to enlighten the minds of those, whether in or out of the Punjab, who care, or ought to know something of the truth on this subject, some parts of which, indeed, may not prove uninteresting to the general reader.

A remark made by the Secretary to the Punjab Government in the Public Works Department, that previous to the annexation of the province by the British, the chief supplies of Himalayan timber were derived from the drift-wood brought down by the various rivers, is probably tolerably correct. For it is not likely that up to that time much timber was felled in the interior for export to the plains. Still there were doubtless exceptions. For example, we know of considerable felling for export upon the Ravi and Biás years before annexation. And it ought to be kept in mind that Greek historians record how the great Macedonian conqueror built fleets of boats from pine-wood on at least one of the Punjab rivers.

But it may be conceded that practically the first great impetus given to felling deodar for export to the plains occurred soon after annexation, when the British began to settle down in the land of the five rivers, and barracks were wanted for the soldiers, and bungalows for the officers. It was soon found that the supply of deodar brought down the great rivers, was by no means adequate to the demand for these purposes. And at that time it does not appear to have been appreciated, that the chief cause of its scantiness was the want of organizing power of the hill-chiefs in whose territories most of the forests lie. Be that as it may, in 1850, Mr. E. A. Prinsep (now Settlement Commissioner, Punjab,) was sent by Government up the Chenab, in order to arrange for a larger supply being brought down. Although his visit is said to have been successful, yet in the following year, Major Longden (now Adjutant-General of H. M.'s troops in Bengal) was deputed to examine into the timber resources of the Sutlej, Ravi, and Chenab. This duty occupied him for the next two years, and he finally was appointed to the charge of the "Government Timber Agency," first on the Ravi and then on the Chenab.

The general result of the investigations of these and other earlier explorers as to the extent of deodar forest on the Punjab rivers, was that every one became imbued with the idea that these forests were "inexhaustible," and the word was for long a favourite in this relation. We know better now, but, as we shall see, the epithet has accomplished its mission and done its worst. Even so thoroughly scientific an observer as Dr. Falconer, appears hardly to have appreciated the necessities of the case as to timber.\* The Punjab Government have well observed that the phrase "inexhaustible" is very generally applied to large forests, until some more or less exact enumeration or estimate of actual extent and numbers has been made, but that in almost all countries alike, where an immense demand has arisen, especially for great public works, unless some system of conservancy has been adopted, the "inexhaustible" has speedily become exhausted. It might safely have been added that in most cases the exhaustion precedes the conservancy, for in almost no important matter connected with the material welfare of the race, is there such a tendency to let the steed be stolen before shutting the stable door. Forests may be called—in a somewhat Irish figure of speech—a loan we have from posterity, and in this matter we, still oftener than debtors generally, ignore the claims of the lender.

In the meantime, the people of the Punjab had found peace and security under the ægis of a strong civilized Government, and these bring the desire for material comfort. With this came the knowledge that a decent house is not now to be exposed to the frequently recurring risks of being burned down by bands of raiders from without, or of furnishing to rulers within—still worse robbers—an index to the existence of wealth which may be extorted. Mahajans, bnyas, and others of the wealthier inhabitants began to affect better houses, in the construction of which much deodar was used. So the price of timber rose, native traders crowded round the rajahs of the forest-bearing hill-states, begging, praying, and bribing for licenses to cut trees—felling, launching, and pilfering with an amount of energy which is rarely to be seen in orientals, except when money is to be made. When to the demand indicated above was added, about 1859, the enormous necessities of the railway for deodar sleepers, the competition for timber became still more eager. The name even of conservancy had not yet been heard in the land, and Government on the Chenab with rajahs and contractors on that and the other rivers, contended

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\* In a Memo., dated 1853, quoted by Dr. Cleghorn.

who should fell most trees in a year. And this in too many cases, regardless of the immense losses that might occur in the timber slide or in the river, so long as a moderate percentage of the timber came to hand in the plains.

Lord W. Hay, as quoted by Dr. Cleghorn (p. 17), thus gives the usual history of a forest in the Simla hills, in 1862: "The wood-cutter enters, fells many trees, and damages many others by the tree falling down the steep slope, the branches not having been previously cut off; a heap of chips and *débris* remains, which takes fire by accident or otherwise; the villagers send their cattle for pasturage, and in a very few years some scattered pines are all that remain of a once flourishing forest." If, in the case of a *deodar* forest, we multiply the felling by a hundred, add to the danger from fire proportionally, and remember that the native is none the more careful of a thing, because it is valuable—to others, that is,—we may conceive what was all this time going on in the "inexhaustible" *deodar* forests of the Punjab Himalaya. And we shall not be surprised that, as the truth began to dawn upon men, Government imbibed the conception that it might possibly be time to think of preserving these forests.

But we must now introduce to the reader's notice the *deodar* itself. In the north-west Himalaya, there are at least eight kinds of arboreous coniferous trees, but some of these are rare or grow in situations difficult of access. Of the whole, two only have ever been largely exported to the plains. One of these is *Pinus longifolia* or *cheel*, the timber of which although stronger, in some respects, than that of any of the others, is yet much less durable and valuable than the *deodar*. The tree also grows for the most part at low elevations in the outer hills, so that being easy of access, and comparatively cheap, by far the greater proportion of the available large trees have been felled. Of the other inferior conifers, some are either known to be valueless, or the demand has not yet become sufficient to test their relative value, or indeed to warrant the felling of large quantities of them. But the time is probably coming when they will be thoroughly tested. Several of the deciduous trees of the north-west Himalaya, such as the walnut and the ash, furnish valuable timber, but in such small quantities comparatively that we need do no more than allude to them here.

In this connection, therefore, we have in the main to deal only with the *deodar*, the "glory of the Himalaya," as it has been called. This tree appears first to have become known to science about the beginning of the present century, when

Roxburgh, whose knowledge of it was but scanty, named it *Pinus Deodara*. The scientific appellation of the tree, however, has for sufficient reasons been altered to *Cedrus deodara*. (Lond.) And although, to relieve the monotony of meetings of the the botanical section of the British Association and so on, there are still periodical discussions on the subject, yet the weight of scientific evidence goes to prove that the Himalayan cedar is identical with that of Lebanon and of Taurus in Asia Minor (*Cedrus Libani*, Loud.), which is so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, as well as with the cedar of the Atlas in Northern Africa, (*Cedrus Atlantica*, Man.)

It is somewhat unfortunate that this tree originally became known to Europeans in a part of the Himalaya (Kumaon) where it is called by the natives *deodar*, for although a modification of this word, viz. *diár*, is in use in parts of the hills to the north-west, the tree is much more widely known by a totally different native name, viz. *Kélú*, or modifications as *Kilei* and *Killár*, and in some of the Tibetan dialects *Kelmung*. Further confusion and at times loud arguments have resulted with those inclined to pin their faith to vernacular names and the acuteness of the observant faculties of natives, from the circumstance that two of the other coniferous trees, the twisted cypress and the pencil cedar (which is really a juniper), are in various places called *devidiár* or *deodar*.

The deodar, when of full growth and in circumstances suited to its perfect development, is a magnificent tree, and to it may well be applied part of the language used by Lindley regarding the coniferous tribe, "gigantic in size, noble in aspect, and robust in constitution." Its trunk is straight and tall, with branches stretching out nearly horizontally on all sides, which probably gives the tree a better chance in the "struggle for existence" than its fellows. Its foliage is of a deep rich green. When the trees are close, the trunk frequently ascends clear of branches to a considerable height, but in the open, or in less dense forests, the horizontal boughs give a peculiar aspect to the tree, enabling it to be distinguished at a considerable distance.

Great differences occur in the character and habit of the trees in different localities, often without any cause as yet known to us, but the following remarks may be stated generally. At places near the limits and especially the upper limit of its growth, or on open, exposed, arid ridges, the trees are short and stumpy, and taper quickly, and, as a rule, they are drawn up taller in thick forests than when in the open. In some localities, especially when the deodar has been lopped or is subject to be broken off by wind or avalanches, it is apt to be distorted,

bent, and gnarled, while it frequently, at some distance above the ground, divides into several trunks, sometimes as many as seven or eight, or even eleven. The latter circumstance is supposed by Dr. Brandis always to result from the leading shoot having been broken off, and one or more of the side branches having taken its place. And doubtless this is frequently the case, but it seems possible that there is a greater tendency to this in certain localities than in others. The straight top of the tree is slender and very apt to be broken off by the wind or other causes, and when this occurs while the tree is yet small, (which, as may be supposed, is most frequently the case in open places or on the outskirts of forests) and no side branch takes the place of the broken top, the tree becomes "table-topped," retaining permanently the flat or "tabulated" appearance.

The deodar extends as far east as Kumaon. In the outer part of that province it is not indigenous, being only found in the immediate neighbourhood of temples and such-like places. Madden's argument, however, that where the finest trees are found at temples, there the tree is probably not indigenous, does not hold good. For by far the greater number of the largest measured trees on record throughout the north-west Himalaya occur near temples. Nor is it difficult to understand how this should be so, even when the tree is indigenous. In some parts of inner Kumaon (near Joshinath, Mulari, &c.) the deodar is not uncommon, and to the west large forests of it exist on the Bhagiratti and other branches of the Ganges. Still further west it grows in greater or less quantity on each of the Sntlej, Biás, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. There is proof that the tree grows near parts of the intramontane course of the Indus, and it is common in places near the Swat valley on the southern flanks of the Sufed Koh, and as far west as Tezeen in Affghanistan. This last is the most western point to which the Himalayan cedar has been traced, nor is it probable that any cedar exists between Cabul and the Lebanon itself.

Madden, judging chiefly from the absence of very large trees at Simla, considers that the vicinity of the plains is inimical to the best growth of the tree, and he states that all the gigantic specimens are near the snowy range. But marked exceptions to both of these statements are now on record, although there is some truth in them. The tree, as a rule, like most other conifers, and indeed trees in general in the Himalaya, prefers the shady aspect which, from the general direction of the rivers, is for the most part on the left

bank. On it the deodar grows in greater numbers, as is indicated by the fact that on the Chenab, from 1859 to 1865, Government were able to fell 33,500 trees from shady, and only 22,000 from sunny aspects. The trees on the left bank also are of larger size; thus on the same river the trees obtained from 1859 to 1863 gave an average of 4·8 logs of sleeper length (about 12 feet), while those from the sunny side gave an average of 4·3 logs only.

Dr. Stewart has collected a number of data derived from the enumeration of the annual rings in hundreds of trees in many different forests, in order to elicit, if possible, the conditions under which the growth is most rapid, and many of his inductions derived from observations made in this way appear to be sound. It may be stated briefly that the tree grows with most rapidity at places well into the deodar-bearing zone, (*i. e.* not too near either the higher or lower limit of its growth) on the shady aspect, when the atmosphere is not too arid, in good soil, and on a low slope.

Dr. Brandis believes that the best trees grow on old cultivation terraces, often in all probability dating several centuries back. But it seems not unlikely, from evidence acquired subsequently, that as man prefers good soil for his crops, and deodar prefers it as well as a low slope for its growth, the occurrence of fine deodar on these ancient fields may be a mere coincidence. The general slope of the deodar forests on the Sutlej seems to be  $25^{\circ}$ — $45^{\circ}$ , on the Biās from a flat up to  $30^{\circ}$ , on the Ravi  $25^{\circ}$ — $30^{\circ}$ , and on the Chenab  $10^{\circ}$ — $30^{\circ}$ . Flat spaces, which have not been cultivated, are rare in the deodar-bearing parts of the Himalaya, but there seems no reason to doubt that such places are, other conditions being equal, more favourable to the rapid growth of the tree.

Madden at one time thought he saw reason to believe that this tree avoided limestone formations, but observations over a wider field taught him that this was a mistake. And as a matter of fact, it does not appear to affect any particular rock. Thus on the Sutlej, where there is little limestone, there are good deodar forests over all the prevalent rocks, granite, gneiss, and quartzose schist;—on the Biās, the forests occur over blue shaly slate, chloritic schist, and clay-slate with or without mica;—on the Ravi most of the forests occur over some form or other of clay-slate, one forest being on the well-known Dhanla Dhār gneiss, and one on limestone;—while on the Chenab also most of the forests are upon clay-slate, but one or two upon micaceous schist, gneiss, or limestone, and trap occurs in some.

From the reports it appears that on the various rivers deodar grows in many different circumstances. Thus we find stunted single trees clinging to rifts over the face of mural precipices, high above the foaming river where but few other trees can get root-hold. \* Or the deodar are scattered in hundreds among thousands of other coniferous and deciduous trees forming a dense forest over miles of a sloping hillside, a mile or two from the water. Or, still again, there are pure and compact deodar forests with hardly a specimen of other conifers intermixed, and without a single deciduous tree. In these, one may wander in a great colonnade of massive straight boles, running straight up without a branch to 40 or 50 feet, with the boughs so completely closing in above, that a sombre shade is thrown over all, and but few of the smaller shrubs and herbs get light enough from above and soil enough among the masses of deodar leaves below, to enable them to sustain a precarious existence.

As a rule, these pure and compact forests, of which we have indicated the nature of an extreme type, are only found where there is a combination of several of the circumstances which tend to favour the reproduction and growth of the tree; when the soil is good and plentiful, and the declivity is gentle. A moderately good specimen of this kind of forest on the small scale exists at Kajiár, within a few miles of Dalhousie. It ought to be well known to visitors there, for a better place for pic-nics is rarely seen in the Himalaya. Annandale at Simla, for instance, cannot compare with it. Let our readers imagine a flat wide cup, as it were, hollowed out on the upper part of a great ridge, in the centre a small lake, encircled with a broad margin of fine turf, a picturesque wooden temple at one end, and the whole enclosed in an amphitheatre of grand old deodar. A fine wooded hill rises from the same ridge 2,000 feet higher to the south, and the pine-clad Deinkund, 2,000 feet higher still, is seen three or four miles off to the south-west. There may be men who cannot make an enjoyable day in such a place, with good weather, pleasant company, and a fair amount of comestibles and cheroots, but if there are, we pity them.

We may here notice shortly a few of the monster deodars that have been observed, with some observations on the general size of the trees, premising that Drs. Brandis and Stewart measured at 6 feet from the ground, except when otherwise noted, while measurements by other observers have been made at various heights. On the Sutlej, the size of the trees varies very much. Thus, the trees felled in 1864 in one of the fine



forests (Nachár) on the lower part of the river, gave an average of six logs of sleeper-length,—the largest tree felled being 20 feet in girth and 200 in height. The trees higher up again on the Baspa, a large tributary, only averaged about two or three logs. Hoffmeister appears to have measured no trees, but stated in his loose way that individual trees were seen of 40 feet in girth but this is over the mark. One of the largest deodar on record is that at Sungri, close to the main road up the valley, which has been measured by at least three observers, Madden, Thomson, and Cleghorn, the two latter making it  $85\frac{1}{2}$  feet in girth, the first  $36\frac{3}{4}$  at 5 or 6 feet from the ground. This remarkable tree, which is well worthy of the place it holds in one of Bourne's fine photographs, divided (before part of it fell from old age) into eleven trunks at some distance from the ground. Only two other very large trees are recorded on the Sutlej proper, one of 36 feet in girth by Madden at the tank below Chini, and another of 34 feet 4 inches at Purbui close by the remains of two other giants, measured by Dr. Brandis, and estimated by him at 900 years old.

Most of the very large deodar in the Sutlej basin are recorded on or near its largest tributary, the Baspa. Here, at Kunai, Dr. Brandis, out of five giant trees standing round a temple, measured four, and found them respectively 24 feet 9 inches, 24 feet 4 inches, 23 feet 2 inches, and 17 feet 9 inches in girth at 6 feet high. At Buran, P. Gerard measured one of 34 feet girth at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, and A. Gerard, at Shoung, measured one of 30 and another of 33 feet girth. A tree at Chanso was found by Erskine to be 30 feet, and is supposed by Madden to be the same as that estimated by Inglis some years before at 36 feet 8 inches. Madden mentions a tree at Sildes, near Looloot, on the western side of the Changshed range as 36 feet in girth at 4 feet from the ground. Almost the only very large tree, east of the Sutlej basin of which we can find the measurement, is one mentioned by Moorcroft, under Nái in Kumaon, of 180 feet in height with a girth of 27 feet at 4 feet from the ground.

On the Biás the deodar is not an abundant tree, and it does not appear commonly to reach a very large size in any forest. A tree 140 feet high and of 15 feet 6 inches in girth at 6 feet, is recorded by Dr. Stewart, and another of 18 feet in girth at the same height, both in the Boni forest on the Parbatti tributary. Major Longden gives, in a corner of a forest map of the Biás, a sketch of part of the trunk of a monster tree at Solang, which is miles away from deodar and considerably above the present upper level of its growth on

that river. He found this tree to be 35 feet in girth at 4 feet from the ground in 1853, and when measured by Dr. Stewart at 6 feet in 1864, its girth was 36 feet one inch.

The deodar has been abundant on the Ravi, where there are or have been many of large size. Dr. Stewart mentions (of trees or stumps) fourteen between 15 and 20 feet girth, with six between 20 and 30, and two above 30 feet as seen by himself. The two last were a standing tree at Kuarsi of 36 feet 4 inches at 6 feet from the ground, and 44 feet 2 inches at the ground, and a fallen one at Chaun (with a native distiller living in its hollow!) of 31 feet 6 inches girth. In 1864, a tree on the Boodil had a timber length of 197 feet, and gave 14 sleeper logs. But this number of logs was exceeded by a tree (with five trunks however) on the Tuna which yielded 29 logs. A log of very large dimensions, *viz.* 44 feet long and 25 in girth, is spoken of as lying in a tributary of the Ravi, but its existence and size do not appear to be certified by any European officer's inspection.

The number of very large trees recorded on the Chenab is but small, considering the immense quantity of deodar there is or has been on that river. Dr. Stewart mentions that he saw only eleven (trees or stumps) between 15 and 20 feet in girth, with only three above 20 feet. Of these, one at Kagal was 25 feet 6 inches, and another is well-known as adorning the magnificent Chaugān at Kishtwar. He found it in October, 1865, to be 28 feet 8 inches at the ground, 24 feet 6 inches at 4 feet higher, and 23 feet 8½ inches at 6 feet. In February, 1839, this tree was found by Vigne to be 23 feet girth at 4 feet from the ground. The comparative paucity of monster trees on this river, Dr. Stewart is inclined to attribute more to the fact that the country on the upper Chenab is very sparsely peopled and with but few villages and temples, near which only these giant deodar are for the most part found. That the general size of the deodar on this river has been great is shown by the circumstance, that 12,500 trees, felled in 1862, averaged 7 feet 9 inches in girth at felling height, as many as 336 of these being more than 12 feet in girth, with seventeen of more than 20, of which three were of 26½ and one of 30 feet.

The largest single log on record was one on the Chenab, 32 feet long which contained 360 cubic feet of timber. Strange to say, it accomplished the distance from the forest to the catching *dépôt* near the *débouchement* in a single season, which is not at all common. But when it got there, it proved somewhat like the elephant the king presented to the fakir, for having lodged in a hollow, it cost 100 rupees to get it out again into the water-way.

Considering the length of time during which deodar operations have been in progress in some parts of the Himalaya, it seems wonderful how few direct observations upon the rate of growth of the tree are recorded in these voluminous reports. We are only told of two instances. A deodar seedling of a foot and a half high and probably about a year old, had a knot tied on its slender top in 1845, and in 1865 was found to be 12 feet high (5 feet shorter than neighbouring trees of similar age), with a girth of 11 inches at 2 feet from the ground. In the other case, some deodar which are understood to have grown from seed sown by Major Longden in 1853, having been silted up in 1865, sections of two of them were made and showed 12 and 14 rings of annual growth.

This brings us to consider the value of these annual rings in determining the age of a deodar, as upon this depends the worth of most of the observations on which, in the absence of direct evidence, is built our present belief as to the number of years taken by this tree to reach a certain size. Drs. Brandis and Stewart appear to believe thoroughly in the value of observing these rings. And although "practical men" doubt their worth as indicators of age, it appears to us that there is a considerable body of evidence in favour of the former view, while there is no very weighty argument and no direct proof against it. As at the same time no other test of the age of the deodar has been proposed, we may, until direct observation has settled the point, place some confidence in the rings.

It does not seem to be always easy to count these correctly, especially if the section be very resinous or very old, nor would it do to strike the average for the rate of growth on a certain river from enumerating the rings in a few trees. But the two officers named above, have, on several of the rivers, counted these rings in hundreds of trees, chosen in many localities over great areas and under very varying conditions as to aspect, soil, elevation above the sea, &c., so as to be able to strike what are in all probability fair averages. It may be observed that, as one would naturally expect, the rings near the periphery are generally thinner than those towards the centre, but even in this respect exceptional cases are not unfrequent. The *ad interim* conclusions come to as to the average time required by the deodar on some of the Himalayan rivers to reach the 2nd class and 1st class sizes, *i. e.* 4½ feet and 6 feet in girth, are as follows: On the Chenab 81 years and 113 years, from 128 trees examined; on the Ravi 29 years and 84 years from 121 trees; on the Biás 51 years and 72 years from 60 trees; and on the Sutlej 90 years and 125 years from 122 (?) trees.

For certain reasons given, the Biás figures are probably a little under, and those for the Sutlej rather over, the true averages. The largest numbers of rings actually counted in single trees are, in a tree on the Chenab, 364; in one on the Ravi, 575; in one on the Biás, 335; and in one on the Sutlej, 550 rings. The Purbui tree on the last-named river (as mentioned above) was estimated by Dr. Brandis at 900 years of age from the rings on a portion of its section.

But in so far as the evidence from these rings is of value, still further information has been derived from classifying the trees in which they were counted according to the conditions of growth as to soil, aspect, &c. On these points Dr. Stewart has, as already hinted, arrived at some interesting conclusions which are, for the most part, in accordance with deductions previously drawn from general principles. Thus it has been found that, judging from the annual rings, a tree requires 15 per cent. longer time to reach 1st class size on the sunny than on the shady side, on both the Chenab and Ravi. On the Chenab 50 per cent. longer is required to reach 1st class size over than under 7,000 feet above the sea, and on the Ravi 46 per cent. longer over than under 6,500 feet. On the Chenab 15 per cent. longer is needed to reach 1st class size on a slope above than on one below 15°; and on the Ravi, 60 per cent. additional is required in forests on the higher slope. In the less arid region of the Chenab (*i. e.* nearer the plains), the tree takes 23 per cent. longer to reach 1st class size, and in the moister tract of the Ravi, 51 per cent. longer than in the drier parts of the basins of the rivers respectively. Again, where trees grew sparsely on the Chenab, the 1st class size was found to take 67 per cent. longer than in close forests, while on the Ravi the difference was 51 per cent. But in this case there is more of coincidence than sequence, as the conditions of the trees in close forests are generally very favorable in several ways, irrespective of mere closeness.

It will at once be evident from the nature of the case, that these figures are not intended even to indicate the degrees of difference, but only to show that some attempt has been made to work out the conclusions drawn as to the rate of growth of deodar statistically, as well as by reasoning from other data. With respect to the sapwood of deodar, it has been found on both the Chenab and Ravi that it is not only thicker, but has a larger number of rings in larger and older than in smaller and younger trees. But no difference has been found in the thickness or in the number of rings of the sapwood, either

according to the aspect facing which the tree grew, or on different aspects of the same tree.

In default of regular surveys of the forests and enumeration of the trees, which would require much more time, labour, and expense than can yet be dedicated to this purpose, two methods of what is called "Forest Valuation Survey" have been applied to determine approximately the number of deodar trees in the forests on the Punjab rivers. One of these methods, by measuring squares, counting the trees in them, and estimating for the whole area of the forest, is but little adapted for mountainous regions, and has only been tried in a few instances. The other method, called linear survey, consists in measuring along a line, counting the number of trees of various sizes to an estimated distance on either side, and estimating for the total area of the forest.

Although the latter method requires some training of the eye in order to get at tolerably correct results, it is the best adapted for rough hill-sides. Thus it has been largely put in practice in the Punjab deodar forests. The results of the surveys there made are as follows:—

	1st Class Trees counted.	2nd Class Trees counted.	Acres surveyed.	Average No. of 1st Class Trees to an acre.
Sutlej ... ..	3,743	4,099	652	6
Bias ... ..	1,724	1,111	125	14
Ravi ... ..	811	748	206	4
Chenab ... ..	511	488	75	6

It has also been found that when the slope and the lights are favourable, a fair approximation may, with certain precautions, be made to the number of trees in a forest by counting from the opposite side of a narrow valley. The estimates to be given by and bye of the number of deodar now left on each of these rivers, have, for the most part, been arrived at by one or other of the above methods.

A certain interest attaches to the length of river upon which the deodar flourishes. The following are the results which have been attained in calculating with reference to the main stream and branches of each of the four rivers. Those parts are excluded where the tree only grows in inconsiderable and

widely scattered patches. On the Sutlej, main river 40 miles, branches 25; on the Biás, 18 miles, and branches 12; on the Ravi, 68 miles, and branches 86; and on the Chenab (including the Kashmir territories) 115 miles, with 131 miles of branches. This gives a total of nearly 500 miles in length of tolerably continuous deodar-bearing tracts in the basins of the four rivers. The data for the Jhelum are insufficient to enable us to include it.

There seems to be very considerable variation with respect to the highest and lowest levels at which deodar is found in any quantity, as well as of the height of the bed of the stream at these points on the various rivers. The extremes seem to be these;—On the Ravi the tree grows lowest of all, *viz.*, at 5,000 feet, where the river bed is 2,000, and on the Sutlej the lower level of forest is given at 7,000 feet, where the river bed is 5,000. At the upper limit of growth of the deodar on the Sutlej, the lower edge of the forest is 8,000 feet, the river bed being 7,600, while the tree on this river is occasionally found in considerable quantity up to 10,000 feet above the sea. As to this upper limit of growth the Ravi is at the other extreme, the lower edge of the uppermost forests there being close to the bed of the river at 8,500, while deodar is rarely seen in any quantity above 9,000 feet. It is noted generally that on the lower part of the deodar-bearing portions of these rivers, the tree is most frequently found within the glens of small tributaries, whereas towards its upper limit it is most common on steep or precipitous ridges overhanging the main river or its larger affluents.

We will not here enter into any lengthy details as to the properties of the timber of the deodar, but may state generally that for a combination of good qualities, *viz.*, strength, ease of working, and durability, it is probably the most valuable timber furnished by any coniferous tree. It varies very much in colour and appearance being sometimes almost black with oil, which is believed to render it more than usually lasting. The oil itself is, in some parts of the hills, extracted from chips of the wood by destructive distillation, and is applied to various purposes. It is not yet clear under what conditions of growth this oily timber is most apt to be produced. On the other hand, it seems tolerably certain that on open exposed rocky ridges the tree is, as a rule, more apt to produce a resinous timber which is considered less durable. The term “imperishable deodar” was originally applied to the wood of this tree by Moorcroft, chiefly from his observation of it in the Kashmir bridges, where, however, there is no great strain upon it. And although the phrase is somewhat hyperbolical, yet the timber is exceedingly

endurable under ordinary circumstances. Even when\* exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather in bridges, buildings, or rivers, it will keep sound for many years. And in these reports instances are given where logs remained buried, or lay in a damp forest for a very long time without detriment to any but the sapwood. In general also the latter alone suffers from white ants, a circumstance which renders the deodar very valuable for railway-sleepers. Curiously enough the deodar, which was first introduced into England 30 or 40 years ago, seems to grow much more rapidly there than in its native mountains, and to produce a vastly inferior wood.

Hitherto the timber of the deodar has generally been water-seasoned, and it has been assumed that this is the best possible method of seasoning. But it appears by no means certain that its being generally followed does not simply result from the fact that it is usually most convenient to launch the logs within a short period after the tree has been felled. To us it seems not very creditable to the European officers who have had such ample opportunities of settling this very important point, that it should not have been demonstrated long ago whether deodar timber is most effectually seasoned dry or in water.

Nor does the usual process of seeding in this tree appear to be so well understood as it might be. But it is believed that the young cones begin to be formed in spring, and only ripen in the autumn of the year following, so that two seasons are required for the full development of each cone. It is supposed that on each seed-bearing tree there are generally cones in their first and second years. But after each few years, at uncertain intervals, there is a very bad crop of seed. For example, last season (1866) the failure was so complete that it was difficult to supply the small demand for seed to be sent abroad. Normally the cone does not fall whole, as in the case of some conifers, but each scale with its seeds drops off separately. The seed rots easily and is said to be greedily devoured by certain birds. Of the comparatively small number which escape these and other perils and germinate, many are killed by frost, dried up by the sun, or scorched by forest fires. Of the remaining plants, the greater proportion are browsed down by various animals, especially goats. The pasturing of large flocks appears to constitute one of the chief obstacles to the natural reproduction of deodar, and in forests near which there is much population with many grazing animals, young deodar are but sparsely scattered over a large area.

Having said thus much of our cedar, we may well add a word or two regarding that of Lebanon. There seems no

sound reason to doubt that the tree, of which only a few scattered specimens are now found, is really the same as that which 2,800 years ago is said to have given employment to 40,000 fellers in providing timber for Solomon's temple, and which is so frequently alluded to in the Old Testament as a type of size, luxuriance, and beauty, the "glory of Lebanon" of Isaiah. For a very long time within the modern period only one clump of these trees was known, notes of which appear to have been taken by nearly 20 observers, from 1550 when Peter Bellon found the large trees to be 28 in number down to 1820, when they are said to have numbered only seven or eight, and 1860 when they were stated by Dr. Hooker to be about 400 in number, 17 being over 12 feet in girth, and *all* the remainder between that and 18 inches. Some years ago a second and much larger clump was discovered to the north of Lebanon, and within the last few weeks a third of considerable extent has been discovered. The trees in this last had just been sold to a Sheikh, who had destroyed many in an unsuccessful attempt to make resin from them.

From drawings and the accounts of the Abbé Binos (1778) and others, it is evident that many of the older trees, in the original clump at least, branch low on the trunk, which again frequently becomes divided into several stems above, so that these trees would probably not be much valued by our Himalayan timber-merchants. Maundrell, in 1699, mentions that one of the largest was  $36\frac{1}{2}$  feet in girth, and that the "spread of its boughs" was 111 feet; the Maronite Sionita states that five men could hardly fathom one, which would make the girth nearly 30 feet. Binos gives the girth at about 30 feet, and Billardiére (1789) estimates it at about 26 feet. From Dr. Hooker's observations it would appear that the rate of growth on Lebanon is very much slower than in the Himalaya.

Throughout the reports before us, especially those of Dr. Cleghorn, there is scattered much information regarding the general vegetation in the deodar region of the Punjab Himalaya, and particularly as to the more notable trees which occur there. Many of these are of European genera, such as walnut, birch, elm, ash, maple, &c., but the timber of only the ash and walnut have hitherto been found to be of much value for practical purposes. We may, therefore, pass over the whole of these as being of more botanical and general interest than of economical value, and after so much of preface come to the more immediate subject of our remarks, commencing with a short sketch of past forest operations on each of the Punjab rivers.



To begin then with the Sutlej, the eastern boundary of the Punjab in what a naturalist would call its "limited sense." Its intramontane course is divided by General Cunningham into two portions, the upper of which, comprising 280 miles from its source in distant Tibet to its junction with the Spiti river, does not interest us. The second portion of 180 miles, with a fall of 39 feet per mile, extends, mostly within the territories of the Rajah of Bissahir, from the mouth of the Spiti river to Belaspore in the low outer hills. On the upper part of this portion, as well as on a large affluent, the Baspa, lies most of the deodar in the Sutlej basin, which is of much importance in an economical point of view. The lower part of this portion of the Sutlej passes through and among the territories of various petty Rajahs.

Much of the deodar now left on this river grows in small side-glens where it is not very easily available, and the forests on the main river are, as a rule, on rather steep slopes. But the Sutlej carries a large body of water (a minimum of 5,500 cubic feet a second at its *débouchement*), and has on the whole a clear channel, well adapted for floating timber. Under these circumstances it is not very evident why felling of deodar on the large scale should only have commenced about 8 or 9 years ago, although various experiments in felling and launching from the Upper Sutlej forests had been made by the Deputy Commissioner of Simla and native traders several years before.

When felling fairly commenced, however, no time was lost, and we find that 20,000 trees are *recorded* as having been felled in the five years, 1859—1863, so that, as the records are not complete, we may safely assume that not less than 50,000 trees had been cut in these forests up to 1864, when the lease to the British Government first came into operation. Even the trees, as liberally estimated by Dr. Brandis at 58,000 of first class size now remaining (and available without great difficulty), would at that rate have been all felled in other 20 years. Nor was the mere exhaustion of the forests the only evil to be feared. For a considerable proportion of the forests examined by the inspecting officers had been felled so recklessly, and cleared so thoroughly by the native timber-merchants, that there is no chance of their reproduction by natural means within a conceivable period.

Dr. Brandis sketched a plan upon which 3,000 trees a year would be felled for each of 16 years from those forests which can be easily worked, while for the remainder of the 35 years, during which it is estimated that a second-class tree becomes a first-class on this river, the necessary fellings, probably on a reduced scale, would be effected in the more difficult forests.

But circumstances have occurred to alter this programme, for it has been found that the proper supervision of such large fellings cannot, along with other necessary work, be undertaken by a single officer. Besides this, the resources of these forests for Government purposes are being curtailed, and the operations of the forest officer hampered, by the fact that the Government of India, for certain reasons, granted the right to remove 8,000 trees to a private individual, who parted with his permit to Messrs. Brassey Wythes and Henfrey, contractors for the Delhi Railway.

The chief difficulties in working this forest Division are these:—1. The existence of several principalities and equally numerous claims to waif on the lower portion of the river, coupled with the omission in the lease of any proviso, that the British Government should have the Bissahir waif and windfall on certain fixed terms;—2. The Poari forests with certain smaller ones in Sukit territory, on the lower part of the river, are as yet beyond control of the Forest Department;—3. The very high rates for labour, and the chronic existence of a quasi-famine in the Sutlej valley; and—4. Besides the presence of much timber belonging to native traders still in the river, the existence of the large permit above alluded to. No doubt such a permit is infinitely more manageable when in the hands of Europeans than if held by Orientals. But it is still objectionable, not only because it by so much lessens the stock in hand, but because it is hardly in the nature of things, that without strict supervision any private trader will pay so much heed to leaving a sufficient number of trees standing as ought to be paid. And such supervision prevents a proportionate amount of attention being given to other duties. On the whole, as things are, it is doubtful if the Sutlej is now likely to furnish to commerce for Government, on the average of a series of years, more than 1,500 deodar trees annually, yielding 75,000 cubic feet of timber in dépôt.

Considerable interest attaches to the Biás as a source of timber-supply from the circumstance, that it is one of the only two deodar-bearing streams within British territory in the Punjab. Its forests are, however, far from extensive, and they need not detain us long. This, which is the smallest but one of the Punjab rivers, has an intramontane course of 250 miles in length, on the upper part of which, and on a large tributary, the Parbatti, the chief forests are situated. This portion of the river has a fall of about 40 feet, the lower portion having a slope of about 10 feet per mile. The minimum discharge of water at the *débouche-ment* is about 3,000 cubic feet. Besides the defective floating

powers on account of the small volume of the stream, many parts of its bed, both in Kulu, the loveliest of Himalayan valleys through which it at first winds, and among the low Siwaliks through which it afterwards pursues its devious way to the plains, are embarrassed by shallows and islands on which timber is exceedingly apt to strand or get entangled.

During the supremacy of the Sikhs, one of their Sirdars, Lena Singh, is said to have felled some deodar for export, and a story is told of his experience, which illustrates the difficulties of floating in this river and something else. A considerable number of trees had been felled, logged, and launched in a certain year, but for a long time no flood came to carry down the timber. After waiting for three or four seasons, the Sirdar bethought him of the aid of the Brahmins. So he fed them and feed them largely, and they went through invocations and *muntras* to a proportionate extent, and, as they doubtless put it, with proportionate effect. For, as luck would have it, a heavy flood came soon after, and swept the whole of the stranded logs down to the plains.

So great are the difficulties of realizing timber felled on this river, that there appear to have been only two or three attempts at felling on the large scale since the time of the Singi, as the Sikhs are generally called by the Kulu men from Sing, their favourite and distinctive cognomen. Most of these attempts were made by the Wazeer Goshao of Mundee, and by Mr. Aratoon, an Armenian trader, who were for some time the chief deodar *exploiteurs* in the province. Thus of the few good forests on this river, some had remained untouched for export when the Forest Department commenced operations. But others again, having been left to the tender mercies of the inhabitants, had been terribly mangled. Through the mistaken benevolence, *insouciance*, or ignorance of the officer under whose charge the original settlement of Kangra was effected, it was then laid down that, though forest trees belong to Government, the whole of the *land* and its rights pertain to the villagers. This sage regulation, as may easily be conceived, is not likely to further any efforts at conservancy of trees, and if it is allowed to remain undisturbed it will effectually bar any effectual progress in this direction.

It is conjectured that within the Bías basin in the historical period not more than 5,000 deodar trees have been felled for export, and the number of trees of 6 feet girth, still remaining in 1864, was estimated at twice that number as a *maximum*. From the position of the forests, and other causes it does not appear likely that more than one-half or at most two-thirds of that

number can become available for export, even if the majority of the trees are converted into sleepers on the spot. Deodar operations here may well be supplemented by felling some of the inferior kinds of the pine-tribe. Most of the available *cheel* appears to have been felled many years ago, but there are still some forests of the lofty pine (*Pinus excelsa*) in accessible situations. The paucity of available deodar, however, and the exceedingly unfavourable character of the river for floating, are the chief difficulties in the way of working this river profitably.

On the Biás there is not much trouble from waif and such like claims of native states, the only one which has a considerable frontage on the river being Mundee. That its inhabitants, however, are not indisposed to take advantage of their position, the following little fact may show. In 1863, between six and seven hundred logs of deodar were launched in the Upper Biás by the civil officer of the district. The clever rogues in immediate charge suggested that it would be well to put the timber into the river *unmarked*, as then the want of a mark would indicate at once that the timber was the "Sirkar's"! So no doubt it did, for this representation being acted on, the natural consequence was that not a single log ever came into the hands of Government in the plains.

In favour of the Biás again as a permanent, though certainly not a continuously prolific source of deodar, are the facts that a fair proportion of its forests grow in situations whence timber can be easily launched, and a certain number of them on nearly level ground, where circumstances tend to promote the rapid growth of the tree, while the rate of growth generally in its basin is, as noted above, quicker than on any of the other rivers. The fact that the Biás deodar is situated within our own territory *ought* to be in their favour, but we doubt if at present it is so. For as the case stands just now, the Forest Department have practically more power over the forests we have leased from native states, than over those within the British red line. The experience of a year or two will determine whether it is better to effect considerable fellings on this river within a short time and then give the deodar a long rest, or fell very sparingly but more continuously. At present the latter would appear to be the preferable policy to pursue.

The Ravi which has 130 miles of an intramontane course, almost entirely through the hill-state of Chumba, is the smallest of the Punjab great rivers, having a minimum discharge of only 2,700 cubic feet of water. The fall per mile of that lower

portion of it within the hills, which is most important in connection with the floating of timber, is estimated at 57 feet per mile. And upon the whole, the bed of the main river (except near its issue in the plains) is better adapted for the conveyance of timber, and the floods are more effective than those of the Bías. But unfortunately a large proportion of the Ravi deodar forests lie upon small shallow and rocky tributaries. From these, unless in the case of exceptionally large floods which only happen after intervals of some years, the logs can only be got out with the aid of manual labour, when in certain places they stick fast sometimes to the number of several hundreds piled over each other in hideous and apparently inextricable confusion.

Partly, no doubt, from these circumstances it resulted that felling was not pushed so vigorously as on the Chenab to the west. But the fact of labour being tolerably abundant, and the out-turn of timber in the plains being easily supervised led to operations being commenced early here. Accordingly, we find that felling has been tolerably continuous on the Ravi from so long ago as 1839 or 1840. In 1851, was established near its *débouchement* the "Shahpore Timber Agency," for obtaining deodar from the agents of the Rajah of Chumba at certain fixed rates to supply the Government works in the plains. This arrangement having failed to fulfil its purpose, was put a stop to in 1854, and for several years longer native traders alone felled on this river. But the supply obtained through them was intermittent and unsatisfactory, and, in 1861, a Government officer commenced felling on the Ravi. In 1864, a lease of the Chenab and Ravi forests was obtained from the Rajah of Chumba, which put the forest operations on both rivers on a more satisfactory footing.

During the five years, 1861—5, upwards of 16,000 trees are recorded as having been felled for Government on the Ravi. The operations have, on the whole, been well supervised, so that there has not been such total clearing of hill-sides as in certain other cases. The river is, however, not a good one for floating, so much so that in certain seasons not a log reaches the plains within the season of felling. Government operations have been hampered also by the presence in the forests and river of much timber belonging to private contractors, as well as by boundary and waif difficulties with the Jummoo authorities near the *débouchement*. For these reasons chiefly, the working of the forests by Government has not been so successful as might have been expected, and at the present time the stock of deodar still standing is, probably nearer exhaustion than on any of the other rivers.

The Chenab, one of the largest of the rivers of the Punjab, rises in the British province of Lahoul, flows through part of the Chumba and Jummoo territories, and again comes within the British boundary in the plains after an intramontane course of 380 miles. Having so long a course and draining as it does a very large basin, this river has very effective and continuous floods. One of the largest Chenab floods on record occurred in April, 1865, in consequence of land-slips from both sides having completely dammed up the river for a month previously in the lower part of Lahoul. When the dam at last broke, the discharge of water was so enormous that a bridge at Kilar, 50 miles below, and 123 feet above the river's ordinary level, was carried away. Thirty miles still further down at Gulabgurrh the water is stated to have reached a height nearly as great.

The minimum discharge of the Chenab is 4,550, and its maximum 54,000 cubic feet, and the flood is generally very regular and steady during the season of the melting of the snow. This is more favourable for floating operations than even larger floods occurring suddenly and of short duration. Its bed is, on the whole, very favourable for floating also, with an average fall on the portion with which we are most concerned of about 30 feet per mile. The deodar-bearing tracts extend for more than 100 miles along the main river, as well as on several tributaries, but we have chiefly to do with the upper 50 miles of the former within Chumba territory in Pangî, which is included in the forest-lease obtained from the Rajah.

Soon after annexation, it seems to have become known that this river was able to supply deodar largely, and so early as 1850, Mr. E. A. Prinsep (now Settlement Commissioner) then a young assistant, was sent up to Pádar to arrange for an increased quantity of timber being sent down by the Maharajah's agents. Within two or three years after this, the Armenian merchant, Aratoon, made an arrangement with the Rajah of Chumba, and commenced felling on the upper, or Pangî portion of the river. In 1854, Government also began operations there, which have since been continued annually except during the mutiny year and that following. Sultan, a great Punjab contractor, also felled largely in some of the later years, but the initiation of the lease arrangements, in 1864, put a stop to all private felling.

The deodar forests on the Pangî portion of the Chenab are of great extent, and have contained a very large quantity of timber, situated on ground whence, for the most part, launching into the main river could be accomplished without great

difficulty. The consequence of this and of the good floating character of the river, as well as of the fact that several interests were operating at the same time, has been that the fellings here were for years out of all proportion to the resources of the forests. Between Government and private traders no fewer than 23,000 deodar trees are *said* to have been felled in one year (1863). We write "*said*" advisedly, for under the circumstances anything like decent supervision was physically impossible, and it is more than probable that many of the trees paid for as felled, logged, and launched, never had an existence except in the accounts. But we can hardly estimate what margin should be left under this head, and need only state generally that in Pangī up to the end of 1855, no fewer than 82,000 trees are recorded to have been felled.

Dr. Stewart's report on this river, based on an examination made in 1865, goes to show that so far as our present knowledge of the rate of growth &c., extends, instead of upwards of 6,000 trees a year being felled, about a third of that number would probably have been the most that the Pangī forests, as they originally were, could have stood permanently and continuously. As things now are, with only ten or fifteen thousand trees left fit for felling, and many of these, as may be supposed, on the most difficult sites for cutting and lanching, the number of trees felled ought to be reduced to the very lowest number compatible with supplying the public wants. With the Public Works Department crying out for timber, and the timber-dealing middlemen crying out about prices, it will require some moral courage to adhere to this line, so long as even a thousand trees remain standing, but we trust the Punjab Government will not prove wanting.

In passing westward with our sketch of the deodar-bearing rivers of the Punjab, we will omit the portion of the Chenab and its tributaries, which lie within the territories of the Maharajah of Jummoo. A problematical estimate of the trees available on them will, however, be inserted in the general summary of the deodar still remaining. We must deal in like manner with the deodar-bearing portion of the Jhelum river (between Baramula and Uri), as well as with the Kishengunga, the largest tributary of that river, both lying within the Maharajah's territory also.\* Our information as to the whole of these is at present much too scanty to permit of our treating them otherwise.

To the west of the Kishengunga the Jhelum is joined by a considerable affluent, the Kunhār or Nainsookh, which rises in and flows through the British valley of Khāgān. On this stream

there appears to be a considerable quantity of deodar, and so early as 1852 proposals were made to get timber thence for the Public Works Department. These were, however, over-ruled on the representation of the Deputy Commissioner that our hold on the valley was but slight, and that the Pathan Syeds, the chief men there, would probably be irritated by any attempt on our part to fell within their bounds. In 1855-6, however, the demand for timber having become greater, a number of trees were felled, under the orders of a new Deputy Commissioner, but the results were "not satisfactory." In 1860, under a third Deputy Commissioner a thousand trees were felled, but some of the details would appear not to have been perfect, and only partial success resulted.

In the meantime, in 1856-7, some attention began to be directed to the forests generally of Huzara (in which district Khágán is situated), rules were made and an establishment sanctioned. After some years' working of these, a Deputy Commissioner stated his opinion that expenditure had been thrown away in attempting to guard wide-spread, scattered, and inaccessible tracts. In 1863, the Commissioner declared that it was essential even in Khágán to guard against the ravages of the inhabitants, and the numerous herdsmen who annually visit the valley. And later still, the Executive Engineer, who knew the district well, asserted that there was no check whatever in the the way of conservancy in these forests.

In 1863-4, a fresh effort was made in felling on the Nainsookh, but this time an officer was detained to manage operations under the Executive Engineer. He was allowed to fell 800 trees on his own account, and also felled 800 for Government. Upon the latter, with a similar number in 1864-5, there was realized a net profit of Rs. 13,000, exclusive of the cost of European supervision. Since then there has been no felling in Khágán on Government account. But it has been found that the river, though having certain disadvantages, was much better adapted for floating than was at one time supposed, the average size of logs received in depôt being, in fact, considerably greater than the average on any of the other rivers. It was also seen that, contrary to the forebodings of the "political," who, in 1852, wanted to keep the district a "close borough," the Syeds had a true Pathan relish for the pickings that came their way from the thousands of rupees that were spent in the valley in connection with these forest-operations. Accordingly, they would only be too glad that they should be continued. And as the demand for timber still continues, and will be much heavier when the Peshawur Railway comes to be constructed, its



sanction is only a question of time; Government has at last decided that this source of deodar should not remain unutilized, and we believe an officer is to be appointed to the Jhelum Division of Forests in connection with the Forest Department.

In the present very imperfect state of our knowledge as to the number of deodar trees of felling size remaining on the various rivers whose circumstances we have attempted to sketch, it requires some courage to assume any definite figure as representing the aggregate still left on the whole of these rivers. But some sort of valuation is absolutely necessary, in order to form anything like a proper estimate of the present position of forest matters in the Punjab, and we must attempt it. For the Sutlej experience has already shown that the estimate given in Dr. Brandis' report is considerably over the mark, and the actual number of trees in forests whence they can easily be removed (after deducting those to be felled by Brassey and Co.) is probably not more than 21,000. To these must be added the trees in forests on small tributaries, &c., to launch which, in log or converted, considerable expense and trouble will have to be incurred. These last do not, in all probability, amount to more than 20,000, which give an aggregate of 41,000 trees on the Sutlej.

On the Bias we cannot reckon on more than 6,000 trees, with 5,000 on the Ravi, and 8,000 on the Chenab actually available without destroying still more forests. Any number given for the Kunhar tributary of the Jhelum must be a guess rather than an estimate, but taking into account the limited deodar-bearing area, and reasoning by analogy from what we know of the other rivers, one can hardly put it down at more than 10,000 trees. This would give a total for all forests which are, or are likely to be, in the hands of the Forest Department, of about 70,000 trees. Assuming even a quicker average rate of growth than the observations as yet made warrant us in doing, and also assuming that a second class tree is growing up to replace each first class one felled, one thousand trees would at first sight appear to be the utmost number that could with safety be annually felled in all these forests. Even if we assume each tree to give the logs of sleeper length by which the size of trees is generally computed on these rivers, and each log as containing 25 cubic feet, and calculate that four-fifths of the timber launched will ultimately be realized in depôt, and it must be remembered that all of these are exceptionally favourable averages, the annual yield of timber in the plains would be only about 100,000 cubic feet.

In order to get a rough survey of the whole, we may now make a guess at the number of deodar trees still remaining in the Maharajah's forests. These, for the Bhutna and Marroo-Wardwun rivers (tributaries of the Chenab), may be put at 3,000 and 15,000 trees respectively; for the main Chenab in Padar, &c. 15,000; for the Jhelum, 8,000; and for its tributary, the Kishengunga, 8,000; giving an aggregate of 49,000. Calculating as before, 700 trees a year might be felled continuously from which 70,000 cubic feet of timber might be expected to be realized.

As against the above estimate for Kashmir territory, it may be noted that, as the Maharajah generally accomplished his felling and launching operations on a rough and ready system through the agency of villagers and local labour, without organization, a very large proportion of the easily available trees have already been felled in his territories. The great majority of those left will, from their position or site, be more difficult to realize as timber, without the expenditure of much skill, labour, and money on the preparation of slides, conversion into sleepers on the spot, and aiding the logs down the smaller streams. Indeed, it seems more than probable that much of the deodar, now standing in Kashmir territory, will never be utilized until the forests come under European agency likely to bring into play such means as we have indicated.

But on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that for each first class deodar, now standing in those forests which are in the hands of the Forest Department, at least three first class trees have, in all probability, been felled within the last 20 years. And although a considerable number of forests have been very much injured, and some ruined by past operations, yet with the increased attention which is now being paid to conservancy, it may be hoped that at least one tree is growing up to replace each one that has been felled. And we may perhaps assume that in the same way 50,000 additional trees are in process of attaining first class size in the forests in the Kashmir territory, in the place of those that have been felled there, besides those coming up throughout the forests generally. If this be the case, then the 1,700 trees to which we have alluded is, as it were, a *minimum* maximum of trees within which the number to be felled annually need be kept. And this for only a certain number of years; even if the worst view of the case were taken and acted upon.

Again, when the forests have once more come into fairly good condition, it seems probable that with proper conservancy not less than 6,000 or 7,000 trees a year could safely be felled continuously and permanently from the Sutlej to the Jhelum.

inclusive. In the same way we may assume that, had the fellings been kept within these limits and even moderate conservancy measures adopted, a supply of from 600,000 to 650,000 cubic feet of timber in the plains might have been kept up continuously. But instead of some 6,000 we have probably been felling not less than 15,000 trees a year without conservancy, and thus running through our stock much faster than the rate of reproduction would warrant, have nearly come to the end of it.

Let us now see what till within the last few years was the general method of procedure in working the forests on the various rivers at present in the hands of the Punjab Forest Department, beginning with the system adopted by native traders. The first thing to be done was to get a *parwana* or *chop* to fell a certain number of trees from the Rajah in whose territories they were. At his court, probably, much less was known of the nature and extent of the forests, than by the astute traders who crowded round the potentate begging for the mystic document. All the arts of Eastern intrigue were applied to the Rajah himself or his *wuzeers*, with whom persuasion, bribery, and, it is even whispered, the brandy bottle were not without their weight. The practice in this respect was very much the same all over as on the Sutlej. There it is officially stated that a bag of rupees properly administered, would at any time procure a *chop* to fell an indefinite number of trees in indefinite forests, although the Rajah himself in many cases saw little or nothing of the colour of the seignorage-money.

As may be supposed, forest operations in the Himalaya are, from their very nature, always difficult of control, even with European supervision, and a full regard for conservancy. And in the times of which we write, there was but little attempt at supervision of any kind. The contractor's object was to make money, so he ordered his men to cut every tree on a hill-side that was worth felling. The object of the labourers again was to get the work done, so they cut down the trees somehow, crushing the seedlings, smashing the young saplings, and felling those somewhat larger to clear a road for the logs. In a forest originally containing a large proportion of well-grown trees which had thus been operated on, it would frequently be found that only a few half-grown deodar, and a number of mangled saplings and young trees were left, many of which would be irretrievably ruined by the forest fires of the next year or two. And if the ground were suitable for cultivation, the destruction of the forest would be completed by the

zemindar who found the ground cleared of its heavy timber ready to his hand.

So much for damage to the forests, nor was that to the timber less considerable. No money or care was expended on the preparation of slides by which to remove the logs to the river from the forests. These latter often lay at considerable distances from the stream, and with very broken or precipitous ground between, and the damage done was in many cases greater than would readily be believed, unless its results had been seen by outsiders, and indeed confessed by the traders. Both Cleghorn and Brandis show the immense percentage of timber which, under this system, was frequently destroyed. Dr. Brandis describes logs of 6 feet girth split longitudinally in the mere process of rolling to the river, and mentions that 1,000 splitted logs and pieces were counted at the foot of one slide, and 250 in only a part of the course of another. Dr. Cleghorn again states that so far as he could gather from the contractors themselves, more than one-third of the timber never reached the water.

But the logs were exposed to other dangers in their transit down the river to the plains. Injury to them by dashing against rocks or against each other cannot be avoided, and a proportion of them will always be damaged in this way. There is also the detriment they may undergo from alternate wetting and drying in the sun in the process of floating down for days, and then being stranded for months in the course of a three or four years' passage to the depôt. The passage can generally be considerably hastened by sending clearing parties down the river to push off the stranded timber. But the traders, as a rule, spent little or nothing on such operations.

The chief difficulties, however, attending the passage of the logs arose not from nature but from man. The system of pilfering timber was so wide-spread and deliberate, with so little chance of detection, that some of the rivers were spoken of as *khula khizana*, open treasuries. The villagers along the bank annexed what timber they could lay hands on, each trader preyed upon his fellows, even rank giving no guarantee for fair dealing; the Rajahs or the men about them either worked their rights of waif themselves, or sold them to be worked in such a way that waif was largely manufactured by obliterating marks. In the meantime, there was no European supervision to keep down these frightful plunderings, and the traders could hope to keep going by a system of reprisals only. As means of offence and defence, the timber marks in use were multitudinous in number, and often complex in structure. Dr. Cleghorn gives drawings of 41 in

use on the Ravi by only two parties—the Rajah and a single firm of traders. And Dr. Stewart mentions that in the course of a walk round one of the depôts on the same river he noted no fewer than 30 marks. It is stated also that as many as 35 different marks were found on the timber swept into the head of the Bari Doab Canal by a single flood.

The object of each trader appears to have been, not to have one good, definite mark, registered, and so well put in as to be difficult of obliteration but to have a whole host, so that if one proved easily defaced another might perchance escape. Sometimes a good deal of ingenuity was displayed in inventing a mark which would easily embrace in some part of its structure some of the marks of other traders. Thus one clever person assumed as his mark the rude resemblance of a human figure. The face could easily be made out from the sun of another trader, while the trident of a second might be absorbed without difficulty into the hand and so on. These defacers became so dexterous at their art, that we are told of a civil officer having quietly watched the process of one mark being substituted for another, and on going up found the former had such a look of age and genuineness, that he could hardly believe his eyes. One is not very sorry to learn that the chief men engaged in this honest business, have not, as a rule, prospered. Nemesis may sleep, but does not die, even in the timber-trade.

We may now review the errors and short-comings which have been committed in connection with the operations of Government in the forests of the Punjab Himalaya. A considerable proportion of these have arisen primarily from the belief in the "inexhaustibility" of these forests, and may proximately be attributed to the attempt to do far more than could be efficiently supervised. The chief evil resulting from this confident acting on the phrase "inexhaustible" has been felling on such a scale and in such a way, as seriously to imperil the very existence of many of the forest-tracts. To so great an extent have the exhaustion and the system of selling cheap been carried, that to use the words of the Secretary to the Punjab Government in the Public Works Department, the resources which should have been husbanded for succeeding generations, have been expended in a few years, unknown to Government or the public, and Government has not only been getting insufficient remuneration for its past operations, but has still the prospect of making large future payments in order to ensure the conservancy of the forests.

As the forests were "inexhaustible" no plan whatever was laid down, but "an army of moonshees, mates, and contractors"

was turned adrift over a tract of fifty miles in length in one of the most difficult parts of the Himalaya. No detailed supervision could have been put in practice, and the contractors naturally chose those trees that were so situated as to be most easily felled and launched. Year by year in many cases they went over the same forests, where as a matter of course the trees to be felled were year by year further from the river, and more difficult to launch. The necessary consequence is, that only the more difficult forests or more difficult parts of certain forests have been left unfelled, and much more money and labour must be expended on their removal than the average expended formerly.

But this is hardly the worst. As the essential conditions for successful reproduction were not cared for or understood,—and indeed it was hardly necessary to pay much attention to such a point in “inexhaustible” forests,—no precautions whatever were taken, that natural reproduction should have a fair chance. The rule appears to have been to “fell every full-sized tree that can be “launched,” and of the trees in individual forests fulfilling these conditions, the contractors, of course, selected those which were nearest the river, from which they were annually working their way further up the hill.

It would have been difficult to devise a better system than the above for giving the fullest possible scope to the circumstances adverse to reproduction, which are mentioned by Dr. Brandis as apt to follow indiscriminate felling. The ground has often been over-cleared, so that the deodar seedlings have not the shade and shelter, which are almost essential to their welfare. Scrub has, as usual, followed the axe, and helped to choke the weakly plants, and fires have had full swing. Forest fires of weeks' duration are recorded on the Ravi. We need hardly say that while the inexpediency of obstructing the natural reproduction of deodar was not appreciated, no systematic or continuous efforts were made to determine the best method for its artificial reproduction. The success of such attempts as were made, was in proportion, and the sowing experiments of forest officers were for the most part as uncertain and unlucky as those of outsiders. One of the earliest of the latter on record may be given as illustrating the generally unsuccessful results of all. In 1845, 20,000 deodar are mentioned as having been planted out, of which after eight months only 800 were alive, and even of these it is believed that none now remain. Dr. Stewart states that so far as his knowledge goes, no experiments in the artificial reproduction of deodar have as yet succeeded on any other than a gardening scale.

The management of the depôts, including the stoppage of the timber at the upper or catching depôts, its rafting from these to the lower or selling depôts, with its receipt, manipulation, and sale there, is a complicated affair. This is especially the case on the Chenab, where for the longest time the largest Government operations have been carried on. And it is to the credit of the officers concerned that the mere system of management and record is reported to be, on the whole, complete and satisfactory. But here laudation ceases, for as to the mercantile part of the matter, the system appears to have been arranged and worked chiefly for the benefit of the buyers.

The order from the beginning seems to have been to get down abundance of timber and sell it cheap, and too low prices have been the rule up to nearly the present time. Three or four years ago a tariff of selling rates was approved, the chief results of which appear to have been, to facilitate the work of the officer in charge, in dealing with cantankerous railway employés, and to let the wood go cheaper than its actual value. There seems no question that Government have lost largely by these tariff rules, which appear hardly to have been sufficiently elastic, so as easily to accommodate themselves to the rising price of deodar timber. And that they were invariably lower than the normal rate, is sufficiently clear from the fact that the rates of the Maharajah of Jummo, (the other chief timber merchant of the western Punjab) were always higher than those of Government, and yet he sold his timber readily. Only the supposition that the tendency to sell too cheap has not yet been quite extinguished, can account for the fact that quite recently selected sleepers on the Ravi were being sold by Government on the large scale at Rs. 2-8 each, while within a hundred miles the Railway Company were paying Rs. 4, and it is said as much as Rs. 4-8.

Another serious evil, which seems to have largely pervaded the system, was the almost total absence of record except such as the accounts demanded. This want is of much more consequence than the mere statement of the fact would indicate. A young officer joining for the first time is left to pick up the *whole* of his knowledge from tardy experience owing to a want of careful record, and many years of opportunity have been lost for working out some problems of importance. Amongst these is the determination of the average time necessary for logs to complete the passage from the forests to the depôt. The elaborate system of marking and record applied by Messrs. Brassey Wythes and Henfrey in their operations on the Sutlej in 1866, put to shame all attempts of the Government officers in

this direction, and if the system of the former appears somewhat too elaborate to pay, in all its details, yet this is an error on the right side.

And the cloud of past shortcomings of Government forest officers has not been unrelieved by gleams of genius sometimes emitted by men from whom we might have expected common sense at least! Thus we have had an elaborate plan with drawings and estimates for a magnificent and safe timber-slide, to remove the logs from a single forest, and only to cost ten thousand rupees! Then it was proposed and urged that the logs should, in certain cases, be launched over the snow, as is done in some other countries. It must be presumed that their conditions are very different from those existing in the Himalaya, for in the one or two cases in which this method was attempted on our rivers, the logs merely flopped through the snow and stuck in the ravine beneath. A proposal was also made that, in order to prevent the logs rushing down a steep slide with violence and detriment from dashing against rocks, they should be slid down before they were cleared of branches. As against this plan, the labourers not unreasonably objected that if it was attempted to launch logs in this way, they would either not move at all, or when they did slide, they would sweep along with them the whole of the men employed on the work. But the brightest gleam of all was that emitted by an officer who found that logs were apt to be stranded in masses behind rocks, in ravines, and small streams, and accordingly he proposed that they might advantageously be heaved over the obstacles by means of balloons!

Notwithstanding the errors, however, which have been committed in the conduct of the past operations of the Government Forest Agency, it is well to remember that it has on the Chenab and Ravi hitherto cleared its own expenses, while it has, to a large extent, fulfilled the purpose for which it was instituted. This purpose was to get down abundance of timber, and that not too dear, for great public works. From the Chenab and Ravi the immense supply of timber necessary for barracks, bridges, and other buildings, public and private, throughout great part of the Punjab, has been supplied at low rates for many years. Nor did the system as regards supply break down, when to the former demand was superadded that for the Punjab Railway, which, in the period from 1st May 1859 to 1st May 1865, received the enormous quantity of 1,350,000 cubic feet of deodar from the Chenab alone.

It was in 1861 that the Government of the Punjab saw the necessity of taking action in the matter of forest



conservancy. Dr. Cleghorn, who had been conservator of Forests in Madras for some years, was deputed to the Punjab to investigate the whole question, and spent two years in the province. The result of his labours is contained in the Report presented to the Punjab Government in 1864, and which is now before us. It is not too much to say that his investigations have paved the way for what is being and still must be done for forest conservancy in the province, and the Report contains a store of valuable information bearing on this subject, in a form suitable for reference.

It was seen that in forests like these, situated on rivers running along narrow valleys and following a long course among several principalities out into the plains, the existence of different interests in connection with forest operations causes endless wrangling, leading to lax notions on the subject of property in timber, and dishonest practices in the case of natives, or to violent procedure in the case of Europeans. It was also evident that if Government could get into its hands the forests on several of the great rivers, coincident advantages would accrue, such as the experience derived on one river being brought to bear on others, and the gradual formation of an uniform system with the necessary local modifications. In this way not only would the work be more systematically and satisfactorily performed, but Government would necessarily be in a far better position for knowing the timber resources of the province, and how these resources were being utilized.

Accordingly, during and in consequence of Dr. Cleghorn's investigations, arrangements were made for obtaining long leases of the forests in the Chumba and Bissahir territories, and for working, besides the Chenab and Ravi in the former (which had been partly worked for Government for several years), the Biás in British territory, the Sutlej in Bissahir, and the Jhelum tributary, the Nainsookh also in our own territory. The whole of these operations were to be under a conservator, (to which office Dr. Stewart was appointed) who, besides seeing to the general administration of forests proper, should act as technical adviser to the local Government on all matters connected with timber, fuel, and arboriculture.

We may here refer to a few of the minor improvements which have been introduced of late years, since more attention was directed to these matters, and since the organization of the Department. The area in which felling takes place is being contracted, and the number of trees felled is being gradually brought lower so as more nearly to approximate to the present capabilities of the forests. For years the same rate appears to

have been paid for felling each tree of whatever size, and the consequence was that the contractors and labourers were tempted to fell the smaller trees in preference. Within the last few years a tariff of felling rates according to size has been introduced, which, with increased attention to selection, has almost entirely prevented under-sized trees from being felled. Cross-cutting the logs by saw instead of axe-cutting is being introduced in certain cases, and greater care is also paid to marking the logs according to the years of felling. When possible, also, a branded mark has been introduced, which is less liable than an axe-mark to erasure by accident or to designed alteration.

As much of the timber as can be got down of large size, is being cut up into long beams and logs (long timber commanding a much enhanced price in the market) with good effect, as is shown by the increased sizes of the logs received in depôt. Great efforts have been made to launch the timber formerly left lying in the forests, and along with this more careful enumerations have been effected of the logs so left. No labour or expense has been spared in adapting to their purpose the slides made of late years. Most of these have been very successful in enabling the timber to be launched from difficult places, and one of them is characterized by the conservator, as "probably the best timber-slide ever constructed in the Himalaya." Considerable trouble and money is also being spent in some of the forest districts on roads and bridges, which are likely to be useful not only in forest-operations, but for the inhabitants at large.

Operations have for three seasons been in progress on the Biás and Sutlej, (as well as the Chenab and Ravi), and although there has not yet been time for much of the timber to reach depôt, there is every reason to hope for successful results. An officer has been sanctioned for the Jhelum Division, under whom operations on the Nainsookh will probably commence in 1867. And along with all the executive work done, perhaps not the smallest result arrived at of late years is that the imminent state of exhaustion of the forests on some of the rivers is now fully appreciated, if not quite gauged. So that having arrived at a fairly approximate estimate of the stock of timber still left standing, the extent of felling operations on all the rivers can now be modified in accordance with the number of trees left, and the average rate of growth of deodar.

In order to exclude other interests from the forests to be worked by Government, leases for long terms were, in 1864, completed for the whole of the forests in the Chumba and

Bissahir States, which gives to the British Government as lessee tolerably complete command of the timber resources of the upper part of the Chenab, of the Ravi, and of the Sutlej. Since these leases were obtained, it has been found that in several respects advantageous modifications might be made, if the work had to be done again. Thus the Chumba lease is for 20 years, and is renewable on the same terms by the British Government for four more successive periods of similar length, which is probably sufficient. But the lease of the Bissahir forests is only for fifty years with no proviso as to renewal. And as the average period of growth of a first-class deodar there is considerably over that period, there is no great temptation for the Government to undertake large measures for artificial reproduction.

In these leases there are some superfluous matters, such as the insertion of a seignorage rate for Birch, the wood of which is almost useless on the spot, and is not likely to pay for export to the plains. Several of the defects which have been discovered in working the leases, have arisen from a want of definiteness which, to a certain extent, was perhaps unavoidable under the novel circumstances of the case. Thus, it is evident that the lessee should have some power of demarking and specially reserving some of the more valuable forests, where the reproduction of young trees is apt to be interfered with. But in the leases there is no proviso as to reserving and fencing even plantations made at the expense of Government, far less such forests as those alluded to. In neither lease are the rights of the inhabitants to trees so clearly defined as they should be; nor is it laid down what power of check the Forest Department shall have over the indents sent in by the Rajahs for what trees they want; nor is it clearly defined *what* aid the Rajahs are to give forest officers in the apprehension of criminals. In the Chumba lease it is specially laid down, that a certain proportion of the seignorage paid shall be spent on conservancy and forest roads, but there is no such proviso in the Bissahir lease, and both would have been much more complete, had it been stipulated that the British Government was to have the waif and windfall on all the rivers each year at certain rates. The last omission has already led to difficulties, and will be apt to lead to more.

One of the most delicate questions with which forest officers have to deal is in regard to felling the trees of forests or clumps in which temples are situated. As is well known, the original form (*debi-diar*) of the best-known name of the deodar, is derived from the supposed sacredness of the tree. This name, however, is not restricted to the *cedrus*, which

indeed is not held equally sacred among the Hindoos throughout the tract where it grows. Towards the east where the tree is rare, it seems to be held in considerable sanctity. Madden mentions that during the Goorkha invasion of Kumaon, some men of one of their detachments felled deodar trees in a temple-grove, in consequence of which, as the people affirm, a fatal epidemic broke out among the troops, and the wrath of the deity was only appeased by the presentation to her shrine of two golden models of a deodar tree. But in the west, where the tree is much more common, its sanctity is not nearly so high. Even in so-called temple-groves and temple-forests, *i. e.* where a temple has been built among or close by deodar, as affording a pleasant shady site, the inhabitants refrain from felling the tree (except for temple purposes) only in the immediate vicinity of the temple itself,—and this because as they state, they fear the vengeance of the deity falling on *them* if they fell close to the temple. In a recent case in Chumba, however, where the relations of the depôt with the people were complicated by circumstances of a personal and peculiar nature, the inhabitants assembled to the number of some hundreds, and obstructed a young forest officer on his way with a working party to fell in a certain forest. The officer himself was hustled, and some of his men were nearly killed. It is needless to say that the trees were eventually felled. Only a week or two previously an analogous case had occurred in a neighbouring part of the Chumba State, when the inhabitants objected to a certain forest being felled. They, however, took the legitimate step of representing their objections to the Rajah, through whom and the Forest Department the matter was amicably settled.

The chief error which has been committed in connection with one of these leases is, that a minimum payment of Rs. 20,000 annually is assured to the Rajah of Chumba, irrespective of the number of trees that may be felled. This sum is equivalent to the seignorage on about 5,000 deodar trees, the local Government equally with the Supreme Government, as is stated, being unaware at the time of making the agreement that the number of trees left in Chumba territory is quite insufficient to permit any thing like that number being felled during each of the next twenty years. Probably 1,500, or at the utmost 2,000 only, can be felled on the average annually during that period, inclusive of those which will attain first-class size within twenty years. It is asserted that the Government could not have got the lease on any easier terms. But although it was worth something to rescue the remainder of these forests from the destruction which awaited

them, and to get them thoroughly in hand, so as to be able to do something for their conservancy and reproduction, the price is undoubtedly extravagant. And had Government, at the time the negotiations were in progress, known as much of the exhaustion of the Chumba forests as we believe we now do, it might have been a question whether it would not have been preferable to let the work of devastation go on for five or six years more, and *then* to have got the lease on infinitely lower terms. As it is, there is a strong inducement for the British Government to exercise the greatest possible economy as to the deodar still standing in Chumba, and for the Forest Department to try to introduce more largely the use of the inferior pines, which are abundant and almost untouched in many parts of the State.

Under the two leases, there are now in the hands of Government officers all the deodar tracts of the Punjab Himalaya of any great moment, excepting those which belong to the Maharajah of Kashmir. We have already alluded to the probable amount of timber still standing in his dominions. His deodar-bearing rivers comprise, 1, the Siawa and Uj, two small tributaries of the lower Ravi; 2, the lower part of the main Chenab within the Himalaya, (in Pádar and Kishtwar districts) with two considerable tributaries, the Bhutna and the Marroo-Wurdwun; and 3, the Jhelum or Behut for some miles below Baramula, with a large tributary, the Kishungunga. The Ravi tributaries are of no great importance, but the existence of large tracts of deodar in the Chenab and Jhelum basins in the hands of the Maharajah, has been and must be a source of difficulties. Some day it may be deemed advisable to get a lease of these also, the more especially because, as we have already hinted, much of the timber now left standing will be removable only by methods and systems not likely to be put in practice by His Highness's agents.

A new system of forest accounts has been put in force for the Punjab, which will probably produce good results, not only in checking expenditure, but in keeping the Government and the conservator thoroughly informed of the progress of work. The system has, however, hardly had a fair trial as yet, seeing that soon after its initiation, the audit of forest accounts was made over to the Accountant-General. It seems doubtful if the audit may not have to be re-transferred to the Controller of accounts in the Public Works Department, whose establishment is accustomed to deal with a system much more akin to that of the Forest Department than is that of the Accountant-General. The travelling allowances of the Department in the Punjab,

as throughout India, have been remodelled on a fairly liberal scale, the Government of India conceiving that liberality in this respect "would best serve the interests of Government and of the forests." The pay of the Department generally, however, has hardly come under the operation of this principle yet, and much remains to be done before the officers will be satisfied with their position and prospects. Such satisfaction is hardly to be looked for until with more liberal rates of pay, and larger powers, the Department for the whole of India shall have been organized into one body, so that inter-provincial promotions can readily be effected, and the Department acquire a union and stability which it at present wants.

It is now time to touch lightly on some of the difficulties which the Department has met and still must meet. And we may commence with those which are more strictly connected with conservancy, than with timber felling or timber dealing. Conservancy difficulties in the regions with which the Department has to deal, result chiefly from the inveterate tendency of the inhabitants to waste and maltreat the deodar in all possible ways. This tendency again arises from the circumstance, that in time past there was abundance of deodar with no restriction on its use. But all that is or must be changed. No sooner has the deodar seedling shown above ground than its trials commence. People whose interests lie the other way, or whose observation is not acute, will deny that these are grazed down, but ocular demonstration; the existence of thousands of cropped plants with the otherwise unaccounted for disappearance of millions more, are sufficient to prove that cattle, and especially sheep and goats, are very destructive to the deodar. If any one doubts that the domestic quadrupeds browse on deodar, he has only to inspect those young trees which were planted out by the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab near his house at Dhurmsala, and his scepticism will vanish. There is no point in connection with forestry in Europe on which more stress is justly laid than the damage done to young trees by cattle.

Still greater injury is done by forest fires. Dr. Falconer stated that, so far as his observation went, these are almost always wilful, and in this we quite agree with him. Even in the outer Himalaya, as in the plains, miles of country may at certain seasons be seen in a blaze, or with all the lower vegetation charred and scorched from recent conflagration. These fires are lighted by the people chiefly in order that the old grass being burned down, the new crop may get full scope to come up. We have, however, been assured by a tea-planter of large

experience, that grass comes up much more abundantly and richly, though perhaps not quite so early, in places where fires have not been permitted, as they destroy a large proportion of the seed with the dry grass.

The old trees also are much injured by these fires which often serve to check vegetation for a time. And whole hill-sides may be seen on which every tree has the fire-scar, a peculiar mark generally observed on the upper side of the tree where fires have been frequent. Sometimes even the larger trees are killed by these quasi-accidental fires, and large patches of dead trunks are frequently seen in the Himalayan forests, arising from this cause. When the object is to cultivate the forest-land, branches, &c., are heaped up round the trunks of the trees, in order that the fire may effectually kill the latter. Where timber is plentiful with no restriction on its use, it would be too much trouble to fell and stub out these, and the charred remains may be seen standing for many years, gaunt memorials of what may once have been a magnificent forest.

When the deodar saplings have attained some size, the inhabitants, as a matter of course, cut them for the most trivial purposes in preference to any others, and near villages, considerable tracts may be seen with nothing but small saplings and sapling-stumps. Of the larger trees again, the smaller branches are often unmercifully lopped for litter, &c., until in some cases, as may be well seen at places in the neighbourhood of Simla, the trees resemble attenuated brooms, and as a bough of sufficiently large size is more easy to fell and dress than a trunk, the large branches are in some places lopped off so severely, that the conservator speaks of certain forests where the trees are "more like old gnarled mulberry-trees than the generally shapely deodar." The trunks again are stripped of their bark to make shielings, and are hacked for fire-kindling or torches, after either of which processes the forest fires injure them more easily. The tree is very patient under this mangling, and one of 15 feet girth is mentioned of which half the trunk had been cut away piece-meal, and only two strips of bark, each of less than a foot broad, remained, but still the tree was verdant on that side.

The timber of the deodar is employed by the inhabitants in the most lavish way, giant-trunks being often employed as bridges over tiny rills, and it is often used for purposes, such as making tubs and the manufacture of charcoal, for which the wood of the inferior pines or other trees would do equally well. The use of the saw is unknown, and although there is probably little or no waste when the timber is slivered up into thin

shingles, yet the expenditure of timber is great when small beams or thick planks, such as are employed in native house-building, are hacked by the axe out of the trunks of large trees.

Certain of the obstructions in the way of the Forest Department are connected with the locality and the climate of the places where the forest work lies. The mere geographical difficulties are by no means trifling, as they involve troublesome delays and mistakes in correspondence, orders, accounts, and the transmission of cash. Population and cultivation are generally scanty in these Himalayan valleys, and famines are normally of common occurrence. In almost every case not only the labourers employed in forest-operations, but much of the food for them also has to be imported from a distance.

Heavy snow sometimes occurs so early as to interfere with the due termination of the work. In these parts of the Himalaya, above 6,000 feet, the snow-fall is in most places exceedingly heavy. In order to avoid the danger from snow-slides and avalanches on the steep mountain, the people very often build their villages on ridges rather than in hollows. Even heavy snow-storms, however, have their compensation for the people, since if they knock down the houses, they also bring down plenty of windfall wood with which to repair them. The snow-fall in the winter, 1864-5, was exceedingly heavy on all the rivers, and avalanches very frequent in some parts. On the Pangri portion of the Chenab no fewer than 160 lives are said to have been lost by avalanches in that winter. Fifty people were overwhelmed in one hamlet, of whom twenty were dug out alive from under many feet of snow after being entombed from 2 to 9 days. The destruction of timber was very great, as many as 30,000 logs of windfall having been launched in consequence.

One of the most fruitful sources of trouble arises from the possession of waif-rights by the various Rajahs. Government has decided, and rightly, that all "unmarked timber" in our territory is waif, and as such belongs to Government. And the same rule must of necessity hold good in regard to the various small feudatory states along the great rivers. These waif-rights are either managed direct by the somewhat unscrupulous agents of the chiefs, or are leased to still more unscrupulous traders of the class above alluded to, who wish for their own purposes to retain a footing of some kind on the rivers. The terms on which these waif-rights on the Sutlej have been offered to Government are too exorbitant to be met. For it is not yet fully appreciated, that in future, with more careful working of the forests, and in particular



more attention to correct marking of the logs, the annual amount of waif should comprise but little except a few wind-fall trees. The fact that the aggregate paid to the chiefs for these waif-rights on this river was formerly equal to the price of some 2,500 or 3,000 good logs, indicates that the demoralizing practice of manufacturing waif by obliterating marks was not unknown.

Notwithstanding such obstructions to its operations from without, it might be expected that the Department would at least have reasonable scope within our own territory. But so far is this from being the case, that the Forest Department has had no control whatever over any forests in British territory, until within a very short time, when a beginning was made upon a most limited scale. The Secretary of State has laid it down that the Department should not be stinted in power, and the local Government has fully endorsed that principle, so that the fault must lie elsewhere. One reason of the reluctance to make over charge of forests or local powers to the Department is a belief that its operations must tend to oppress the people. Oppression, however, will not necessarily follow such transfers, and the best check upon it is that the forest officers work as much as possible in concert and consultation with civil officers. But it is not easy to reach the stage of amicable co-operation while a feeling prevails, that is exemplified by the remark of a Commissioner in respect to the management of waif-timber, that he "doubted" if a separate officer could do the work so well as the district "officers." As if, because the Punjab is a non-regulation province, the principle of the division of labour must be a mistake! And yet it is not an unquestioned fact that district officers can do all kinds of forest work in the best possible way, for we find a high civil authority stating that they want the aid of a forest officer (subordinated to them of course!) in making out classified lists of the various kinds of forests (in which they had failed) in doing the same thing for the kinds of trees, in arranging scales of seignorage, and in order to supply the want of special knowledge in thinning, pruning, &c.;—a goodly list, almost sufficient to indicate the necessity of instituting a special Department.

In order to exemplify the necessity that for the protection of hill-forests within our territory some other arrangements are necessary than those now prevailing, we may give one or two statements made by civil officers within the last few years regarding the hill-forests of Rawul Pindee, in which district there is a considerable extent of wooded hills. Several officers

concurred in the belief that the members of the large Forest Establishments were by no means confined to their regular duties. It was asserted to be absolutely essential that an endeavour should be made to *interest* the zemindars in the work of taking care of the forests, and this at a time when they were enjoying what we must call "black mail" in the shape of a considerable percentage on all receipts on "condition of aiding conservancy," *i. e.*, in order to prevent forest-offences by themselves! And the Commissioner stated that the native officials cannot be made to comprehend the importance of forest-conservancy, European officers have no time to attend to it, nor are they sufficiently long in the place to do it justice, and "nothing more "unsatisfactory than the present state of things can be conceived."

Concerning the forest of Kangra again acres of foolscap must have been covered. In that district a most elaborate system for the conservancy of the *whole* of the immense forest area was introduced. There also the same "black-mail" system was in still more luxuriant force, and we find that in a single quarter there would be several hundred cases of breach of forest rules tried, a circumstance, as we conceive, quite sufficient to condemn the system. There have, no doubt, been an ample sufficiency of forest rules framed, and plenty of establishments sanctioned in the province. And in certain districts since the demand became heavier, and more attention has been directed to the subject, much larger sums have been collected for seignorage. But not rules, nor establishments, nor receipts, imply conservancy, with regard to which it does not seem evident that there has, of late years, been any improvement whatever. We find the conservator stating that in the Salt Range, on every hill where felling and fires were nominally prohibited, he either saw them going on, or observed their recent marks, while the top of one "preserved" hill had been denuded of most of its few trees, to burn lime for the district officer's bungalow. *Quis custodiet!*

Nor do the experiences of district officers with European timber dealers seem to have been happier, even since increased attention was directed to forest management. For we find it stated that within the year 1865, as many as three permits to fell deodar on the large scale had been granted by district officers, contrary to the wish and, in some cases, the direct orders of Government. Is it asking too much that the management of these valuable forests should be put entirely in the hands of officers whose whole attention is directed to such subjects, and who will be judged by results as

to conservancy, and that no district officer or superintendent of a State should have the power to grant permits to fell deodar?

We are tempted to give one more example of management under different circumstances, *viz.*, by the so-called local committee of a hill-sanatorium. Close to Dalhousie lies the large forest of Kálatop, which at one time contained a considerable quantity of deodar. For several years after the station of Dalhousie was established, *viz.* up to 1861, the contractors and others who built houses there had a "good time" in Kálatop. They appear to have felled trees at random, and bought and sold them to each other, without reference to the Rajah, or the payment of any fixed seignorage to him. But the Rajah began to bestir himself on the last point, the cry arose that deodar was getting scarce, and an effort was made to shut the stable-door by which the steed was being stolen. The deodar was estimated at eighteen or twenty thousand trees, (when in reality they did not exceed a fourth of that number), and no limit was put on the number to be felled each year in the rules which were promulgated. Each applicant still got as many as he wanted, so that nearly 500 trees a year were being felled, on payment of a small seignorage fee for each. Of this part went to the Rajah, but much under what he said was his due, and below what the Government were paying to His Highness for a deodar felled in the wildest part of the Ravi with no local demand whatever. The remainder was ordered to be applied to making roads to and through the forests, and to the conservancy of the latter. But after paying for a chuprassy or two, the whole was absorbed into the general Dalhousie Fund whence it has not been disgorged. Recently, however, the Lieutenant-Governor has interfered, and ordered the rate per tree to be more than doubled, so that the Rajah may get his proper seignorage, and some adequate provision may be made for the care of the forest. Rules have also been prepared under which may be ensured a continuous and permanent supply up to the limits of its capabilities, unless it be again made over to the tender mercies of a quasi-municipal committee, consisting of greedy householders who are always too apt to say with Sir Boyle Roche, "Never mind posterity, what has posterity done for us?"

Nor are some of the circumstances of a forest officer's existence calculated to make men take kindly to it. Many of them have to spend an isolated, nomadic kind of life, far from their fellows and from all the resources and amenities of civilization, at times shut out from intercourse with Europeans by snowy passes across which a post only finds its way after the

interval of a month or two. They have much to suffer from the elements, exposed under canvas to heat, cold, and wet for many weeks at a time, so much so, indeed, that none but the best constitutions aided by temperance can stand it. During the present year no fewer than five officers have been ill, some of them seriously so. Then there is much climbing in *pulas* (sandals) up dangerous slides, where men are "expended" every year, frequent crossing of twig and swing bridges, a great deal of travelling on, perhaps, the worst thoroughfare paths in the world, varied by occasional floating on *mussucks* and rafts. Nor are other dangers unknown, for not many months ago a labourer was attacked by a bear almost at the side of a forest officer to the imminent risk of the life, and the abolition of the nose of the former. So great altogether are the risks to life, that it has been found difficult or impossible for a forest officer to initiate a Life Assurance policy.

Then the expenses of living far in the interior are by no means light. There have been officers in the Punjab forests capable of wonderful endurance and frugality, said to be able for "twenty coss a day" and a week's journey, dressed in a *Guddie's* coat, and without tent, bed, or any kit beyond a blanket and a teapot. But those were the early days of forest work in the province, and the pioneer-period is long past; most of the necessities of life are now very dear and almost every luxury from the plains costs fifty to a hundred per cent. additional for carriage. Extra servants have to be kept as there are extra duties, such as making grass sandals, and each man receives much higher pay than in the plains. For his expenses also are greater owing to the scarcity and dearth of food, and the necessity for warm clothes, not to mention that he also feels the isolation of a life where he has no bazar to go to, in which to retail the *gup* he delights in.

There is, however, much that is enjoyable in the life of a forest officer. Most of it is spent by great rivers amid beautifully picturesque or stupendously grand scenery, including some of the finest "peaks, passes, and glaciers" of the old world; and there is frequently good shooting within reach. Then the work is invigorating and the climate generally bracing, so that if the constitution is sound, the physique gets "as hard as nails." There is much independence, and something of a picnic feeling pervading the mode of life, and the surrounding circumstances are such as to teach self-reliance and readiness of resource. From the geographical and other conditions of the work, one enjoys a considerable amount of official independence, which suits most men very well, although even in the Forest Depart-

ment there is quite enough of "*nuksha*" to satisfy the cravings of any one.

We shall now review shortly the future duties and prospects of the Punjab Forest Department. As these, to a considerable extent, depend upon the correctness of the estimates made of trees still standing, it may be remarked that even if a margin of a hundred per cent. additional be allowed, the case is still sufficiently serious. The Punjab Government appear fully to understand and appreciate the imminent exhaustion of most of these forests, but they have observed that "with increased experience it may be expected that expenditure will diminish." Now it appears to us that if the work is to be properly done, any such diminution is nearly hopeless under present arrangements. The minimum seignorage payment of Rs. 20,000 to the Chumba Rajah, and the excess of expenditure on canal arboriculture, press heavily on the Department. What timber is available must even with the increased cost of launching, &c., which is now inevitable, be supplied for great public purposes. And, above all, within the next few years much has to be learned and done for conservancy proper, for which considerable establishments must be kept up, if we mean to do our duty to these forests.

Supposing the amount of the deodar resources to be at all near what we have estimated them, there seems no probability that the requirements will diminish much in the future, for a considerable time at least. There is a larger demand than heretofore by well-to-do natives for building purposes, there is as yet no tendency to a diminution in the wants of the Public Works Department and as, for most localities, pot-sleepers are not looked upon with favour, wooden-sleepers must be supplied for the projected lines, and for renewal on those already constructed. Even if the unprepared timber of *cheel* (*Pinus longifolia*) had been found to answer for sleepers, we do not believe that the numbers of that tree now remaining are sufficient to warrant our expecting much aid from it. It is true there are abundant stores of *Kail* (*P. Excelsa*) and the other inferior *res* still standing, but these are generally so far in the interior, that they would probably, on the average, cost as much as deodar has done to bring them down to the plain excepting in the item of seignorage. When some ~~timber~~ cheaper than kyanizing, and yet as effectual for serving timber, shall have been discovered, this aspect of the question will be somewhat altered, but at present, we can hardly calculate on that contingency.

The only *res* growing abundantly in the plains of the province, ~~the~~ timber has yet been found to furnish good and

durable sleepers is the *kikkar* or *babool*. It is, however, nowhere to be found of very large size in the Punjab, as the trees are in demand for agricultural purposes. And it is stated that sleepers of this wood imported from Sind, the nearest source of supply, will cost considerably more than deodar sleepers as yet do. Doubtless in forming and managing fuel plantations of *kikkar*, the possibility that a proportion of the trees when they have attained sufficient size may come into use for sleepers, will be kept in mind, but this is a contingency which the present generation of officials can hardly trust to.

In regard to the measures to be taken in behalf of conservancy, one of the initial steps to be carried out by degrees is to demark all the more valuable deodar forests, and to reserve part of them, particularly those where young trees are numerous, or when planting out or sowing has been done. Such measures for artificial reproduction need hardly be undertaken on a large scale, until there is greater certainty as to the best methods to be followed. The results of recent attempts, however, have been so far encouraging, and these should be continued and extended, pending the arrival of a skilled officer from Europe whose appointment has been sanctioned. The attempts at growing larch also should be carefully continued, though it is probable that deodar will continue to be the mainstay of timber supply from the north-west Himalaya. It is especially the less necessary to make very great efforts at the artificial reproduction of deodar, as it is agreed by many authorities, Messrs. Edwards, Barnes, and Batten, and Drs. Cleghorn and Stewart, that conservancy of forests already existing, with care that natural reproduction in them has fair play, is preferable to attempting to form new forests by planting or sowing. When operations for artificial reproduction come to be undertaken on a large scale, the conservancy share of the seignorage will be of great use as far as Chumba is concerned, in the forest-lease of which only the proviso of one rupee per tree for this purpose was introduced.

At some future period or in some special cases, it will be well to have recourse to some of the more advanced and elaborate systems pursued in Europe. And when means permit, the "improving fellings" of the French, by which the inferior kinds of trees are removed so as to give the deodar full scope, will probably be introduced. With these last may be combined the felling of the inferior pines, in order to supplement the supply of, and lessen the drain upon, deodar. Of the former only, a few hundred *kail* have as yet been felled (chiefly on the Ravi). And although a considerable quantity of this timber comes down as windfall, yet the logs are generally not in good

condition. It will thus be advisable to fell the inferior pines tentatively on a considerable scale, in order fully to test the market-value of clean, sound logs, and, if possible, as the price of deodar rises, to get the timber of the former into use for many purposes for which the latter alone is now employed.

Efforts must also be made to get down a larger proportion of the more remunerative long logs, to attain more perfect marking so as to lessen the quantity of waif and the probability of annexation *en route*, with a greater number of distinctive marks of the year of felling, the class of timber (felled or windfall), so as gradually to attain a larger knowledge on various points of importance than we yet possess. As we mentioned above, the practice of Messrs. Brassey Wythes and Henfrey has already thrown into the shade the past doings of Government forest officers in some of these details. For the future also it is both necessary and expedient that much greater attention should be paid to the formation of slides for the timber than heretofore, the problem being, especially as to the more difficult forests in which alone much standing timber now remains on the older rivers, to get down the greatest quantity of wood *safe* at a minimum cost.

It will now be advisable also to test more fully certain methods, which hitherto there has been no great occasion to bring into play, owing to the comparative ease with which the timber could be launched in logs. On the Ravi, a good deal of timber has recently been converted into sleepers and beams before launching, and it will by and bye be necessary to saw up many trees into sleeper-pieces and small logs in the forests, where the launching is very difficult, or the stream not very full. A portable saw-mill was projected for the upper Chenab, but the scheme was given up as not likely to be remunerative. A large saw-mill driven by water, situated at Madhopore at the *débouchement* of the Ravi, was for some time in the hands of forest officers. But the supervision of such work is hardly the most legitimate duty for them, and the Deputy Conservator stated that it did not pay. The Canal Department contended that it had paid, and undertook to prove it, so to the satisfaction of both parties it was made over to the latter two years ago.

On the rivers again the practice ought to be much more frequently followed of sending parties, with an officer when possible, down or up the stream, in order to note stranded timber, and float it off when possible, as well as to show the people that the establishments are on the alert against purloiners. Keeping down misappropriation of timber and fraud is, in truth,

one of the most important duties which the establishments of the Department in its present stage have to perform. And in order to aid in this, Government should, if need be, *insist* on the chiefs, major and minor, along the rivers, whether we have leased their forests or not, allowing our forest officers to exercise the same magisterial powers as they may possess within our own territories. This is an object of sufficient importance materially and morally to warrant the Government in something other than a milk and water policy in carrying it out. These native chiefs should also be induced to make and carry out a decent set of waif-rules, and to give leases of their waif to the Forest Department, in which case it may be feasible to get them to aid in keeping down crime by putting small guards at the easy catching reaches of the rivers.

Attempts must also be made to elevate the character of our native subordinate forest-agency, on whom so much will depend in carrying out the many reforms still to be accomplished. We do not suppose that they are more venal than are other natives in similar circumstances of temptation. But many of them are miserably paid, and a considerable proportion are only employed for part of the year, a most unadvisable system, as we think. Many of these men are exposed to considerable hardships, not to mention dangers, their food is often bad and dear, and warm clothing is essential in places where the forest-work lies. The consequence of all this is, that a forest officer within the last year or two reported that each fresh check upon peculation and corruption only rendered it more difficult to get good men. Without trusting this statement in its entirety, we consider that it is almost hopeless, without giving fairly liberal pay, to expect natives to be honest in such temptation.

Among the benefits accruing from the operations of the Forest Department, we must not forget to note one which, though not obtrusive, is real. It consists in the fact that even the mere introduction of organized labour upon a considerable scale, guided by European honesty, energy, and skill, will, in those remote Himalayan valleys, do something to show, if not to teach, the people some of the elementary principles of a higher civilization than they have hitherto seen at work. We might crowd our pages with illustrations of the depths of ignorance and superstition in which they are at present sunk, such as the fact that until lately the officers were obliged to compromise with paganism by allowing the men a goat for sacrifice at the commencement of felling operations. Again, a forest officer who had his wife along with him, was directed, with a view to certain work, to winter in one of these secluded



proceeding to which the people of the place for some occult reason or other objected. After many fruitless entreaties that he would not remain there during winter, they wound up with the solemn threat that if he attempted to do so, they had learned that the local deity would lift the lady across the lofty pass towards the plains, and deposit her on the other side. To this he merely replied that he would be very glad if by any such process he could be relieved of the trouble and expense which, judging from past experience, he would have in getting her along the twig-bridge and out of the valley.

Throughout the work there must be great improvement on the practice of the past in record and registration, so that any one, especially officers new to the Department or the locality, may be able readily to gather good general ideas as to past operations from written records. Various improvements connected with organization also are desiderata, such as some sort of manual of rules for conservancy and other work, for the guidance of officers and establishments. It is likewise to be wished that officers of the several divisions should be in the habit of consulting each other on many matters common to all, in order that a portion at least of the experience of each may become available for the benefit of the others. Such reforms, however, are not the work of a day, and it will probably be long before the whole crystallizes into the well-organized and effective scientific system which it ought to be.

When Dr. Brandis visited the province in the latter part of 1864, one of the things which struck him most strongly was, that the timber was being sold much too cheap, especially as the principle of selecting the best logs by purchasers was largely carried out. And since the smallness of the present stock of standing timber has been fully appreciated, as well as the difficult positions in which much of it is placed, it has become evident that that stock could not be sold remuneratively at present prices. It has likewise been found that the rates at which Government timber in the Punjab has recently been selling, are not much more than one-half those paid for *sal* in Meerut and Calcutta. It was also seen that the firm of Messrs. Brassey Wythes and Henfrey, although paying the equivalent of eleven rupees a tree for seignorage for the deodar they had acquired on the Sutlej, find it remunerative to convert them into timber for their works in the plains, while the seignorage payable by the Forest Department, all the rivers included, does not average three rupees eight ~~keeps~~ <sup>annas</sup> per tree. Taking into account all the circumstances Government have recently ordered the minimum

selling-rates for the various lengths of timber on the Chenab to be raised to nearly double the former averages. This measure will probably render sales less ready for some time at first, but we are convinced it will lead to the best results eventually, not only by raising the price of the timber to more nearly its proper level, below which it has been artificially depreciated, but by tending to cause a greater economy of deodar, and the gradual substitution for it of the timber of the inferior pines, for certain purposes to which the latter can be equally well applied.

Although most of the work of the Punjab Forest Department will for some time to come be connected with the felling of trees and the sale of timber, it must be kept in mind that these are not strictly legitimate duties either of Government or of a Forest Department. By and bye when the timber trade has been rendered more secure on these rivers by some years' management under Government officers, and the conditions of profitable working, and of the reproduction and growth of the deodar, are better known than now, inducements should be offered to European capitalists to work these forests. Restrictions will always be necessary, especially in respect to the selection of trees for felling, for, as Drs. Brandis and Cleghorn have remarked, the selection and marking of trees by purchasers is subversive of all conservancy. European permit-holders of a kind could doubtless be got now. But although the methods of Europeans are, as a rule, better, and their energy greater, as well as their willingness to spend trouble and money in getting timber out safe, yet all past experience demonstrates that, unless bound down by strict rules, so great is the bias of self-interest, that they are apt practically to have but little more regard than Orientals for the conservancy proper of forests.

## ART. III.—THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

THE subject which heads this article is one to which India cannot be indifferent, and which may properly be treated in this *Review*. We now respond to the touch of public feeling at home, nothing happening there is indifferent to us, we hear all important news in three days by telegraph, and perhaps it is true that the Englishman in India, whose tastes lead him that way,—and the nature of our employment fosters such tastes,—is both better informed and has a more active sympathy with European public affairs, than the ordinary denizen of provincial England. And in this question of the army India has a direct personal interest. It is on the force and prestige of the army that our empire in India rests, and we feel that it will neither do to apply the theories of Mr. Goldwin Smith to this country, nor to adopt the notions of the *Times*, that the spread of railways, or of anything else, will warrant a reduction of the English army in India.

The first thing is to consider for what purposes we require an army. As far as Great Britain is concerned, it is not required for purposes of internal administration, and, therefore, the Crown can organize it there in unhesitating reliance on the loyalty of the people. Ireland is unhappily differently situated, and we regret to come to the conclusion that provision for possible disturbance there will have to be part of our scheme. But Ireland is none the less capable of contributing her fair share to the defence of the common country. We require an army to defend the country against foreign invasion, to keep our place in Europe as a first-class power, to be partially stationed in Ireland as a precautionary measure, and to defend our numerous possessions scattered all over the face of the globe, and we must be prepared to do all this at the same time, if necessary. Our army, as at present constituted, is adequate to the last of these objects, and the third may be considered provided for in any scheme which embraces the first and second. But it is in these two objects, and more especially in the second

of them, that our system is felt to be inadequate, and it is to the solution of this problem we propose to address ourselves.

It is an old and, we believe, a healthy tradition of the English Foreign Office that, when our independence is threatened by a continental power, the struggle must be fought upon the continent. Three times has such a struggle occurred in history;—once with Roman Catholic Ultramontaniam incarnate in the person of Philip the second of Spain;—once with absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings in the wars with Louis XIV.;—and once with the spirit of democratic aggression as developed in the ambition of Napoleon. On none of these occasions have allies been wanting on the continent with common interests to ours, and we see no reason why, with good management, they should be wanting in future.

The services rendered to us by our allies on these occasions were hardly less important than those rendered by us to them. When the English fleet was destroying the Spanish Armada, the Dutch fleet was keeping the Spanish flotilla and the Prince of Parma's 30,000 veterans closely blockaded in the inland waters of Flanders, where they were all ready to start for England ten days before Queen Elizabeth made her celebrated muster of volunteers at Tilbury fort. It is not to be admitted that even Alexander Farnese could have conquered England, but many of the Catholics in the country were disloyal and the danger was great, while the loss and suffering, had this force reached the shores of England, would have been terrible. Our militia certainly could not have stood before Parma at first, and England was a rich country and none of its towns were fortified. Although Louis XIV. never actually proposed to invade England in force, yet during the reigns of the two last Stuarts he kept the country in a position little better than a French pro-consulate, as far as its independence went, while he supplied our kings with the means of crushing our liberties. After the revolution he could merely intrigue and assist an abortive rebellion, for in William's time we kept his armies fully employed on the continent, and in Anne's we fairly beat him there. It is true that the attempt to invade England in 1805 was frustrated by the swift sailing of a ship from the West Indies, and the consequent putting to sea of Sir Robert Calder's fleet, which, meeting Villeneuve off Corunna, disconcerted Napoleon's plan for the concentration of an overwhelming naval force in the channel to convoy the flotilla across. The subsequent destruction of the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar put an end to all idea of invasion for the time being. But the ministry saw the nearness of the danger, and after Austria had been struck

down at Austerlitz, Prussia at Jena, and Russia at Friedland, England entered on the war in Spain, and managed to keep no less than 350,000 French veterans fully employed there. We found in this policy at once safety, glory, and ultimately a satisfactory peace.

We believe a like policy to be equally sound now, but the facilities for an invasion, by France for example, have greatly increased since the last war, and it is necessary to show foreign governments that we are both able and willing to hold our own place, to induce them to seek our alliance. But foreign governments have, during the long peace, been carefully studying the question of military efficiency, and they have brought their institutions up to a mark never before attained. The complete manner, and, above all, the very short time, in which Austria has been struck down, by so much smaller a State as Prussia, is a terrible lesson to us, for we can no longer depend upon the "long run," and it may be safely said, that unless we can put and maintain an army of 100,000 men, in the highest state of efficiency upon the continent of Europe, whenever we please, no power will care about our alliance at all.

The state of the navy is not within the province of this article, and we shall only express our concurrence in the general opinion that it must be maintained on a scale equal to the united navies of Europe.

With regard to the army, it is in the recollection of all men how the French dropped the idea of invading England after the petition of the Colonels to the Emperor, when the answer was the embodiment of the volunteers, and there is no doubt whatever that the present talk of England being nothing on the continent, will likewise vanish, the moment the means of her self-assertion are apparent.

The English army consists of about 212,000 regular troops about 150,000 militia, and 167,000 volunteers. Including the pensioners and the Irish constabulary, the whole may be put down in round numbers at 600,000 men. The regulars, as far as they go, are first-rate troops, and they have a splendid and very efficient artillery, though not in proportion of numbers to that of continental States. The cavalry is also inferior in point of numbers, but, as heavy cavalry, is probably unequalled in quality. The principal defect of the army is the want of knowledge of their profession among the superior officers. But not above 50,000 men are available at home, and of these a goodly proportion are composed of dépôt battalions, an organization which every soldier will admit is greatly inferior to that of a regiment. The militia and their cavalry,

the yeomanry, are totally without organization. When embodied, they become *in time* as good as regiments of the line, but time is just what will not be given us. If called out on an emergency, they would be next to useless. The volunteers are much better. They are drawn from a superior class of society, and they get far more drill than the militia, as well as at more frequent intervals. They would be very valuable troops in the event of an invasion, in which case alone they are available. It is moreover in such an event only that the pensioners and Irish constabulary can be used.

The regular army is raised by voluntary enlistment and bounties; the militia, according to law, by the ballot, but in fact by voluntary enlistment. The volunteers are what their name implies. The regular army is, of course, regularly paid, the men being enlisted for ten years in the infantry, and twelve in the cavalry and artillery. The militia are only paid when embodied, or called out for exercise, for fourteen days in each year, we believe. The volunteers are not paid at all. The regular army is the only part of the force bound to serve out of the United Kingdom. If the militia was in a state fit to take the duties of the regular army within the kingdom, the whole available force of the regular troops might be sent to the continent if required, but it is not in such a state. Time is required to put it in that condition, and time is just what we cannot have. Our ally, who required our assistance, would be in the meantime overpowered, and we could not keep the status of a first-class power. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that, to keep our place in Europe, we must, if we retain our present organization, maintain a standing army of about 280,000 men, and organize the militia so as to take the place of the regular army in the United Kingdom at once, or we must remodel our army from the beginning. There is, however, a difficulty about the men. It is hard for Government to keep up 212,000 regulars. How are they to enlist and maintain 280,000?

Before seeing what can be made of our own system, we will take a glance at those of other nations. There are three great armies at present in existence, raised in different ways:—the American, the Prussian, and the French. The American army has been raised, at a cost but little short of our own national debt, by enormous bounties and very high pay. It is true it is now disbanded, but the Prussian *Landwehr* has shown the efficiency of hastily called out troops who have once been properly trained, and America has done that for her soldiers of this generation. They could be got ready long before anything,

with a chance of opposing them, could be got together on that continent. The American system, however, succeeded, only because the enemy was no more prepared than themselves. This would not be our case, and, therefore, it would not answer for us, as no one could be insane enough to propose raising troops in time of peace, by such costly means, solely to train them for an emergency.

The Prussian system, by its cheapness and efficiency, has astonished the world. But it is not difficult to see that it would never do for England. By the Prussian system every man has to serve in the army for two years. After that he is drafted into the Landwehr. Here he is a sort of militia-man, but bound to serve where and when required. A second reserve, called the Landsturm, of men of the Landwehr over a certain age, also exists. Prussia is, however, a country by itself. It has no foreign possessions: it is not maritime, and has no occasion for distant expeditions; and the late war did not last above a fortnight. Yet the bone of contention between the King of Prussia and his Parliament was, the proposal to extend the period of service in the regular army to three years. It is easy to conceive how little the English people would submit to such a system, when the consequence would be foreign service for years.

The French system is a conscription with liberty to purchase exemption at a fixed sum. These sums are formed into a fund to give bounties to soldiers, who have served their time (six years) to re-enlist, and this force, now, we believe, about 120,000 strong, forms the flower of the French army. France is a maritime power and has foreign possessions, but they are small, and the proportion of the army abroad is trifling, except in Algeria; and that is within an easy furlough distance of France. It is the conscript, not the enlisted soldiers, who do the duty in the French possessions abroad, as the latter are too valuable; and, consequently, reliefs must be very numerous, and heavy cost incurred in that way. At the same time the French system is the least costly that would do for us, and, could the country be induced to accept it, would, we think, be the best. But at the same time we are of opinion that it would be futile to propose to Parliament to raise an army for general purposes by conscription at all, and, therefore, we are driven to take up our own system and see what can be made of it.

In making a proposal for the reorganization of the British army, we are fully sensible of the painful disadvantages under which we labour. While we know the proposal will involve a large cost, we are totally unable to give any idea of what that

cost will be. Even in the details, represented here as facts, there may be error, for they are given from memory; but we believe they are sufficiently accurate to answer our purpose, and we trust that trifling inaccuracies will be overlooked, seeing that we write from an Indian up-country station where no statistics are to be obtained. Some may think that, under such circumstances, we should not undertake such a task; but we are desirous of giving the public the benefit of our ideas, such as they are, towards the solution of the leading problem of the day.

It is not to be supposed that the efficient organization of the army can be completed without cost. Under our proposal it will not only be cost of money, but also of personal liberty to a certain extent, and we cannot see how it is to be done without such sacrifices. We think the efforts of reformers, therefore, are most likely to be practical, if they set clearly in the front what is necessary to our position, and then point out the means of their realization at the least possible charge. We therefore propose to raise and maintain an army by voluntary enlistment to do all the military duty of the nation abroad, to reform the militia so as to enable it at once to take the place of the regular army, ordinarily stationed at home in time of peace, on its being wanted elsewhere in time of war, and to bind the whole military force of the country together in one system, so as to utilize every part of it.

The organization we propose is, for the infantry, that each regiment should belong to its own county, and have its headquarters stationed in a healthy cantonment within it. It should consist of five battalions—

1st Batt. Service.

2nd Batt. Reserve.

3rd Batt. Militia.

4th Batt. Volunteers.

5th Batt. Veteran. The pensioners of the regular army.

} Belonging to the regular army.

Of course the larger counties, such as Yorkshire and Lancashire, would have more than one regiment, and the smaller and more thinly populated ones, as in Scotland in many instances, would have to be grouped two or three together.

The Service Battalion, it is intended, should do the ordinary foreign service of the army, that is, India and the colonies, and it would consist of the young soldiers. The Reserve Battalion, it is intended, should be formed of men who have served a certain time in the Service Battalion, and should be stationed at the headquarters of the regiment. From the Reserve Battalion should be formed the army that may be necessary on the continent in case of war. The time a man should serve in the



Service Battalion before he is eligible for the Reserve is a matter of calculation, dependent on the requisite number of either, and the statistics of the mortality of the Service Battalion, and the proportion of men who would enter the Reserve Battalion, together with the casualty list of the latter. It is, however, a matter of no difficulty to calculate this with proper statistical information. It should, however, in no case exceed ten years, as it is in the advantages held out to the Reserve Battalion, that we chiefly look for the means of drawing recruits to the Service Battalion. This plan does away with *dépôt* companies, as the recruits would be received at the head-quarters of the regiment, and forwarded to the Service Battalion when ready. The officers should be common to both battalions, and take each his regular tour of foreign service.

It is part of our idea that the head-quarters of the regiment, at which the Reserve Battalion should be stationed, should be a little colony in itself. Every man in the Reserve should be allowed to marry, and should have separate quarters. There should be common schools for his children, and industrial schools also to teach them how to earn their own bread, especially by those trades required for the equipment of the army. The men should be encouraged to follow their trades, and the women to be industrious too, and as much as possible that was required by the regular portion of the regiment, whether Service or Reserve, should be made up by them. An asylum might be established for the widows who were infirm and could not work for their bread, and savings banks might be organized to induce the men to provide for their families. Of course the men would have to turn out under arms daily, but vexatious and long drills should be prohibited. The endeavour should be to make the position of the soldier as respectable and comfortable as possible, so that the better of the working, and more especially of the agricultural classes, might have that before their eyes, which would destroy their present idea that a lad enlisting was a lost man. We really think this would attract recruits, perhaps not just at first, but ultimately, and, in the meantime, it would, in all probability, secure to the service the greater number of the time-expired men, who are now leaving daily, and who are the flower of the army. It is always difficult to get Parliament to take a backward step in legislation, and, in all probability, there would be great opposition to restore the old term of service, which is the usual remedy of the smart colonel of a regiment for the present state of things; and, we think, that this scheme of a reserve honestly carried out, with the object of rendering the service attractive, might well be tried in the first instance under

the provisions of the ten years' bill. A month or two's furlough after the ten years' service might fairly be allowed, with pay, to any man it was desirable to keep, for of course only those should enter the Reserve who bore a good character. Moreover, county influence might be largely exerted to fill the ranks organized on this plan, though any gentleman with a conscience could hardly recommend a respectable labouring man to turn soldier as it is. The Lord-Lieutenant might with advantage be made Colonel-in-chief of the regiment, a certain number of the commissions might be placed at his disposal for the sons of the country-gentlemen, and, as others would be officers in the Militia and Volunteer Battalion, a kind of county feeling would pervade the whole regiment, and be no small power to keep up the numbers in the ranks of the regulars. The condition of the labouring man is improving, and his intelligence also, and, as the cottier population of Scotland and Ireland is going or gone, we must bid higher to fill our ranks with the men there are.

Of course we shall be met by the objection that, under such a system, discipline could not be kept up. To this we have a conclusive answer,—the work that has been done by the Prussian Landwehr. If a militia once properly trained and afterwards sent to civil life, can, when suddenly called out, strike down an army like that of Austria,—and the bulk of the Prussian army was so composed,—it is not to be feared that an English army cantoned, as we have described, will be found wanting.

With regard to the expense, it is to be observed that the cost of the increase of the numbers of the army to 280,000 men, to keep up our position, will have to be borne in any case, and the sale of the barracks and the valuable land in the large towns on which they stand, would go far towards the cost of the new cantonments. As to the cost of maintaining the various proposed institutions within those cantonments, it is not likely to be more than the army may fairly expect from the nation.

The Militia Battalion should be kept up by law to its full authorized strength, and perhaps the best way to do so would be to allow each district to make its own arrangements for supplying its quota of men. If bounties were to be paid to raise the men by voluntary enlistment, the district should provide them, or if they preferred the ballot and individual payment for substitutes, so be it; but the numbers should be kept up intact, and the ballot be always available as a last resort, while volunteers, who could produce a certificate from their commanding officer that they had attended a certain number of drills within the previous year, should be exempt from the drawing for the

militia. To make the militia fit for the duties assigned to it, we propose that every militiaman should serve for two years in the Reserve Battalion, after which he should be drafted into the Militia Battalion and serve out his time there, of course returning to civil life and joining his corps only when mustered. He would be paid as a soldier when serving with the Reserve Battalion and when called out. We do not think that with a less sacrifice than this, the militia could be kept in a state adequate to release all the reserve for service in the field, (except that portion it might be deemed requisite to station in Ireland,) or, with the volunteers and veterans as a reserve, to protect the United Kingdom. But the experience of Prussia has clearly shown that, under competent officers, this sacrifice of the individual liberty of the subject is enough.

The Volunteer Battalion we would not change further than to connect it with the county regiment, and to have its exercise at the head-quarters, but of this we would speak hereafter. The same remark would apply to the Veteran Battalion, though competent officers should be appointed to command such of the men as, in the event of an emergency, could handle a musket.

For the cavalry and artillery we would propose precisely the same organization, except that, as the regiments and batteries would be less numerous, they would have to belong to circles of counties instead of to single counties; and it would be hardly possible to unite the volunteers with them on the same plan, as the cavalry volunteers are but few, and the artillery are chiefly garrison companies for coast defence. But the yeomanry and the militia artillery should each serve two years with the reserve squadrons and batteries of the regiments to which they belonged, and afterwards become the militia squadrons and batteries of these arms. Such of the cavalry pensioners as were fit for service, should join the infantry Veteran Battalion of their county, and the artillery pensioners might, when called out, do duty in the forts and dockyard garrisons.

It is necessary to adapt our drill more to the requirements of modern warfare and new arms. It is true that the principles of strategy and tactics have remained much what they always were. The battle of Leuthen, the most instructive in modern warfare, for we have no proper account of Sadowa yet, was fought on precisely the same principles as that of Leuctra. But the details of the business are quite altered, and much larger armies are brought into the field, and, as the old rule of bringing superior force to bear on the decisive point still holds good, the rapidity with which troops can be got to move without falling into any confusion, has become a matter of greater

importance than ever. At the same time, it is of the highest importance not to disgust the men, which Aldershott and the Curragh are fast doing, and, therefore, we think the drill-book should be revised, in view to quicken the movements as much as possible, not by hastening the pace, for we have our doubts about teaching a whole army running drill, invaluable as it is to picked men, but by taking the shortest road to the new position compatible with keeping everybody's place in the battalion. Wheeling divisions of a battalion, except when an open column is to be changed into line or a line into open column, might with advantage be entirely abolished. Although it would not look so well on parade, a change of the front of a battalion by the file march of fours into their new places, the regulating division only being wheeled, would be a much more rapid movement. So, in brigade, in changing front the diagonal march of quarter distance columns might be generally used, instead of taking ground to the front or rear, and then to a flank, or *vice versa*, as is now too much the case. Direct echelon of battalions in brigade is a most useful movement, but direct echelon of divisions in a battalion is a most useless one, and only bothers the men with fruitless marching. For oblique echelon in changing front, as before observed, we would substitute the file march by fours, (and thus save the time spent in halting and dressing these echelons,) and in taking ground in column to the front and flank at the same time, the diagonal march. In all deployments the divisions should file by fours into their places in line, and they should, if possible, be conducted on the leading division, (as deployment on a rear division before an enemy is bad,) the front being changed to the rear, if necessary, for the purpose. The present mode of executing this manœuvre, by the successive march of divisions from the rear to the front by the reverse flank, or by fours through the ground of a wheeled up section is objectionable. Both movements should be cut out of the drill-book, and the column change front to rear, first by a countermarch by divisions, and secondly by the wheel and countermarch of subdivisions round the centre. This is not only quicker, but it is all done on the battalion's own ground, and, therefore, it does not interfere with others, whether the formation be in contiguous columns or in mass. Finally, with breech-loaders the men might be taught to load while advancing in line, to halt, deliver their fire, and immediately advance again. Indeed, when close to an enemy in an advance, we believe the front rank might fire advantageously from the hip on the march. It would have the effect of confusing the enemy and rendering his fire less effective.

We believe that the changes here indicated would have the double effect of rendering the movements more rapid, and of saving the men much *ennui* and fatigue, and this latter is a matter only of second consequence to the other. Men prefer India to home, in many cases, solely on account of the lighter parade work, and, when well commanded, a regiment is fully as good out here. But, though we advocate quicker movements, we are not of those who undervalue steadiness. For instance, formations to the reverse flank are often quicker and sometimes unavoidable, but they are not desirable, because they put men out of their accustomed places and are liable to cause confusion. If there is opportunity, it is better to change the front to rear, and some little time had better usually be given for the purpose, but, if it cannot be given, the movement must take place. We mean by this to put necessity first, steadiness second, and rapidity third, while we strive to unite the two latter, but we do not think that any military movements should be indulged in merely for show. We of course shall be told that steadiness is displayed in marching. Passing in review is enough for that, and shows it better than anything else except a good advance in line, and we shall never quarrel with any Commanding Officer who keeps his men up to the mark in that manœuvre.

With regard to musketry instruction, we confess that it appears to us that Hythe and General Hay are doing the army very questionable good. Of course, *ceteris paribus*, it is better that our soldiers should be good shots. First, however, we doubt whether musketry instruction really makes the bulk of the men good shots, figures of merit and Hythe returns notwithstanding; secondly, we cannot divest our mind of the notion that, by running this idea to death, we shall induce the soldier to believe in killing his enemy while out of sight, and have to remark that same disinclination to close with him, which Dr. Russell described as distinguishing the trench-bred soldiers in the Crimea. Thirdly, the battles fought since rifled arms have been in general use, *viz.*, Magenta, Solferino, Gitschin, and Sadowa, have all been won in artillery and close infantry fight; and lastly, we are sure there is nothing so distasteful to the ordinary soldier as this prolonged uninteresting musketry practice. Of the Hythe judging-distance drill we have a high opinion, and this familiarity with the use of his weapon, and plenty of blank cartridge on parade, with occasional platoon ball-firing at a target representing a body of men, is what is required for the ordinary soldier of the line. The single shot-firing we regard as principally valuable for the purpose of

selecting the men who have a natural aptitude as marksmen, and these men should be embodied in a company in each battalion to be called the light company, provided they are active enough for skirmishing and running drill, and they should have higher pay. We like this organization of our light troops better than any other. It suits best with the scattered condition of our army on ordinary foreign service, and accords with the county organization at home. It is easy to make these light companies into separate battalions in time of war, should this at any time appear more desirable.

With regard to equipment the present tunic is excellent, loose, but not baggy. Knicker-bockers, with leathern gaiters easily fastened after the manner of the *Chasseurs de Vincennes* of the French army, would be a great improvement on the present trowsers, which get wet and dirty in muddy roads and lanes. A good service helmet is a desideratum, one that will protect the head from the sun, and prevent the rain running into the soldier's neck-hole, as well as save him from a sword cut. Cork appears to us the material, for it answers all these purposes, and is light besides. It may perhaps also be found necessary to provide some means of carrying spare ammunition with a battalion, in consequence of the greater expenditure that may be looked for with breech-loading arms. The knapsack and cartridge boxes should be so arranged, that they will cause the least inconvenience to the soldier, utterly regardless of the appearance they may present.

The equipment of our cavalry should be made lighter, and the men enlisted for the cavalry should be lighter men,—not “dumpies,” short-thighed fellows that can never ride, but men formed to make horsemen and not too heavy. It is the pace of the horse that tells in a cavalry charge, and it is impossible, with over-weighted horses, either to charge at the pace which carries success with it, or to keep up any long and vigorous pursuit of a beaten enemy. Nolan's observations on the equipment of cavalry are much to the purpose.

We do not share in the current opinion that this branch of the service has become comparatively useless. No doubt the great improvements in fire-arms, both artillery and infantry, has rendered the proper handling of this arm a matter of greater delicacy and difficulty than before, but no victory can be rendered really decisive without it, and although the Austrian cavalry appears to have been handled badly in the late campaign, yet the retreat from Sadowa shows how valuable it may be in checking pursuit and covering the remains of a beaten army.

The English cavalry is essentially heavy. By that we mean that it is adapted for the actual duty of a battle and the succeeding pursuit, and for this it has no superior. But it is not light cavalry, and perhaps it would have been better not to have called the bulk of it Hussars, a description of soldier with whom it has nothing in common. But that is a slight matter. What we want to make out is that the English dragoon or hussar, as he is now, is not a light cavalry soldier and never will be, and it is a thousand pities to spoil him by trying anything of the kind. The true light horseman can not only cook his own dinner, but he can usually find it, as well as forage for his horse. He is pre-eminently a man of personal resource, is hardy and inured to fatigue, and his beast and himself live and thrive on the scantiest of fare. The Cossack is perhaps the type, but Turkey, Persia, Toorkistan, Affghanistan, and India all produce the man in numbers, and perhaps the best specimens existing are to be found in our own (so-called) Irregular Horse. The real light cavalry soldier should be quite independent when out on his peculiar duty. It is on his ability to keep out, without the assistance of army departments, that his excellence depends. His duties are never to lose sight of the enemy, and to keep his own general fully informed of their movements, to intercept, as far as possible, all attempts on the part of the enemy to obtain similar information, to harass him constantly, and to pounce on any stray soldiers, baggage, or stores that may fall into his hands. For this duty, a cordon of double videttes should be drawn out well on the front and flanks of the army feeling up to the enemy's posts, often many miles in advance, supported by small bodies of their regiments, and keeping up a chain of communication with head-quarters. For these duties we do not think the English cavalry soldier suited, and consider it better, in time of war, to raise special corps for the duty, attracting them by high pay. An officer who really understood the work would soon find suitable men who could ride, and they don't require much discipline. We would keep our regulars for their own duty, that of heavy cavalry, but think it as well to point out that they are none of them light horse, though it has pleased Government to call them Hussars.

Our artillery we believe to be first-rate, and if it has a fault, it is too much dependence on Woolwich arsenal. The batteries should be able to do more for themselves, and, if necessary and the battery does not contain good enough workmen, it would be better to attach one or two unenlisted artificers to it. We are not competent to go into the details of this subject, but

we think a less complicated gun-carriage, for instance, which admits of being repaired and its parts replaced in the field, is better than a more perfect article to which this cannot be done. A slight extra weight to attain such a desideratum is not a disadvantage worthy of much consideration. The late Bengal Artillery was organized on this principle, and was most excellent and serviceable. Its defect was shortness of complement. There was no margin for casualties either among horses or men, and during a severe action one or two guns of a battery often could not be properly served. There can be little doubt that spreading the artillery over the country, instead of concentrating it at Woolwich, would have a tendency to teach it self-dependence in its equipment. At present the artillery shares the great fault of the whole army, inability to do anything but fight.

The Land Transport Corps, Military Train as it is called, is, in our opinion, a mistake altogether. It was a dead failure in China. In India it was turned into a cavalry regiment, and did good service but not in the capacity for which it was raised. As the British Army will be employed across sea, it must look to the country in which it operates for means of transport, and the Land Transport Corps should be the means of organizing it. The British army would not be sent to the continent, except to assist an attacked ally, and might fairly look to assistance in this matter from him. In such case officers to organize the means available are what is required, and this corps ought to consist of officers only. They should be highly paid and required to qualify in French, German, and one other language, some taking Spanish, some Italian, some Dutch, some Flemish, and some Russian. On actual service one or two might be attached to each regiment, for the purpose of making arrangements for its carriage, acting at the same time under the Commanding Officer of the regiment and their own commandant at the head-quarters of the army in the field. These officers would be responsible that the carriage was properly paid and not overloaded, and in time of peace their duties should be to study the available resources of the countries in which it was possible the army might be called on to serve, and also the equipment and adaptation of the army baggage to the carriage available. In raising a corps on this principle, all honours, distinctions, and commands, open to the rest of the army, must be open to them. The successful performance of their occupation requires a thorough study of the duties of soldiers in all situations, and it cannot be expected that able men will come forward, if placed under disabilities. We think each regiment should supply its own guards and batmen, and those of the staff



departments would be part of the regular fatigue duty of the army.

Generally our army is too much department-ridden, and there is consequently too much dependence on departments. Such a matter as camp-kitchens, for example, is deserving of attention. No doubt they economise fuel and probably give better dinners than the men can cook for themselves, but then if anything goes wrong with the kitchen, they get no dinner at all. It is very desirable that the men should be able to cook for themselves, and money spent in employing professional cooks to teach the men, in the first instance, the elements of simple cookery, would be well spent, for afterwards it would be handed down in the regiment, especially under the system of exercise camps which we are about to recommend. We remember during the Crimean war it was made a great reproach to the Commissariat Department that it served out raw coffee. But there is no great mystery in roasting coffee, and it is much better when freshly roasted. In justice, however, to the critics, we must allow that it was also stated that there was a scarcity of wood, and the men were in a standing camp, not moving so that they could supply themselves. It is a great advantage to soldiers to be able to cook, and men must not take the sepoy as a type. He takes about four times as long for the operation as is necessary. We also think it would be a great advantage if infantry soldiers could cobble their own shoes, and if cavalry soldiers could put a shoe on their horses. Self-dependence is the great want in the army.

To carry out the system here proposed, camps of exercise are necessary. When the militia was turned out for its annual exercise at the head-quarters of the regiment, the volunteers might assemble also and there is an infantry brigade at once. But we want larger assemblies than this. It must be remembered that camps of exercise are mainly for the instruction of the superior officers. Up to the rank of captain of a company or troop, military duty in the field can just as well be taught on the regimental parade. It is for the instruction of field officers, staff officers, and, above all, of general officers, that camps of exercise are required. It is curious how our system ignores the necessity of knowledge of their duty by superior officers. We once knew an officer who commanded two regiments in succession at the same station. Each, while he was in command of it, was the best-drilled corps there, and the first was by no means so steady after he gave it up. He was very careful, never passed over a slovenly movement, and had what he wanted properly done before he dismissed his

parade. He did not bully his men, and let them go soon if they satisfied him. He was good fellow and well liked, and was thought a smart officer, his regiment always being most favourably reported of by general officers, and Government having a correspondingly high opinion of him. Yet, put him in a brigade and he was quite abroad, he did not know what to do or how to carry out the orders of the brigadier, and had to seek instruction from his own staff officers in every manœuvre. Now we don't say much could be made of such a man as this. He was simply unfit to command. We cannot forget Frederick the Great's remark, "*Si un mulet aurait fait vingt campagnes sous le Prince Eugène, il ne serait pas meilleur tacticien pour cela,*" but even in this case, familiar practice would have made him better. The whole *répertoire* of brigade exercise is not very extensive, and he might have learned his possible position, so that as long as he stuck to his brigade and nothing abnormal occurred, he might have commanded his regiment in all ordinary occasions, even on service, with credit.

But the system pursued at Aldershot and the Curragh is opposed to that of the general instruction of the superior officers of the army, as the commands and staff appointments are given to individuals for five years; while the soldier loses the only real benefit, beyond bodily exercise, which he can derive from a camp of instruction, *viz.*, the acquisition of that personal experience and self-reliance, which will make him comfortable, efficient, and healthy in the field. In our camps the soldier is in bad barracks, being neither taught to cook his own dinner, to pitch his own tent, to manage so as to keep out the wind and the rain, nor generally to acquire familiarity with real camp-life.

Our idea, therefore, is that the camps should be distributed over the country, formed during the summer season only, and, if possible, that they should be changed now and then. Every body should be under canvas, and it should be as much an imitation of the real thing as possible. The troops should practise route marching in large bodies on the basis of the admirable rules on this subject laid down by the late Sir Robert Crawford, and the officers in command of the force, of divisions, and brigades, should be changed at short intervals, as well as the staff officers, so that the whole body of officers might enjoy the benefit of this instruction, and the military authorities might be able to see who their able officers were. Wherever the country admitted of it without damage to agriculture, military operations might be combined with a change of ground. The Quarter-Master General's department might make each change

of ground an opportunity of conducting a complete reconnaissance of the country, and the front and flanks might be felt by the cavalry as in actual war. Bodies might be detached to dispute strong positions in sham fight, and an interest would be given to the whole operations which we now seek for in vain. Scotland abounds in places where this kind of work could be carried on without inconvenience to the general business of the country, and neither England nor Ireland are wanting in suitable places; and, if they are somewhat apart from railway stations and large marts, and the consequent supplying of the troops becomes somewhat more difficult and expensive, the first is but a proper exercise for the Land Transport Corps, and the expense a consideration that the nation must be prepared to accept, if it means to have an efficient army. We need hardly point out how much more agreeable this system would be to both officers and men. Both would have had their share of foreign service, and look to a certain degree of of pleasant life in their quarters at home. At the end of the camp-season they would go to their own cantonment, and if leave at this time was freely granted, it would go far to render the service popular. The regular muster of the militia should take place at the time of encamping, and all its exercise should be in camp, and the volunteers should be encouraged to join their battalions with the head-quarters of their regiment in camp as much as their avocations would permit.

We feel bound here to say something on the subject of a recent proposal to employ the Sikhs at home. If we had another Crimean or Eastern war, we could get much valuable assistance from the Indian army, and we think the Government should freely avail themselves of it. We think, moreover, that Sikhs might with advantage garrison Singapore, our posts in China and Japan, and even the Cape of Good Hope. But we are utterly opposed to place them in any garrison where the population is English. The social disadvantages which would be sure to arise, would have the very worst effect on the good feeling and respect with which the people of England now regard the Sikh nation, and it would end in prohibiting the entire use of a valuable military resource, though not before a permanent trace had been left of the evil such measure would be designed to prevent. Use the Indian native army in the field anywhere if their services are wanted, but, when the war is over, send them home again. This would, we think, be the best in every way.

But we fear that no reform, such as we have indicated, is possible with our present Government, which requires new blood

to enable it to grapple with so great a necessity; and we fear there is little hope of the radical change that is required until some great disaster and humiliation overtakes the country. A recruiting commission has just given in its report, and, while it acknowledges the magnitude of our military shortcoming as fully as we do, it contents itself with recommending that something should be done to utilize the militia without indicating what, with recommending a lighter drill at Aldershot and the Curragh in summer only, and an increase of twopence a day to the pay of ten years' men. The Horse Guards at the same time issue an order that the whole infantry, without distinction, is to be exercised in running drill. Fancy a fat podgy man running 1,000 yards at the double: a fine efficient soldier he would be at the end of it: and yet, such a man may be a first-rate soldier at the quick-march; and, with our present success in recruiting, we can hardly eliminate from the ranks all that are unable to come up to this standard. Such measures are child's play. They spring not from the sound idea that the whole army must be the same in quality, but that it must be the same in each little detail, and they will not have a company or a regiment of real light infantry, but every regiment blowing like a grampus. We acknowledge the advantage of running drill to picked men, say the light company of each regiment, selected for activity and proficiency with the rifle combined, but this general order must be a failure.

It is no part of our purpose to make an attack upon established institutions, but we ask any man who has given thought to these matters, if he believes anything can be done by our double military government at all adequate to the occasion. We believe that it cannot, and that the only remedy is to sweep it away. There is no reason why the military chief should not be the Secretary of State for War and a soldier, if a fit man can be found, but it is not at all necessary that he should be a soldier. But he should hold his appointment on the same terms as the Governor-General of India does, for five years, and be eligible to re-appointment, and he might have a seat in Parliament, without a vote, *ex officio*. In this there is nothing unconstitutional, and it would brush away the main obstructions to any and all improvement. The Secretary of State for War should be a departmental not a political officer, and there is no earthly occasion to give him either a seat in the Cabinet or a vote in Parliament, though his presence there is desirable to afford the necessary explanations from his department. We can see no advantage in changing him, because a reform bill does not pass, or because Parliament disapproves of a stroke of foreign policy. He has, necessarily, nothing to do with such matters,

and he might take his orders from the Queen in the presence of the Prime Minister on all important occasions, if such a course was constitutionally necessary. But we think this officer, to whom we would entrust the whole management of the army, should have the rank and status of a Secretary of State.

With regard to the officers of the army, we want to see professional ability and fitness more liberally recognized. The purchase system, whatever may be its advantages, seems almost incompatible with this. One great argument in favour of the purchase system, *viz.*, its harmony with our constitution, would seem to be attained by the county organization we propose. An army under such influences could never become dangerous to public liberty. We are not prepared to offer a solution to this question, but probably a combined system of selection, purchase, and seniority up to the rank of Field Officer would be the best; and, after that, the military authorities should be authorized to select field and general officers. The compensation to vested interests involved in the change should and would be a small matter in the estimation of the people of England, if they saw their way to a good result. Some of the Horse Guards rules are so utterly indefensible, that men wonder how they could have been devised. One, of which Lord Hardinge has the credit, is that a subaltern should not be promoted for professional aptitude or for distinguished conduct in the field. Now every other grade, from Private to Sergeant Major, and from Captain to General, is eligible for such promotion. We can understand that young boys should serve a certain time before they are put in responsible situations, but we cannot understand why grey-headed men, and such we have seen as subalterns, should be told that no possible services they could render to the State would win them their companies.

We will conclude this article with two facts, illustrating our practice in the promotion of officers, and let the public say what they think of them.

During the Kaffir war, the attention of a resident at the Cape, a Mr. Lakeman, was directed towards the numerous failures of the troops against the Kaffirs. He saw that the regiments were neither organized nor suited to the bush warfare in which they were engaged. He raised, drilled, and equipped a body of 150 men after his own fashion, termed the Waterkloof Rangers. This body proved eminently successful. On one occasion they carried a position from which a whole regiment of the line had been beaten back; they became the terror of the Kaffirs who offered three bullocks for one of their dresses, which were of leather; and they showed the way towards those

operations which led to the pacification of the frontier. It was felt that their commander had done eminent service, and he was asked to name his own reward. He asked for a captain's commission in the army. The Horse Guards, however, said it was against the rules and offered that of an ensign. This was declined, as Mr. Lakeman was thirty years of age. Government subsequently knighted the gentleman, and when last we heard of him he was holding a consular appointment at Bucharest. There is no doubt that the army here lost a most promising officer, and it is not too much to say that in any other army in Europe he would have been made a colonel.

Just before the mutiny war, an officer, who had risen from the ranks, and, though bearing only the rank of lieutenant in the army, was actually in permanent command of a regiment of Sikh Infantry, petitioned the Court of Directors to grant him a captain's commission on the unanswerable ground, that if he was fit to command a regiment he was fit to bear the rank of captain of a company. Mr. Brasyer, (such was the officer's name) besides his long service, was then a commissioned officer of thirteen years standing. General Anson, at that time Commander-in-chief, declined to recommend compliance with the request, and the memorial went home in consequence to be refused. The ground given by General Anson for his determination was, that Mr. Brasyer would supersede so many officers in the army. In the meantime, the mutiny broke out, and the service done by Mr. Brasyer and his regiment in saving the fort at Allahabad with the large arsenal in it, was so conspicuous that Lord Canning, of his own accord, promoted Mr. Brasyer to a company, a proceeding which the Court of Directors subsequently confirmed. The Rubicon was now passed. *Captain* Brasyer was eligible for promotion for service rendered; and, before the end of the year, he was a lieutenant-colonel.

Comment on such things as these is unnecessary, but while they last, we may cease to wonder at such articles as appeared the other day in the *Pall Mall Gazette* about the officers of the British army, and we may well ask if we really mean to consider ourselves and to be for the future the England of yore, one of the five great powers of Europe, and the leading nation of the world.

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- ART. IV.—1. *A Treatise on the Law of Evidence, as administered in England and Ireland, with Illustrations from the American, and other Foreign Laws.* By John Pitt Taylor, Esq., Judge of the County Courts for Lambeth, Greenwich, and Woolwich. Fourth Edition. London. 1864.
2. *Best's Principles of the Law of Evidence.* Third Edition. London. 1860.
3. *Greenleaf on Evidence.* •
4. *Starkie on Evidence.* Third Edition. London. 1842.
5. *Archbold's Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases.* Fifteenth Edition. London. 1862.
6. *Roscoe's Digest of the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases.* Sixth Edition. London. 1862.
7. *The Law of Evidence applicable to the Courts of the late East India Company explained in a course of Lectures,* delivered by the Hon'ble John Bruce Norton, Advocate-General, Barrister-at-Law, late Professor of Law at the Madras Presidency College. Fifth Edition. Madras. 1865.
8. *The Law of Evidence as administered in England and applied to India.* By Joseph Goodeve, Esq., of the Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn, Barrister, Acting Master of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, Member of Senate of the University of Calcutta, and Lecturer on Law and Equity in Presidency College, Calcutta. 1862.
9. *A Manual of the Law of Evidence of the Madras Provinces.* By J. R. Kindersley, M. C. S.; of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Madras 1865.
10. *A Lecture on the Law of Evidence in India,* delivered by the Hon'ble Justice Phear before the Bethune Society on the 8th March, 1866.
11. *Act II. of 1855 of the Legislative Council of India.*
12. *Act XV. of 1852 of the Legislative Council of India.*
13. *Act XIX. of 1853 of the Legislative Council of India.*
14. *Act VIII. of 1859 of the Legislative Council of India.*
15. *Act XXV. of 1861 of the Legislative Council of India.*

IT is nearly nine years since the able and learned Dr. Lushington, during the hearing of an Indian case in appeal before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, remarked on the unfortunate habit which courts in India had of receiving documents without that just discrimination which would prevail, *were the rules of evidence known and established*. "Their Lordships," proceeded the learned Judge, "may lament the great latitude with which documentary evidence is received, but it would be contrary to justice, in any particular case, to visit upon an individual penal consequences, because the administration of justice was not more strictly conducted with reference to the admission of evidence." There are few who will refuse to subscribe to the broad and equitable principle enunciated by such high authority; but we fear that the penal consequences are daily visited on individuals, who suffer for the shortcomings of subordinate courts, in which the principles of evidence are as little *known and established* at this moment, as when Dr. Lushington regretted the *unfortunate habit* above alluded to. We have heard it remarked by men of practical experience who remember some thirty years of the *régime* of the "*Old Sudder*," that the same sound and substantial justice which that body were wont to distribute, is not obtainable under the present High Court. We ourselves should be very unwilling to admit the correctness of the remark, having seen with our eyes the multifarious good that has resulted from the union of legal training and practical experience—that practical experience, which, in proportion as a Judge possesses, so is his goodness as a Judge,—yet the remark has dwelt in our mind, and while unable, perhaps unwilling, to coincide with him who made it, we have been also unable to divest ourselves of the doubt that it has called into being, and a sort of lingering fear, that there might be some particle of truth lurking at bottom. We have heard it also said, that, were an edifice in a decaying and dangerous state, an architect would not commence its repair by gilding and painting the summit, while the foundations were unsound, but that the work of renovation would be begun from below and carried up to the pinnacle. Of the vast improvement effected in the administration of criminal justice in India within the last few years, not a doubt can be entertained by any one competent to form an opinion on the subject. And this improvement is due to the constant, close and *tangible* supervision exercised by the High Courts, which is admirably provided for by our present system of criminal procedure. Civil law, however, opens out a much wider and more difficult field than criminal law, and much less marked results have as yet been achieved



therein. It was doubtless right that the amending hand should place in safety the lives and liberties of our Indian subjects before providing for their temporal interests in property, and the due adjudication of all rights relating thereto. But this latter portion of the task is a far more weighty and onerous and tedious duty than the former portion, by reason of the vast multiplicity of the details with which it is concerned. Years must elapse before those entrusted with its performance can enjoy their Sabbath of rest, and contemplate with satisfaction the work of their hands and say of it, that it is good. Meanwhile, the most urgent and necessary portions of the work should be taken in hand first in order; and foremost among these we would rank the preparation of a Code of Evidence. It will readily be admitted that a Judge who has a peculiar knowledge of the subject-matter of a controversy, will be more easily informed of the facts of the particular case in hand, will more thoroughly comprehend them, and will arrive at a speedier and sounder decision on the merits, than a Judge who had for the first time to learn usages, practices, and details of business or science, upon which the entire case turned. *Quicquid agunt homines* is the business of lawyers. There is nothing with which men are concerned in their innumerable relations with each other, that may not become the subject of dispute and adjudication in a court of justice. A Judge, who had a knowledge of engineering or mining or of the usages of trade, would more readily comprehend the facts of a case involving any of these. And the greater the light with which he would come to adjudicate, the greater would be the probability of his arriving at a sound decision. Where the Judge knows nothing about any of these matters, it is necessary that such evidence should be produced, and that it be so arranged as to shed a light upon the subject which may enable the Judge to see without possibility of mistake. It is thus that counsel often have to study books of science, mercantile usage, and other matters to enable them to master the details of their client's case, and having done so, to set it before the court in its real state in all its bearings. Lately, the time, difficulty, and expense of doing this in special mercantile cases, have induced a movement at home towards utilizing the experience of those who are familiar with such matters for the adjudication of cases, in which they are involved. The *Old Sudder* consisted of men, who had all of them a practical acquaintance with the country, its usages, the habits and practices of social and domestic life, and all those details which are *postulates* in every civil and criminal trial. With little *law*, they were thus enabled to do *justice*, which

would not always be intelligible to a mere lawyer, who read the bare record without the light that the Sudder Judge enjoyed. Let us not be misunderstood, we do not speak of Judges importing their own knowledge into a case. We speak of those matters, which can properly be judicially noticed without proof. Were a French Judge to sit on an English Bench, he would require proof or evidence in order to understand many things which an English Judge would take for granted; the rule of the road, for instance, which in France is diametrically opposed to that which prevails in England. In order to enable a French Judge to do complete justice, he would require fuller and clearer evidence than would be necessary for an English Judge. Many little points would have to be brought out and clearly elucidated before the former which might safely have been passed over before the latter. He might be a much better lawyer, have a much clearer head, and greater ability than the Englishman, but in order to enable litigants to benefit by these qualities, it will scarcely be denied, that, until long experience had made up the deficiency we allude to, the very fullest evidence would be requisite in intricate cases. If our analogy hold good, we think we have now discovered the particle of truth lurking at the bottom of the disparaging remark on the present High Court. This Court has more law than the "Old Sudder," and all its proceedings are conducted with greater regard to, and a nicer observance of, the rules of evidence than was usual in that other Court whose place it has taken. Trained, and able, and experienced practitioners assist its proceedings; and mistakes, that might have passed unheeded before, are dragged to light and made the vantage ground of those who have had skill and perseverance to discover them. How often these mistakes are due solely to the incapacity of the lower courts, the frequency of remands is an unanswerable proof. *Actus curiæ neminem gravabit* is a maxim which has guided the High Court in directing those very frequent remands; and it has indeed earnestly endeavoured not to visit the *penal consequences* Dr. Lushington spoke of on those who were in no way answerable for the shortcomings of these subordinate tribunals. But it requires little experience to understand how often that earnest endeavour must fail. Where the lower court has admitted as evidence what was not evidence, or from want of acquaintance with the principles of examination, cross-examination, and re-examination has *spoiled* the evidence in recording it, the error is irretrievable and the mischief once done can never be undone. We ourselves knew a case in which the succession to a Rāj and

the possession of a large amount of real property, depended on the oral evidence of half a dozen witnesses, which could have been recorded in as many half hours. A Principal Sudder Ameen tried the case, and spent some two months over it. Some three cart-loads of documents were put in, which were *not* evidence, yet the oral evidence of the half dozen essential witnesses was recorded in such a manner that it told against the plaintiff, who lost his case in appeal before the High Court,—a case which, we believe, he could have gained and justly too, had the examination of those witnesses been conducted with even ordinary observance of the rules of evidence. The very improvement introduced into one part of the system by the establishment of the High Court, renders the shortcomings of the lower courts more dangerous to suitors. In order to secure to the public the full advantages of the reform that has been inaugurated, we assert without fear of contradiction that the next most urgent and necessary step is to secure due attention and regard to the rules of evidence in the courts of original jurisdiction in the Mofussil, which are the real tribunals upon which the due administration of civil justice depends. The preparation of a code would doubtless be the best way of securing this very desirable end, seeing the advantages that *have* resulted from those codes which have been already prepared. The task would not be a very difficult one. India has already considerable materials of her own, and these materials, as we shall endeavour to show in the present article, are by no means bad of their kind.

Before proceeding to the task, however, let us premise that we do not consider the remedy we propose to be a complete specific for the evil adverted to. We have no faith in patent medicines for the body politic; and those who promise a perfect cure from applications of their own often do harm by exciting hopes that can never be realized, where they might have done much had they been content to *assist* in doing good. Improvement in the law of evidence and its administration we believe to be urgently required, but only *among other things*, to carry on that judicial reform which has been commenced, and which if it be not carried out below as well as above, the creation of High Courts will have been very like putting new wine into old bottles, or repairing a tattered garment with new cloth.

The first question that arises in our present subject is, what *is* the Law of Evidence in India, whence has it been derived, and in what repertories is it to be found? Mr. Goodeve lays it down as a general proposition that the English Law of Evidence is that of India, as well in the courts of the Mofussil

as those of the Presidencies. Mr. Norton says—"It may be  
 "advisable to state once for all that at the present day the  
 "English Law of Evidence, with such exceptions as circum-  
 "stances necessitate, is the guide in the courts of the Mofussil."  
 He further mentions that, on the 28th May, 1829, the Madras  
 Faujdári Adálut stated to Government that they considered  
 themselves released from following the Mahomedan Law of  
 Evidence, and that they had accordingly turned to the Law  
 of England as their legitimate guide, and as the acknowledged  
 source of the provisions previously enacted in the Regulations  
 of the Madras Government for the conduct of judicial proce-  
 dure. "This," says Mr. Norton, "has never been questioned  
 "since, and Mr. Arbuthnot (formerly *Register* to the Sadr  
 "Adálut) expressly states in the preface to his Select Reports,  
 "that the English Law now generally obtains." So far there  
 seems to be some little authority for the position in the Madras  
 Presidency. In Bengal, however, since Mr. Goodeve wrote his  
 his work, the position has been greatly shaken. In a late  
 important case tried by a Full Bench of the Calcutta Court, the  
 learned Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, expressed himself  
 as follows:—"It is a general rule of English Law subject  
 "to certain exceptions, that in criminal cases a husband and  
 "wife are not competent to give evidence for or against each  
 "other. *But the English Law is not the Law of the Mofus-*  
*sil*;"—and again, "It is clear that the English Criminal  
 "Law was not the Criminal Law of the Mofussil, and that  
 "*the English Law of Evidence was never extended by any Re-*  
*solution of Government to Criminal trials there.*"—"A Code  
 "of Evidence has not yet been passed, and we have no  
 "express rule laid down by the Legislature in any existing laws  
 "upon the subject now under consideration. By the abolition of  
 "the Mahomedan Law, *the Law of England was not established in*  
*its place*;"—"In the case of European British subjects,  
 "who are governed by the Law of England, we must administer  
 "that Law. *But in the Mofussil where the law of England is not*  
*the law of the country, &c.*" We are inclined to think that the  
 learned Chief Justice is right, and that a sufficient distinction has  
 not been drawn between taking the English Law of Evidence as  
 a guide in matters of broad and equitable principle and being  
 bound by all its provisions, even in those points in which juris-  
 prudents admit that its technicalities are attributable entirely to  
 the system of things under which it sprang into existence, and  
 was in the course of a single century built up out of the  
 materials supplied by judicial decisions exclusively, save where  
 the Legislature interfered, not to make any addition, but to alter

a portion of the structure by relaxing some rule that had been found in practice too stringent and somewhat inequitable, and which *they* were unable to loose, who had power to bind. Whether the Law of Evidence should be left in India, as it was in England, to be constructed entirely of judicial decisions, is a point about which much may be said on either side. On the one hand, all that has hitherto been done in this way, (and much has been done within the last few years,) must be admitted to have been well done. On the other hand, the process is a slow one; while we believe that reform in this particular is urgently required. Moreover, there are so many High Courts and independent tribunals, that there is the danger of decisions clashing; and those usages having the force of prescription may arise, and interests may be permitted to depend thereupon, which could scarcely be disturbed in any future general measure of reform.

Turning now to our task, the first portion of it, which we shall deal with, concerns the principle of *Exclusion*. The grounds of *incompetency* were very numerous under English Law, but the enlightened and liberal spirit of modern legal reform has swept away many of them. Admissibility is now the rule, exclusion the exception, and in India the exception has been narrowed down to limits more confined than have yet been sanctioned at home. In abolishing incompetency from crime or interest, in rendering parties to civil cases and their wives admissible witnesses, and further in making them compellable to appear as such, Indian Law followed fast on the footsteps of reform at home. According to Mr. Taylor, there are yet *seven* classes incompetent to testify under English Law. Let us see if the grounds of exclusion yet held applicable to these classes would be allowed under Indian Law. *First* then, parties to suits instituted in consequence of adultery, and their husbands and wives are incompetent. The question of competency, as concerns this particular class of witnesses, has never been raised and decided in India. There is at present no tribunal in this country corresponding to the 'Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes' at home, but we entertain little doubt that when the question comes to be decided, this ground of exclusion will not be approved. The rule in England is a remnant of the old common law principle which excluded the evidence of parties to the record in all cases, and that it has not been already rescinded is due to the fact, that the tribunal for this particular class of cases stood apart from the regular tribunals and the improvements effected in the administration of justice therein. Even now where a petition is presented for the dissolution of a marriage on the

ground of adultery coupled with cruelty or desertion, the husband and wife are admissible to give evidence respecting the desertion or the cruelty, though they are not so admissible where merely a *judicial separation* is sought on the ground of adultery with cruelty. This curious anomaly has already been often commented upon. The hardship of the rule which excludes the evidence of the parties in these cases, was recently illustrated in the case of *Codrington v. Codrington and Anderson*, and we have little doubt that this ground of exclusion will before long be removed by legislative interference, and the parties made at least competent if not compellable witnesses. The Indian Evidence Act contains nothing that would lead to the conclusion, that this ground of incompetency would be sanctioned under its provisions and the whole tenour of the Section, which renders parties to a civil suit or other proceeding of a civil nature competent and compellable to give evidence, would seem to be in favour of the admissibility of this testimony.

The next class of incompetent witnesses consists of parties to an action for breach of promise of marriage. "The expediency of excluding the testimony of these parties," says Mr. Taylor, "is extremely problematical; for most persons, who have watched the working of the new law, must have come to the conclusion, that actions of this nature are precisely those in which juries ought to have the advantage of seeing the litigants, and of hearing what they have to say, on either side." We believe that the effect of the Section of the Indian Evidence Act, to which we have above alluded, would undoubtedly be to admit these victims of misplaced affection, and their inconstant *quondam* admirers, to the witness-box.

The third class of incompetent witnesses comprises defendants in criminal cases. It has been already pointed out in a previous article,\* that a vast innovation has been introduced by the Code of Criminal Procedure in this respect. Defendants in criminal cases, though they cannot be examined on oath or solemn affirmation, can yet under the provisions of this Code be orally interrogated; and they have thus a full opportunity of explaining doubtful portions of their conduct, and of putting forward facts known to themselves alone, which may go far towards procuring their acquittal. It is to be regretted that the cases decided since the Code came into operation, furnish little or no information as to the manner in which this important provision of the law should be carried into effect. Does the admission

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\* See *Calcutta Review*. Vol. XLIV, No. 87, p. 128.

of a prisoner as to any particular fact do away with the necessity of calling witnesses to prove such fact? For example, if property said to have been stolen from the prosecutor be found in the possession of the prisoner, and he admit the fact of possession, claiming the property as his own or accounting in some way for its having come into his hands, is it unnecessary to call evidence to the fact of possession: or must the whole case for the prosecution be proved, as under the rule of English Law? If the latter be the case, what must be done, if there be no evidence whatever forthcoming on the point, and the statement of the prisoner as to this particular be alone before the Court while he pleads "not guilty" to the charge itself? It is a rule at home that where several persons are jointly indicted, any one of them may be called as a witness for or against his co-defendants, except where he must have a direct interest in procuring their acquittal, as for instance in a case of conspiracy or riot, which\* requires the concurrence of more persons than one to create an offence. Whether this rule will apply in India has not, we believe, been ever decided, but there is little doubt that it would so apply, as the principles of exclusion are here less tolerated than at home.\* Whether in† petty cases punishable with imprisonment not exceeding six months; in‡ enquires having a view to recognizance and security to keep the peace, and to§ security for good behaviour: in|| proceedings relating to the maintenance of wives and children; and in investigations into¶ disputes relating to the possession of land or the right of use of any land or water, the defendant can be examined on oath or solemn affirmation as a witness, are questions which may admit of discussion, but which have not yet been decided, as far as we are aware. In some of these cases we think there can be little doubt, looking to the civil nature of the proceedings. In affiliation cases at home the defendant is examined as a witness, and we feel assured that a similar practice would be adopted in the same class of cases in this country.

We now come to the *fourth* class of persons excluded from the witness-box by the Law of England. Husbands and wives

\* Since the above was written, this principle has been admitted and approved by the Calcutta High Court.

† See Sec. 206, Act XXV of 1861; also Note to p. 132, *Calcutta Review*, No. 87, Vol. XLIV.

‡ Chapter XVIII, Act XXV of 1861.

§ Chapter XIX, ditto.

|| Chapter XXI, ditto.

¶ Chapter XXII, ditto.

are precluded from giving evidence for or against each other in criminal proceedings. In declaring that this rule has no application in India to persons other than British-born subjects, the whole subject has been so ably and exhaustively dealt with in a recent important decision of the Calcutta High Court, that nothing is left us but to put forward the simple fact, that it has been decided, following the principles of the Louisiana Code of Evidence, that husbands and wives are competent witnesses for and against each other in criminal cases in which the parties are not European British-born subjects. This principle of exclusion has often been attacked in England, and many will remember the case in which a man was tried for wounding another in a common lodging house. The principal witness against him was the mistress of the wounded man, while his wife, who was present, could not be examined. Can the exclamation of the prisoner be wondered at? "You have heard that *woman*, and you will not hear my *wife*." Whatever doubt there may be as to the propriety of rescinding this rule of exclusion in England, where Christianity and monogamy prevail, few who have any right to be heard on the question, will deny that incompetency of this kind is less than anywhere to be tolerated in India having regard to the religions of the country, and the condition and circumstances of the married state, which are special local reasons, apart from those arguments amounting almost to demonstration, which have been urged in favour of admission by the framer of the Louisiana Code. The admissibility of this evidence has, however, been well approved with the precaution, that a wife should never be called as a witness against her husband, or a husband against his wife, unless where the circumstances of the case and the paucity of other evidence make it desirable, if not necessary, for the ends of justice. If this principle be acted upon, the strongest supporters of exclusion must feel themselves compelled to make thus much concession to the demands of justice.

The *fifth* class of incompetent witnesses consists of the wives of persons, who have been made respondents in suits for dissolution of marriage, or for damages by reason of adultery. "The extreme improbability of any woman thus unfortunately circumstanced being required to give evidence, renders needless any comment on this rule," says Mr. Taylor. Under the Section of the Indian Evidence Act already more than once referred to, those persons would clearly be admissible witnesses in this country.



The *sixth* class of individuals incompetent to testify includes witnesses of the Crown in cases of high treason or misprision of treason, who have not been included or properly described in a list duly delivered to the defendant. This ground of exclusion rests entirely on some technical provisions of the English law of treason, and, unless in the improbable case of a European British-born subject tried in this country for treason, could have no possible application.

The *seventh* class consists of persons insensible to the obligation of an oath. The safe-guards under which testimony is given in a court of justice are three-fold—*first*, fear of punishment at the hands of the Supreme Being; *second*, fear of punishment at the hands of man for perjury; and *third*, cross-examination. The form of the English oath calls God to be a witness that the deponent is speaking the truth and adjures Him to deal with the sin of perjury. *So help me God. So may God stand by me in my hour of need in this life or at the day of judgment as I now tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth—an awful adjuration, but a powerful safeguard against falsehood with the religious or the superstitious.* In England numerous sects at an early period entertained scruples of conscience about taking an oath; and the Legislature, guided by a feeling of religious toleration, relaxed the rules of the Common Law, and permitted all such persons to depose on a solemn affirmation or declaration that they would speak the whole truth. This provision of English law was imitated in India, but instead of excepting those Hindús or Mahomedans only who had a conscientious scruple to be sworn by the water of the Ganges or upon the Koran, the whole of the Hindu and Mahomedan population were declared excused from taking an oath, and were permitted to depose on solemn affirmation only. The relaxation of the rule was properly made in England, having regard to the spirit of truth that pervades the nation, and the character of those sects in whose favour the exception was made. But in India where the two remaining safe-guards are so very weak, was it wise to dispense with the first and most important one? The fear of punishment at the hands of man is remote and insignificant, as we have endeavoured to point out in a former\* article. The use and the principles of cross-examination are little understood and less practised in the courts of the Mofussil. We submit then that one of the most important tests and safeguards of truth has been sacrificed to a mistaken spirit of religious toleration, and a crude effort of unripe

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\* See p. 417, *Calcutta Review*, No. 86, Vol. XLIV.

reform in a country where the moral regard for truth is at a very low ebb indeed, and needs all the support that can be given it from other quarters. When oaths were abolished in India, as far as concerned the Hindu and Mahomedan population, it followed as a sort of necessary consequence, that defect of religious belief could not be retained as a ground of exclusion from the witness-box. Accordingly the Evidence\* Act admitted such persons to depose on simple affirmation. Being strongly in favour of competency and opposed to incompetency, considering that admissibility should be the rule and exclusion the exception, we approve of the provision that admits atheists, as well as others, to the witness-box, but we cannot approve of that other provision from which it emanated as a corollary.

The grounds of incompetency in India would, therefore, seem to be few indeed; and in fact the Indian Evidence Act† enacts that the following persons *only* shall be incompetent to testify, *viz.*, children under seven years of age, who appear incapable of receiving just impressions of the facts, respecting which they are examined, or of relating them truly; and persons of unsound mind, who, *at the time of their examination*, appear incapable of receiving just impressions of the facts respecting which they are examined, or of relating them truly. It will be observed that neither of these grounds of exclusion is absolute and unconditional, for there is nothing to hinder a child under seven years of age from being examined as a witness, if he appear *capable* of receiving just impressions of the facts respecting which he is examined, and of relating them truly. Persons of unsound mind also may clearly be examined in their lucid intervals.

From the above sketch it will, in some measure, appear that the principle of exclusion has found small favour in the Indian Law of Evidence, that the question has been ably discussed in several judicial decisions, and has been partly provided for by a fragmentary Act. As far then as this one portion of the subject is concerned, materials for legislation are not wanting.

The rule that *evidence must be confined to the points in issue* opens out a wide field for discussion, a very small portion of which can be traversed in our present notice. That this rule is in conformity with strict equity, and conducive to the rapid and correct administration of justice, cannot be doubted, if only the points in issue

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\* Act II of 1855, S. 15.

† Act II of 1855, S. 14.

be properly chosen. In England the issues are fixed by the parties themselves through the means and with the aid of qualified legal practitioners. But there are no qualified and competent legal practitioners in the Mofussil. The parties ignorant, void of mental training, and without development of their reasoning powers, are utterly unable to perform the task for themselves. The law has, therefore, wisely made it the duty of judicial officers to ascertain the points in dispute, and fix the issues between the parties. Any one slightly skilled in the principles of pleading knows full well, that on the performance of this duty depends the doing of complete justice in any case. How can the evidence be confined to the issues consistently with a proper and adequate investigation of the case, if the issues be not properly chosen? The Judges of the Mofussil courts of all grades have been railed at over and over, because they have but little law; and we are of those who would gladly see the defect together with the cause of it removed by a separation of the executive and judicial departments, but the mere fact, that Judges in India have to fix the issues in all civil cases must, so long as this procedure is necessary, render it a very dangerous experiment to place on the Mofussil Bench men, who, however much law they may have, are yet devoid of that practical experience of India, its people, its special institutions, its peculiar habits, public, private, and domestic, which in proportion as any Indian Judge possesses, so is he capable of selecting the points in dispute, and fixing the issues in any case, and so is he fitted to decide upon *facts*, the opinion as to which of a mere *griffin*, though the griffin be a lawyer, would be wholly worthless. Under English procedure, as law and custom assign the fixing of the issues to the parties themselves, who fix them through their legal advisers, it is clear that, if they be improperly chosen, the parties have themselves only to blame. In India, however, where the task devolves on the Judge, the case is different, and the Judge is properly held wholly responsible for the due performance of the duty. So far has this principle been carried that it has recently been held that a client is not bound by the mistaken consent of his pleader to abide by issues of law erroneously fixed by the Judge.

The rules which indicate the party on whom the *burthen of proof* is to be thrown are little understood in the Mofussil, and what failures of justice take place in consequence! Even where justice is done, how very tardy is the process, and accompanied by how much expense that never need have been incurred. Many *hakims* always commence with taking the depositions of the plaintiff's witnesses, even when the whole burthen of proof

is on the defendant; and were the plaintiff to bring no witness, his case would be dismissed for want of proof! Again, the *right to begin* depending upon the proper allocation of the burthen of proof is totally unknown in the Mofussil. The particular advantage gained by the party, who obtains the right to begin, is perhaps of less importance in a country where as yet there is no *jury* in civil cases: but the recent Act, which has been directed to raise and improve the *status* of vakeels and mookhtars, has allowed these practitioners to *plead*, and the rules, or *some* rules of pleading will ere long have to be followed. There are many High Court decisions which have corrected mistakes as to throwing the burthen of proof on the wrong party, and seeing how very simple are the principles involved, it would appear no difficult matter to incorporate those principles in the provisions of a Code of Evidence.

The rule which requires the *best evidence* to be given of which the case is susceptible is of such vast importance, that to its being misunderstood and little acted upon are attributable not a few of those serious mistakes made by subordinate courts, for the correction of which so many grades of appellate authority are necessary in India, affording at the same time to the wealthy such chances of playing fast and loose with justice. That evidence is admitted without scruple every day in every court in the country, which evidence itself indicates the existence of more original sources of information, none acquainted with the principles of the rule and the practice of the Mofussil courts can deny. The distinction between *primary* and *secondary* evidence is little understood, and the important exceptions that have been grafted on the rule are in consequence misunderstood and misapplied. Oral evidence is constantly received in substitution of writings that ought to be and that could be produced. The new Registration Act is rendered inoperative by this violation of one of the first principles of the Law of Evidence. Written instruments, which ought to have been registered and have *not* been registered are by law inadmissible in\* civil proceedings, but oral testimony is daily admitted without hesitation to supply their place.

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\* In *criminal* proceedings the want of a stamp or non-registration would be no valid objection to the admissibility of a document. We may here notice a distinction between the English and Indian Stamp Acts. Under the former any omission or insufficiency of the stamp may be cured as a matter of right in all cases by payment of the proper duty and penalty, but in India this can only be done, if the Court or the Revenue authorities are satisfied that the omission or neglect did not arise from any intention to evade payment of the stamp duty or defraud the Government.

Connected with the present portion of the subject there is no practice of Indian courts of justice, which stands in greater need of reform, and which could more easily be reformed by the appropriate provisions of a code, than the indiscriminate practice of receiving in evidence *copies* of all kinds of writings, public and private. This erroneous procedure has been often remarked upon by the Privy Council, but except in a few judicial decisions no radical attempt has ever been made at improvement. When the practices of the *amlaḥ* and the venal habits of court officers in this country are taken into consideration, it will appear to most men, that in no country should the reception of this particular kind of secondary evidence be more carefully excluded.

With reference to the exceptions that have been engrafted on the rule of law, which requires the production of the best evidence, something has been done in India towards arriving at some settled principles. One of the exceptional cases allowed at home is, when the papers are voluminous and it is only necessary to prove their general results. A witness may then be allowed to speak as to the balance of a set of accounts or the general result of his examination of books and securities. Similarly, under the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, a commissioner may be appointed for the investigation or adjustment of accounts, and the result of his proceedings may be received in evidence.

The portion of the rule requiring the best evidence which excludes *hearsay*, is commonly neglected in the courts of the Mofussil, and yet it requires more than ordinary attention and watchfulness in a country in which ninety-nine out of every hundred witnesses, are totally uneducated and absolutely, with all honest intention, incapable of distinguishing between what they have seen and what they have heard. When it is remembered how often any matter touching which witnesses are required to give their testimony is discussed among them in their own village, on the road as they come in to court in a body, at the mookhtar's *basa* (lodging) and at the\* *Gāch-tolla*, it will readily be understood that the most honest witness gets in spite of himself to mingle up what he saw, and what he heard, and what he thinks. Each witness knows the *whole* story, though he only witnessed one-twentieth part of the transaction, and with the greatest air of innocence he starts off, at headlong speed to give the whole

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† *Place under the tree.* There are generally trees adjacent to the courts and under the shade of these the witnesses sit, while waiting for the case to come on.

of it with his own version of the matter. It requires a skilled and patient hand to get out of him what he actually saw with his own eyes: and, if he be stupid or nervous, once stopped in telling his own story in his own way, he is liable to get confused, and to be unable to tell what he did see. In England counsel have no communication with the witnesses before they are called into the box. In America, on the other hand, it is a common practice for practitioners to have an interview with the witnesses in order to ascertain what they really know: but in India the mookhtar considers it his duty, after ascertaining this, to instruct the witness what to say, how to say it, and what to suppress, telling him that the spoiling of the case will be the inevitable result of his directions not being followed. This is the ordinary practice in all cases, even where the party producing the witnesses means honestly and seeks just redress. It is their way of doing things, attributable, no doubt, to the former system of recording the evidence of witnesses out of the hearing and often out of the sight of the *hakim*, a *mohurrir* or native writer taking down their statements, which were read over to the judicial functionary when he had leisure to attend to the case. The practice has been\* changed, but the results of it still continue, and one of these results is the prevailing habit of drilling witnesses. Where the whole statement of a witness is utterly false, detection is easy enough, but where the witness intentionally or unconsciously mingles with the true portion, or with what he saw another portion false, or which he did not see, it requires considerable patience, skill, and knowledge of the language to divide the true from the false, what the witness really knows from what he believes on the information of others. Illiterate witnesses are more or less alike in every country, but there are in India special circumstances, some of which we have endeavoured to explain, which render this class peculiarly impracticable. We are not prepared to say that the whole of the law of England applicable to *hearsay* should be imported into this country, or that, if imported, it would be suitable. There are many points in which we think it would not be suitable, and many others, which, though difficult to alter in an old country where usage has made them sacred, should certainly not be allowed to find a place in a new code and on ground before unoccupied. The English rules of the Law of Evidence

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\* i. e. as far as the *letter* of the law goes. We believe however that few but Europeans heed the provisions of the law. The *Englishman* a short time ago contained a serious complaint on this score against a high native judicial functionary in Tirhoot.

applicable to hearsay have, however, already been considerably relaxed in India, and we think that further improvements might be made in the same direction. We proceed to notice a portion of what has been done up to the present time.

In questions of pedigree "the settled rule of admission," says Mr. Taylor, "is now restricted to hearsay, proceeding from *persons who were de jure related by blood or marriage to the family in question.*" The declaration of an *illegitimate* member of a family has been rejected. Under the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act however, the declarations of *illegitimate* members of the family and also of persons, who, *though not related by blood or marriage to the family*, were intimately acquainted with its members and state, are admissible in evidence after the death of the declarant in the same manner and to the same extent as those of deceased members of the family.\*

Under English law declarations made against the interest of the declarant, and declarations made in the course of business, are admissible only when the declarant is shown to be dead. It was held not to be sufficient to prove that he had absconded in consequence of a serious criminal charge, and was unlikely ever to return, or that he was otherwise abroad or beyond the process of the court. In India, on the contrary, such declarations will be received, if it be shown that the declarant is incapable of giving evidence by reason of his subsequent loss of understanding, or is at the time of trial or hearing *bond fide* and permanently beyond the reach of the process of the court, or that he cannot after diligent search be found.† Few will be found to disapprove of this relaxation of the proviso that guarded the exception.

In the case of *dying declarations* there has been a yet more startling innovation made upon the principles of English law. The ground of the admissibility of this kind of hearsay evidence has been well put in oft-quoted language by Lord Chief Baron Eyre. "They are declarations made in extremity, when the party is at the point of death, and when every hope of this world is gone: when every motive to falsehood is silenced, and the mind is induced by the most powerful considerations to speak the truth: a situation so solemn and so awful is considered by the law as creating an obligation equal to that which is imposed by a positive oath in a court of justice." Not less forcibly have similar arguments been put

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\* Act II of 1855, S. 47.

† Act II of 1855, S. 39.

by England's greatest dramatist into the mouth of the dying Melun.

"Have I not hideous death within my view,  
"Retaining but a quantity of life;  
"Which bleeds away even as a form of wax  
"Resolveth from his figure 'gainst the fire?  
"What in the world should make me now deceive,  
"Since I must lose the use of all deceit?  
"Why should I then be false; since it is true  
"That I must die here and live hence by truth?"

It is difficult to see on what principle or on what arguments the restriction of the admissibility of this kind of evidence to cases of homicide can be supported. Yet such is the rule of English law; and dying declarations can under it only be received where the death of the deceased is the subject of the charge, and the circumstances of the death are the subject of the dying declaration. They have been rejected over and over in other criminal cases. In the Statutory\* provisions of Indian law there was nothing to limit the admissibility of this kind of evidence to cases of homicide merely, and accordingly it has been settled by a recent decision of the Calcutta High Court, that dying declarations are admissible in other cases than those of homicide. We may notice a further distinction between the law of England and that of India connected with the same subject. Under the former the declarant must have believed that death was impending. If he entertained any expectation or hope of recovery, even though he died an hour afterwards, the declaration would be inadmissible. Under Indian law, however, the declaration will be admissible, if the deceased person at the time of making such declaration believed himself to be in danger of approaching death, although he entertained at the time of making it hopes of recovery.†

Turning now to the rules under which a witness may be permitted to refresh his memory, we shall find a more liberal spirit adopted in this country than at home. In England a witness may be permitted to refresh his memory by looking at a writing which has been made or its accuracy recognized, at the time of the fact in question, or, at furthest, so recently afterwards, as to render it probable that the memory of the witness had not then become defective. Under Indian law ‡ a witness may look at any writing

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\* Act II of 1855, S. 29; and Act XXV of 1861, S. 371.

† Section 371, Code of Criminal Procedure. •

‡ Act II of 1855, S. 45.



made by himself or by any other person at the time when the fact occurred, or immediately afterwards, or at any other time when the fact was fresh in his memory, and he knew that the same was correctly stated in writing. The distinction seems to be that in England the court takes upon it in all cases to decide what is a reasonable time within which it is probable that the memory of the witness has not become defective, while in India the witness would be allowed to look at a writing made at any time, if he could only declare that at the time of making the writing the fact was fresh in his memory. Indian law further allows a copy to be used, if the Court under the circumstances be satisfied that there is sufficient reason for the non-production of the original. Whether this would be permitted in an English Court is a proposition about which considerable doubt may be entertained. Where a witness having looked at the copy was enabled to swear positively to the facts from his own recollection, the evidence was received; but it would doubtless be otherwise if the witness after looking at the copy had no personal recollection of the facts, but could only state that he remembered the facts to have been written down, and believed that they were then correctly stated. A witness might be enabled to speak from seeing his own signature or writing, and knowing his own usual habits; when a copy in another handwriting would recall nothing to his mind. In connection with the present topic we may notice the case of *experts*. Under English law witnesses of this class are permitted to refresh their memory by a reference to books. Thus a physician may refer to medical books; a foreign lawyer called to prove foreign law may refer to codes, text books, and statutes in which such law is to be found. The books themselves are not, however, evidence, and cannot be dealt with by counsel as such. Under the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act, however, the Court may on matters of public history, literature, or art refer to such published books, maps, or charts as the court may consider to be of authority on these subjects.\* And books printed or published under the authority of the Government of a foreign country, and purporting to contain the statutes, code, or other written law of such country, and also printed and published books of reports of decisions of the courts of such country, and books proved to be commonly admitted in such courts as evidence of the law of such country, are declared admissible as evidence of such law.†

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\* Act II of 1855, S. 11.

† Act II of 1855, S. 12.

Under English procedure, a witness will not be compelled to answer any question, when such answer would have a tendency to expose him or the husband or wife of such witness to a criminal charge or to a penalty or forfeiture of any kind. This is a very old rule of the English Common Law, and has been always respected by the Judges, even by the unscrupulous Jefferies when it told too against the prisoner. In India, on the contrary, a witness is bound to answer all such questions, but no such answer, which a witness shall be compelled to give, shall, except for the purpose of punishing such person for wilfully giving false evidence on such examination, subject him to any arrest or prosecution, or be used as evidence against him in any criminal proceeding. The rule of English law has been found so obstructive to justice, that it has been necessary to repeal it in many instances, and compel the witness to answer, giving him at the same time an indemnity for the offence, which he may disclose. Such a provision has been introduced into the Larceny Act of 1861 in so far as it applies to frauds committed by Bankers, Factors, Directors, Trustees, &c.; into the Poisoned Grain Prohibition Act of 1863; into the Exhibition Medals Act of 1863; and into the Act for inquiring into corrupt practices at Elections. There is, however, a great distinction between this provision and the enactment of Indian law. Under the former the witness cannot be convicted *on any evidence whatever* in respect of any act done by him, if he shall, at any time previously to his being charged with such offence, have first disclosed such act on oath. The having given evidence is a complete bar to a prosecution. Under the Indian Act, the answer given in any particular case cannot be used against the witness, but there is nothing to prevent a prosecution on other evidence. Mr. Norton remarks that, where a witness had made a self-criminative statement, it would be difficult in a small society like that which is found in most Indian towns, to exclude this fact from the knowledge of the Judge or Jury in case of a subsequent prosecution for the offence, and that it would be sure to tell against the prisoner. No doubt this is the greatest objection that can be raised against the provision, but, on the other hand, it may with equal fairness be urged against the rule of English law, that the Judge is not bound to warn the witness of his privilege, and if the witness do answer unwittingly when he might have claimed protection, his answer may be used against him.\*

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\* Mr. Norton, p. 143, seems to doubt this statement, but see Taylor, Vol. I., p. 78.

It was for a long time a moot point at home how far a party might cross-examine and discredit a witness called by himself. A Judge seems always to have had a discretion to allow leading questions to be put to a witness, who appeared obviously hostile to the party who called him, but it was not till 1854 that the principle was clearly admitted by the Legislature. The Common Law Procedure Act of that year provided that a party producing a witness may, in case the witness shall, in the opinion of the Judge, prove "*adverse*," that is, "*hostile*" and not merely unfavourable, contradict him by other evidence, or, *by leave of the Judge*, prove that he has made at other times a statement inconsistent with his present testimony; but before such last-mentioned proof can be given, the circumstances of the supposed statement, sufficient to designate the particular occasion, must be mentioned to the witness, and he must be asked whether or not he has made such statement. This provision was borrowed in great part from the New York Civil Code. The Indian Evidence Act contains a similar provision, only more extensive and better-calculated to meet the requirements of a country, where the most important witness may generally be bought over by the other side. It enacts that the party, at whose instance a witness is examined, may, with the permission of the court, cross-examine such witness to test his veracity, in the same manner as if he had not been called at his instance, and may be allowed to show that such witness has varied from a previous statement made by him. It may be remarked here that the provisions of the Common Law Procedure Act apply only to *civil* cases, but there is nothing in the Section of the Indian law, which so limits the application of its provisions. In Ireland they have been extended to criminal as well as civil cases.

Under English procedure the former statement of a witness is not admissible to *corroborate* his testimony by showing that he has been consistent throughout, and this even though the opposite side have given proof of contradictory statements. The Indian Evidence Act, on the contrary, ordains that any former statement made by a witness relating to the same fact at or about the time when the fact took place, or before any authority legally competent to investigate the fact, shall be admissible in corroboration.\* There have not been wanting authorities to advocate the adoption of a similar principle in English law.

It was enacted by the Common Law Procedure Act† of 1854, that a witness in any case may be examined as to whether he

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\* Act II of 1855, S. 31.

† S. 25.

has been convicted of any felony or misdemeanour, and upon being so questioned, if he either denies the fact or refuses to answer, it shall be lawful for the opposite party to prove such conviction. There is no similar provision applicable to criminal trials, and consequently though a witness in a criminal case may be asked as to a previous conviction, his answer will be conclusive, unless the question relate to relevant facts; for if it relate to those that are irrelevant, according to the usual rule, no further evidence can be admitted to contradict the witness's reply. The Indian Evidence Act contains a provision taken *verbatim* from the Common Law Procedure Act. "A witness in any *cause* may be questioned as to whether he has been convicted of any felony or misdemeanour, &c."\* The use of the word *cause* and the fact of the Section having been borrowed from the English *civil* law, it has been contended, limit the application of the provision in India to civil cases. We would gladly see the point discussed. The Indian is certainly inferior to the English Act in not providing a summary mode of proving the conviction by a certificate signed by the clerk of the court.

Under the old rule of English law, neither a witness nor the jury, except under certain special circumstances, were allowed to *compare two writings* with each other, in order to ascertain whether both were written by the same person. Mr. Taylor characterizes this as a technical rule of the Common Law certainly *not* based on common sense. By the Common Law Procedure Act of 1854, it was, however, enacted that comparison of a disputed writing with any writing proved to the satisfaction of the Judge to be genuine shall be permitted to be made by witnesses, and such writings and the evidence of witnesses respecting the same may be submitted to the Court and jury as evidence of the genuineness or otherwise of the writing in dispute. This enactment applies to courts of civil judicature only, and, as Mr. Taylor remarks, the result is sufficiently absurd, two separate laws of evidence being administered at the assizes—one at Nisi Prius, and the other in the Crown Court. We have done better in India, for the corresponding Section of the Indian Evidence Act is in no wise limited in its application. It enacts that on an enquiry whether a signature, writing, or seal is genuine, any undisputed signature, writing, or seal of the party, whose signature, writing, or seal is under dispute, may be compared with the disputed one, though such signature, writing, or seal be on

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\* Mr. Goodeve (p. 244) seems to draw a distinction between English and Indian law as to a "*refusal to answer*" letting in proof of the conviction; but the two Sections are identical, and no distinction exists.

an instrument which is not evidence in the *cause*. There is another distinction between these analogous provisions of English and Indian law. Under the former, the writing, with which the *writing in the case* is compared, may be one *proved to the satisfaction of the Judge to be genuine*, but under the latter it must be some *undisputed* writing of the same party.

There are some points connected with the admission of secondary evidence in criminal cases in which Indian law is peculiar, such peculiarity being, however, a necessary consequence of the peculiar exigencies of the country. For instance, at a Sessions trial the Code of Criminal Procedure directs that the Court shall receive as *prima facie* evidence the examination of the Civil Surgeon or other medical witness taken and duly attested by the Magistrate. The Court may however, if it see fit, summon the medical witness to give evidence before it. To those who have never been in India, this might seem a provision of doubtful expediency. But when they are told that Surgeons or other medical witnesses are to be found only at stations fifty to a hundred miles apart, and that a Civil Surgeon is often from the exigencies of the service removed to some other station in the time intervening between his deposition before the Magistrate and the Sessions trial, the matter will appear in a very different point of view. In doubtful cases, however, this provision must tell with terrible effect against the prisoner upon whom is thrown the burthen of disproving the only medical testimony, which can be given from actual knowledge of the facts of the case. The opinion of the Civil Surgeon in such cases must actually decide the question of life and death. Yet that such opinion may be fallible, the trials of Donnellan, Palmer, Dove, Smethurst, and others abundantly prove. The consideration of this point should strongly impress upon Government the necessity of securing peculiar excellence in the Medical Service. In a similar way the report of the Chemical Examiner to Government is admissible in evidence, if it bear his signature, without any proof of such signature or of the person signing holding the office. Whether the deposition of a witness taken before a Magistrate can be used at the subsequent trial before the Judge, if the witness be for any reason non-producible, is a question which has been satisfactorily settled in India. The deposition is in England admissible, if it be proved that the witness is dead or so ill as not to be able to travel, and also if it be proved that the deposition was duly taken in the presence of the accused. The Section (11 and 12 Vict. cap. 42, S. 17) has however been so badly worded as to raise a doubt, whether the deposition could be

admitted in other cases than those expressly stated therein, as, for example, if the witness were proved to be permanently insane. The Indian Code of Criminal Procedure makes the deposition admissible, if the witness be *dead or the court be satisfied that for any sufficient cause his attendance cannot be procured.*

The law as to the admissibility of confessions in criminal cases differs considerably in England and India, and here again the distinction is wholly attributable to the peculiar circumstances and institutions of the latter country. A confession made to a Police officer is inadmissible as a general rule; and the reason of the rule is that the old Police resorted to torture and other obnoxious practices for the purpose of procuring confessions, not unfrequently from innocent persons, who were put forward to show the vigilance of the Police, or to screen the guilty from whom bribes had been taken. To the revelations of the Madras Torture Commission we are indebted for this measure which, though an extreme one, was yet rendered necessary by the universal prevalence of the terrible practices which were sought to be suppressed. Let us, however, hope that at some future day and with a purer and better-disciplined Police, the necessity of retaining a provision, which in many cases allows undoubted criminals to escape, will have passed away. There is, however, one exception to the general rule, that excludes confessions made to a Police officer or to any one else, as long as the accused person is in the custody of the Police. When any fact is discovered in consequence of a confession, so much of the confession as relates distinctly to the fact thereby discovered may be given in evidence. The discovery of some fact is a sort of proof, that the confession was that of a person who had some participation in the crime. It may be remarked that this exception is in accordance with the rule of English law, under which even when a confession has been unduly obtained from a prisoner, yet if property stolen, or the instrument of the crime, or the body of the person murdered, or any other material fact has been discovered thereby, so much of the confession as relates distinctly to the fact discovered, may, says Mr. Taylor, according to the sounder doctrine, be given in evidence. There is a further distinction between the two systems. Under Indian procedure neither a Police officer nor a Magistrate is bound to give any *caution* to a prisoner to prevent him disclosing anything which he may wish to say.

In admitting the evidence of accomplices, the rule in India has followed that which has been adopted at home. It has

been decided \* that a conviction upon the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice is valid in law, but that the Judge in summing up should advise the jury of the danger of convicting on such evidence merely. Connected with the question of corroborating a single witness is another point in which the case-law of India has followed that of England. It has been † decided by the Calcutta High Court in accordance with the rule followed in the latter country, that a conviction for perjury upon the uncorroborated evidence of a single witness is not legal.

We have already seen that the same *protection* from answering criminating questions is not extended to *witnesses* in this country as at home. With respect to the *protection* extended to *writings* however, the law of both countries, as far as it admits of comparison, is pretty similar. A witness is not in India bound to produce any document relating to affairs of State, the production of which would be contrary to good policy, ‡ nor any confidential writing which has passed between him § and his legal professional adviser. It would be well if the principle of the rule in the former case were better understood and acted upon. One notable violation of it is common in many districts. Copies of the diaries and of other papers connected with the proceedings of the Police are given to parties who ask for them. This is, in singular contrast with the rule adopted in England, and unanimously laid down by all the Judges in the case of *R. v. Hardy*, that all questions tending to the discovery of the channels by which information was given to the officers of justice, were upon the general principle of public convenience to be suppressed. If such questions are not to be allowed, it is an untenable proposition, that copies of papers, which show all the steps taken by the Police authorities, should be granted to any one who asks for them. With respect to other privileged communications, made verbally or in writing, between husband and wife, lawyer and client, the rule of protection is the same in England and in India.

It is an unvarying rule of English law that parol testimony cannot be received to contradict, vary, add to, or subtract from

\* *The Queen v. Blakt Bux*, 29th May, 1866. Weekly Reporter, Criminal Rulings, p. 80.

† *The Queen v. Lal Chand Kowrah Choukidar, and others*, 7th February, 1866. Weekly Reporter, Criminal Rulings, p. 23.

‡ Act II of 1855, S. 21.

§ Do. S. 22.

the terms of a valid written instrument. This rule has been followed in Courts of Equity both in England and America, and of its propriety there can be no doubt. In cases of accident, mistake, or fraud however, parol evidence has been always admitted in both countries to qualify, correct, and sometimes defeat the terms of the writing. In India, more especially in Bengal, there was a course of decisions which seemed to favour a departure from these acknowledged principles in the case of contracts of sale, oral evidence having been, on more than one occasion, admitted to show that a deed of absolute sale was intended to operate only as a mortgage. In a recent important decision\* of the Calcutta High Court however, the whole subject has been ably reviewed, and a fixed principle laid down for future guidance. The learned Chief Justice gave his opinion that in this country verbal evidence is not admissible to vary or alter the terms of a written contract in cases in which there is no fraud or mistake, and in which the parties *intended to express in writing what their words imported*. The case was accordingly remanded to try whether the plaintiff had ever been in possession and been forcibly dispossessed as alleged by him; and whether having reference to the amount of the alleged purchase-money advanced, and to the value of the interest alleged to be sold, and the acts and conduct of the parties, they intended to act upon the deed as an absolute sale, or to treat the transaction as a mortgage only; "for I am of opinion," added the Chief Justice, "that parol evidence is admissible to explain the acts of the parties."

Under English procedure where attestation is necessary to the validity of a document, the attesting witnesses *must* be called to prove it, and this formality will not be dispensed with, even by the admission of the *party*. This very absurd rule which requires that to be proved which nobody wants to deny, has been rescinded in this country, and the admission of a party to an attested instrument is sufficient *prima facie* evidence against him of its execution.†

It will appear from the above brief *resumé*, that, especially of late years and since the establishment of the High Courts, a considerable degree of labour has been expended on the subject with which this article is concerned, and that to him who will study the broad principles of the Law of Evidence, there are not wanting in India authorities and precedents to guide him in the

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\* *Kashinath Chakrovarti, Appellant, v. Chand Churn Bannerji, Respondent, 5th February, 1866.*

† Act II of 1855, S. 38.



narrower and more obscure bye-paths. Should no regular Code be prepared for India, doubtless a Law of Evidence suitable to the requirements of the country, will be created in the course of years by the decisions and precedents of the courts. Such case-law has, we know, many advantages. It is like a shoe made to the foot and less likely to pinch than one made from an ordinary last, yet we believe that the latter, if made after careful measurement, is better than a loose sandal which requires constant girding to the feet of the wearer.

“However different codes may vary widely from each other in matters of arbitrary positive institution and of mere artificial creation, the general means of investigating facts,” says a distinguished writer on the subject, “must be common to all. Every rational system which provides the means of ascertaining truth, must be founded on experience and reason; on a well-grounded knowledge of human nature and conduct; on a consideration of the value of testimony; and on the weight due to coincident circumstances. The object of the law is identified with that of pure science; and all the means within the reach of philosophy; all the connections and links, physical and moral, which experience and reason can discover, are thus rendered subservient to the purposes of justice.” The *instinctive* disposition to believe what others tell us, and to confide in their veracity, which is implanted in our natures, and which enables us to acquire knowledge in things beyond the limited range of our own senses, is the foundation and cornerstone of the law of evidence. “The knowledge acquired by an individual through his own perception and reflection,” says Mr. Taylor, “is but a small part of what he possesses; much of what we are content to regard and act upon as knowledge having been acquired through the perceptions of others. It is not easy to conceive that the Supreme Being, whose wisdom is so conspicuous in all his works, constituted man to believe only on his own personal experience! Since in that case the world could neither be governed or improved, and society must remain in the state in which it was left by the first generation of men.” From childhood up, we learn by believing in what others tell us, and *faith in human testimony is only limited by experience of its credibility*. In deciding then how far the Law of Evidence which is established in England, as the guide and rule of all courts, is applicable to India, having more especial reference to those portions of it, which define and declare the artificial value and effect to be given to evidence when admitted, it becomes a fundamental question, how far the experience of the credibility of testimony in this country assimilates to

similar experience at home. We believe that there are few indeed, of those who have had even a brief experience of India, who would venture to assign equal value to evidence of any kind in both countries. In England,

"All truth is precious, if not all divine,  
"And what dilates the powers must needs refine."

The love of truth is part of our national character, and though

"Falsehood and fraud shoot up in every soil,  
"The product of all climes,"

yet in some countries they are more indigenous to the soil than in others, and while progress, civilization, and Christianity have tended to root out these ugly weeds from the fair fields of Anglia, they yet flourish on the plains of India, like its native jungle which the hand of reclamation has never yet cleared. It has been observed with reference to India, that "a propensity to lying is more or less a peculiar feature in the character of an enslaved people. Accustomed to oppression of every kind, and to be called upon to render strict account for every trifle done—not according to the rules of the justice, but as the caprice of their masters may suggest,—it is little to be wondered at if a lie is often resorted to as a supposed refuge from punishment, and that thus an habitual disregard is engendered;" for no one knows where deviations from truth will end, and who will pretend to be able to trace their windings and turnings? There may be some who will ask, if there is any oppression now in India beneath the British rule. Even if there were not, the impress of former oppression and tyranny cannot be eradicated from a race in the course of a few generations. But there *is* at the present hour oppression that must bear the above fruits. Every native zemindar is more or less an oppressor, inasmuch as the ryot who would transgress his orders or his wishes, would be made, by ways and means that the initiated alone can understand, to repent his folly. If a zemindar throw his sheltering *agis* over an accused party, and make it known to his ryots that he wills it that none give information to the authorities or evidence before the Magistrate, regard for truth is scattered to the winds, and preternaturally clever would be that *hakim* who would draw from the witnesses more than the profession of faith made by the American sect of *know-nothings*. And if the zemindar himself stand in the criminal dock, and the only available witnesses against him be his own dependents and ryots, you might as well expect the retainer of a feudal baron to lift his sword against his own true lord as hope for evidence from those who have eyes but see not, and ears

but hear not, whose understanding is wilfully darkened, and who cannot, because they will not, comprehend. 'Tis thus when they are required to know nothing, but when the demand is for knowledge which they do not possess, though a story wholly false is not likely to find credence with any one who will take the patience and trouble to unravel the web of invention, yet falsehood is never so dangerous as when she baits her hook with truth.\* And when a witness mixes up what did not happen with what actually did occur, as, for instance, when, in order to prove an *alibi*, a real journey with all its incidents is described, the date only being altered, the labour of dividing truth from falsehood is not easy. In laying down rules or a Code of Evidence for India, the task of limiting the amount of faith to be placed in human testimony by experience of its credibility is no easy one, and upon the way in which it is performed will depend in no slight degree the success of the whole work.

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\* Lord Brougham on the Queen's trial said—"If an individual were "to invent a story entirely,—if he were to form it completely of falsehoods, the result would be his inevitable detection; but if he build a "structure of falsehood on a foundation of a little truth, he may raise a "tale, which, with a good deal of drilling, may put an honest man's life "or an illustrious princess' reputation in jeopardy."

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ART. V.—1. *A Memorandum written after a tour through the Tea Districts of Eastern Bengal in 1864-65.* By W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D. 1866.

2. *Memorial of Proprietors of Tea Estates in Eastern Bengal, presented to the Governor-General in March 1867.*

3. *Reply of the Governor-General thereto.*

HAPPY is the province of British India that finds favour in the eyes of the Governor-General, and enjoys a liberal expenditure in every branch of administration as the consequence of its good fortune. The most recent annexations, such as the Punjab, Pegu, and Oude, are instances of this, while it seems that nothing but misfortune will draw the attention of our rulers to other parts of the empire. Even the old districts of Nuddea and Jessore made more progress in the course of a few years immediately succeeding the break-down of the indigo system, than for many years preceding that event, as is testified by the present complete scheme of Sub-divisions, Small Cause Courts, and Feeder roads, and now the dire calamity under which Orissa still suffers, bids fair to cover it with a network of roads, to extend considerably the irrigation operations, and to lead to various other public benefits.

Though a good deal has been said latterly of the losses in tea speculations, whether it be that those whose interests are affected are not so influential as the sufferers in Nuddea, or that the losses are not yet sufficiently serious to command attention, certain it is that there are no signs of any progress being even contemplated in Assam, and it remains to be seen if the able Memorandum at the head of this paper will aid in raising "the Cinderella of the Empire" from her present position.\*

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\* Since the above was written, a Memorial has been presented to the Governor-General by the tea-planters of Bengal, who now seem thoroughly aware of the necessity of taking active steps to save their interests from ruin, and in his reply to the Memorial, Sir John Lawrence mentioned that just double the amount hitherto expended in public works, viz., seven lacs,

In the cold season of 1864-65, Major Lees devoted three months' leave to a tour in Assam, and recorded his views and observations in a Memorandum which was not printed till the end of 1866. Though the vast extent of the country to be visited and the great difficulties experienced in travelling, in addition to delay caused by an attack of fever, rendered his task onerous to accomplish within so short a period as three months, Major Lees has grasped with ability every question of interest connected with the province, and fully exposed all the shortcomings of its administration. It is well known, however, that instead of receiving the thanks of Government for his interesting communication, he has been treated in a manner that has been deservedly condemned by the public press, and still more in private society. Before considering the principal subjects discussed in the Memorandum, we propose to make a few remarks on the personal question, as the fate of Major Lees may serve as a warning to other officers of Government, and we believe that one motive that influenced the Lieutenant-Governor throughout the affair, has not been generally understood.

We believe there is no dispute as to the main facts. Hearing that Major Lees intended to make a tour in Assam, the Governor-General expressed (verbally it would appear) a general interest in the objects of his tour, requesting him to pay special attention to the coolie question, to obtain accurate information on the subject, and to report his impressions. Anxious to discharge the duty entrusted to him to the best of his ability, Major Lees in asking for information from tea-planters and others in an entirely non-official manner, mentioned that the information he obtained would be laid before the Viceroy, an intimation well-calculated to ensure caution and accuracy in the replies to his questions. This circumstance having reached the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon called on Major Lees to explain why he had given out that he had been directed to make an official report on the province. The reply was that no such official position had been assumed. Shortly after this, a note from Major Lees to Mr. Barry appeared in the *Home News*, in which allusion was made to Major Lees' "mission" to Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor seized the word and boldly accused Major Lees of serious inconsistency. As the Governor-General did not even then come forward to

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*instead of three and a half. will be given to Assam and the other tea districts this year, and that some of the really objectionable provisions of the Coolie Acts will be rescinded. We are glad to see these indications already that Major Lees' labours have not been in vain.*

explain the matter, it is fortunate that the facts speedily oozed out, and that Major Lees has not been the one to suffer in public estimation by this little episode.

Sir C. Beadon had of course one very obvious motive in the course he adopted. Having paid, as far as we can judge from results, but little attention to Assam during his tenure of office, and being aware that an unpleasant outcry might follow the publication of any account of the present condition of the province after forty years of British administration, for which he among others would be blamed, his equanimity was disturbed on hearing that a "chiel" was in the province "takin' notes", and he became anxious to prevent the issue of any publication if he could prevent it. But this was not, we think, the only motive. Sir Cecil was also desirous of bringing to a point the question as to whether direct interference in a province under his Government had been authorised by his superior. In this however he failed; and Major Lees was therefore unable to go through the farce of explaining to so experienced an official as Sir Cecil Beadon, that if he (Major Lees) had assumed an official position when making his enquiries, he would not only have written officially to every one, and especially to the officers of the commission, for information, but would probably have commenced every letter with some such phrase as, "Having been appointed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council to enquire &c., &c." There was surely no inconsistency in saying that he had not assumed an official position when he mentioned that the information he obtained would be laid before the Governor-General. With these remarks we now turn to the Memorandum.

The Memorandum begins with a description of the only route to Assam, *viz.*, by the Burhampooter, concluding with a remark that it takes longer to go from Calcutta to Gowhatty, the capital of the province, than from London to America! We have then a sketch of the physical features of the province, and of the divisions and characteristics of the people, followed by an interesting *resumé* of the history of Assam from 1780 down to the final occupation by the British in 1825.

During the stormy reign of Rajah Gourinath, the people were harassed by civil war, with only a brief interval of rest when Lord Cornwallis acceded to the Rajah's application for assistance on the ground, that "Hindoostanee sepoys and others had enrolled themselves among the forces of his enemies." A single regiment under Captain Welsh quelled two separate insurrections, and with the full consent of the leading men among the Assamese, arrangements were made "for the

"retention of a brigade of British troops in the province." On Lord Cornwallis's departure from India, however, our troops were withdrawn, and Assam was again handed over to anarchy and misrule, that lasted for upwards of thirty years. The Burmese, at first called in to assist the Rajah in maintaining his throne, became the virtual rulers of the country, and remained so till, getting into trouble with the British Government about Cachar, they were expelled in 1825. The sufferings of the population throughout this period were indescribable, and culminated with savage excesses on the part of the Burmese, who, retreating from before our troops, laid waste the country, and carried off 30,000 labourers into slavery.

Major Lees in the following passage indirectly condemns the withdrawal of our troops in 1794, and considers that to Sir John Shore's policy in that matter must be attributed, to a great extent, the present backward condition of Assam. The allusion to the "enormous expense" evidently refers to the Burmese War as having been indirectly brought about by the withdrawal of our troops, in consequence of which the Rajah was left to apply for assistance to the Burmese, who but for that circumstance would not have come into contact with us about Cachar and Assam.

"I fear that I owe some apology for this tedious digression. I did not enter upon it, however, without a purpose. I desired to show that, though interference in internal affairs of independent native States is a thing to be especially avoided, there may be occasions where, to shrink from the responsibility which self-preservation, the first law of States as well as of individuals, forces on the Paramount Power in India, may not only involve us in enormous expense and incalculable trouble, but cause us to incur the odium, if not the criminality, of being indirectly instrumental in the devastation of rich and flourishing provinces, and the impoverishment and ruin, the suffering and misery, nay, even the slavery and death of their inhabitants. During the anarchy and misrule which followed the withdrawal of the British force from Assam in 1794, partly through the vain struggles of the Assamese to free themselves from the oppression of their Burmese allies, and partly through famines—the result of this state of things—the district of Luckimpore was almost wholly depopulated, and other districts suffered more or less severely from the same cause. 'The small remnant of the population,' to use the words of General Jenkins, 'had been so harassed and oppressed by the long civil and internal wars that had followed the accession of Rajah Gourinath Sing in 1780 down to 1826, that they had almost

“ ‘given up cultivation, and lived on jungle roots and plants,  
 “ ‘and famine and pestilence carried off thousands that had  
 “ ‘escaped the sword and captivity. All men of rank, the heads  
 “ ‘of the great Ahom and priestly families, had retired to one  
 “ ‘district, Gwálpára, having, with little exception, lost the whole  
 “ ‘of their property. With the nobility and gentry retired a  
 “ ‘vast body of the lower classes; the former mostly returned to  
 “ ‘Assam after our occupation, but large numbers of the latter  
 “ ‘never returned, and their descendants form still a large part  
 “ ‘of the population of the Hubbraghat and Koontaghat.’ I  
 “ ‘further desired to trace to their origin the true causes of many  
 “ ‘of the unsatisfactory circumstances of the present state of  
 “ ‘Assam, the general scantiness of the population, its extremely  
 “ ‘unequal distribution, and the enormous extent of rich and pro-  
 “ ‘ductive land which lies waste and uncultivated.”

We do not understand this passage to imply that the British Government are responsible for what followed the withdrawal of the troops, but that an opportunity of doing great good was thrown away by the Paramount Power, and in this we concur. The reflection naturally suggests itself—Has the Government made the most of its second chance of improving the condition of the province since 1825? And we think the voice of the public will reply in the negative.

It was unfortunate that, beyond pacification of the country, the immediate effect of our occupation by no means improved the general condition of the province. Of course the very first measure was to abolish unpaid labour and slavery, and as the wealth of the higher and middle classes depended in a great measure on the number of slaves they possessed, the effect, Major Lees tells us, was “to reduce the whole population to the “dead level of the ryot,” and since then there has been no middle class in Assam, a circumstance brought to notice by Mr. Moffat Mills in 1853. Moreover, “the abandonment of the “right of Government to exact personal servitude in lieu of “revenue” without the substitution of any systematic expenditure on public works, led to the decay of noble roads, bridges, and embankments constructed by native rulers.

Having thus brought his remarks down to the period of our first occupation, the author proceeds to describe the present system of administration and condition of Assam. The first point treated is the revenue system. . . .

Of the six districts of Assam, Goalparah enjoys a perpetual settlement, and the remaining five, Kamroop, Durrung, Nowgong, Seeksagur, and Luckimpore are under the *ryotwars* system, like Madras. Settlements are, as a rule, made



annually, but a small percentage are for two, three, and five, with an occasional exception for a term of ten years. The settlements are usually made at the sudder station on the report of the Mouzahdar, or native fiscal officer, and only in cases of doubt or dispute is there any local investigation, which again is not conducted by the Collector or his Assistant, neither of whom have time for it, but by a civil court Ameen. Well may Major Lees observe that such a system leaves room for great abuses, which are not, we should think, diminished by frequent changes in holdings owing to abandonment for fresh lands, and subdivision among heirs. Turning to Mr. Mills' report of 1853 on this subject, we find first an expression of his opinion that, notwithstanding the hindrances to improvement in the apathy and indolence of the Assamese peasant, the increase of cultivation and revenue would steadily progress under a better regulated and uniform revenue system, and then the following passage occurs with regard to the manner of conducting settlements which we have described. The italics are ours.

"I have had considerable experience in making settlements, and it appears to me that a settlement formed in this manner is a misnomer; it is no settlement at all. *The practice of concealing land is extremely prevalent.* I have noticed some instances of it in my District Reports, and though I am inclined to place every confidence in the supervision of the local authorities, yet I cannot but doubt the accuracy of information which measurements conducted by persons most interested to be dishonest, and so imperfectly checked are calculated to convey; *indeed there is nothing to prevent the sacrificing the interests of Government to almost any extent.*"

Mr. Mills then went on to recommend that settlements be conducted in the manner prescribed by the Board of Revenue, measurements being made by Ameens in presence of the Mouzahdars and ryots, and afterwards tested by the settlement officer, maps being prepared on the spot. Finally he recommended a twenty years' settlement with the Mouzahdars for several reasons, one of which was a desire to create an influential middle class, and another the impossibility of the superior officer bestowing that close and constant supervision by which alone a *khas* or *ryotwara* system can really answer.

It does not require any special knowledge of a revenue officer's duties to judge of the extent to which Government is defrauded by such a system as Major Lees describes, but we are assured by those who have had practical experience in such work, that in making the temporary settlements in Bengal proper, with all the advantages of very fair survey maps, it requires the utmost vigi-

lance on the part of officers who actually go to the spot, to prevent deception by the Ameens in the measurement. How unlimited then must be the opportunities of the Mouzahdar and occasionally of the Ameen in Assam; considering the numerical weakness of the commission, the great size of the districts, and the difficulty in travelling about the country from the absence of roads, there seems to be no good reason why a Mouzahdar of a remote village should report more than half the real cultivation, and let the other half to the ryots at a reduced rental on his own account. At all events the Assamese must be very different to the Bengallees (and unhappily we are assured they are not, in this respect), if Government do not lose some lacs of rupees annually in this way, and a serious responsibility has been incurred by those who neglected to act on Mr. Mills' recommendation, when the evil was so forcibly brought to notice. Major Lees has borne full testimony to the inadequacy of the staff to conduct such local investigations in addition to other duties, but who can doubt that the additional revenue that might reasonably be expected would far more than defray the additional expenditure? It is to be observed, too, that if a twenty years' settlement with Mouzahdars is granted, as we trust it will be, any increase to the commission on this account will be temporary only, *i. e.*, while the settlements are actually being effected.

With regard to the rates of assessment, they appear extremely low in Assam proper, *viz.*, six annas a beegah for rice lands, and four annas for high lands. We observe that in 1853, several of the Collectors were in favour of raising the rates considerably above these figures. One officer proposed one rupee and another one rupee four annas for high lands, a third suggested eight annas for rice lands, and Mr. Hudson considered the low rate of assessment of the best rice land as an obstacle to the advancement of Assam, "as a small quantity of such land provides "the idle opium-eating peasant with means of subsistence, and "prevents his hiring out his labour." Major Lees thinks there is no difference of opinion, that the rates for high lands may be raised at once to those for low lands, but he forcibly points out that the Government revenue is paid direct by the lowest class, which is the only one whose condition has improved under our rule, and he advocates a general moderate increase simultaneously with a complete change in the revenue system. Our readers are aware that the rates in Bengal are much higher for the high lands producing the more valuable crops than for rice lands, and will learn with surprise that the contrary is the case in Assam. To the causes that have produced this extraordinary state of affairs we shall advert further on in connection with

another subject, and now leave that of land revenue with an earnest hope that the recommendations of Mr. Mills may be carried out without further loss of time, together with the increase in the rates recommended by Major Lees, unless the local administration can bring forward any reasons against the latter proposal. If a twenty years' settlement is granted and effected after proper local investigation by superior officers, the revenues will, in all probability, as we have already shown, be increased by the discovery of cultivated land for which the Government has never received a penny hitherto, but any increase in the rates paid for cultivated land will probably be trifling on the occasion of the first settlement, in order to allow of such a profit to the Mouzahdar, as will tend to create a substantial middle class. But on the other hand, the Mouzahdars will probably be willing to engage for large areas of uncultivated land at very low rates (which it would be good policy for Government to allow) on the chance of their being able to make a handsome profit in the course of twenty years by bringing it into cultivation. The additional revenues are sadly wanted for public works, but in any case it is to be hoped that Government will not allow a thoroughly bad system to be continued any longer.

Major Lees is opposed to the principle of selling waste land in fee simple, as sacrificing a future source of revenue, from which either the province must suffer owing to a deficiency in income, or the empire generally from an obligation to make it up. He has evidently thoroughly studied the working of the rules for the sale of waste lands, and considers them objectionable both from the Government and the planter's point of view. The objections of the planter are—1st, the uncertainty of obtaining the fruits of his labour in searching out land, by the chance of being outbid on the day of sale: 2nd, the difficulty of ascertaining the exact requirements of the officials as regards demarcation, and the different way in which the Collectors work this point: 3rd, the delay in surveying the grants: 4th, the delay in granting titles. The objections in the interests of Government are—1st, that the grant of large tracts of the best land which the purchasers are unable to cultivate has checked the reclamation of wastes, and thus frustrated the main object of the rules: 2nd, the encroachment on lands available for ordinary cultivation: 3rd, the endless litigation. Instances are given of lots being sold to two different persons, and of the difficulties in obtaining titles that would be amusing, were not the consequences so serious to the purchasers. As the rules have been modified in some respects 1864-65, it is unnecessary to discuss their provisions, since

but it would seem that some of the objections can only be remedied by a regular professional survey of the whole province.

The general bearing of the lower classes in Assam to the ruling race, and especially to the administration, is very remarkable. It is the only exception we have heard of to the rule, that the greater the distance from Calcutta, the greater the inclination to respect Europeans generally, but above all the European authorities; though good district officers will command respect anywhere, if fairly supported by their executive superiors. Major Lees says—

“It may be urged that, at least by freeing the people from  
“oppressive and tyrannical conquerors, and bestowing on them  
“perfect freedom, we have earned their gratitude, and it is true  
“we have earned it, but unfortunately they do not appear to  
“see it. The bearing of the Assamese towards the race who  
“has conferred on them these inestimable benefits, not except-  
“ing Government officials, may be called independence by some;  
“but accustomed as I have been to see Englishmen in other  
“parts of India, as long as they conducted themselves like  
“gentlemen, treated with respect and consideration, and Govern-  
“ment functionaries with the utmost deference, by natives, I  
“regret much to observe that *downright hostility* appears to me  
“the only suitable term by which to define the rule of their con-  
“duct in Assam. This may partly have arisen from the  
“inability of people, long accustomed to severe despotism, to  
“distinguish between liberty and license, and partly from an  
“erroneous impression prevailing very generally in Calcutta,  
“and with a few officials in the province, that it is their special  
“mission to interpose between the planter and the ryot, in order  
“to protect the latter from ill-usage. But though my attention  
“was especially directed to this matter, I altogether failed any-  
“where to discover that such interposition was in the smallest  
“degree necessary, while everywhere I had the strongest proofs  
“that the feeling I allude to is as general as it is mischievous,  
“and that, in effect, it recoils on the Government with far more  
“force than upon individuals, planters or others. From the  
“Commissioner to the junior Assistant in Assam, there is not  
“an official that has any personal influence in the province, a  
“state of things that, in a country the people of which are in the  
“primitive condition of the Assamese, seems almost incompre-  
“hensible, and which, as everything that has ever been done  
“for the moral and social improvement of the people of India  
“has been brought about by personal influence, cannot but act  
“as a bar to all progress. This statement possibly may be

"denied, and I beg to state that, in making it, I do not wish to attribute blame to any one; but, short though my tour was in Assam, the evidences of the fact were too abundant and striking to leave the smallest doubt upon my mind of its positive truth."

He then describes and contrasts his reception by his tenants at Kangra in the North-West Provinces and by the Assamese, how in the former case a *perwannah* secured the respect of every native official he came across, and how the people met him on arrival with presents, while in Assam, though his tenants had been treated with great indulgence about their holding, grazing, and wood-cutting privileges, no one came near him, and he met with a positive refusal to sell him a cup of milk! We have, however, serious instances not merely of a want of personal influence, but of what we must almost characterise as dread of the people on the part of the officials, and of the contempt in which they are consequently held. In a journey of eighteen miles between Nowgong and Tezpore, the two chief civil stations of Central Assam, the traveller had to cross the Burhampooter, and at his request the Magistrate issued orders for his assistance, and sent an elephant to meet him on the Tezpore bank, but nevertheless there were no boatmen on the Nowgong side to ferry him across. On another occasion the elephant driver, though under the orders of the Magistrate, left the traveller prostrate with fever on the bank of a river, and went off! A Magistrate actually refused a European lady any assistance, and she had to walk under a burning sun on a road passing through jungles infested with wild beasts. But strangest instance of all, the wife of a Deputy Commissioner was actually left in a road-side village by her *dooly* bearers, who refused to proceed any further, and neither native officials nor any one else would assist her in procuring other bearers to continue her journey, so she had to walk ten miles into the station! (We wonder, by the way, if Section 490 of the Penal Code was applied in the last case.)

Now we think there is no one, however infatuated on the subject of governing the natives of India like the natives of England, who will deny that such an utter want of influence on the part of the administration, and such a disregard of their visible rulers on the part of an ignorant and uncivilised people, is an unwholesome state of affairs. In a time of trial the executive of Assam would be utterly useless, and this after a British occupation of forty years. Such feeling and conduct on the part of the working classes cannot fail to interfere materially with the progress of the province, even if more attention is paid to it henceforward by Government.

While Major Lees blames no one, we gather from what officers told him of the tendency to send petitions to Gowhatty, that this has been brought about by the Commissioner, who encourages it instead of supporting his subordinates. We can safely say that such a condition of things is unknown out of Assam, and as Major Lees bears testimony to the ability and efficiency of the district officers generally, we feel sure that in past years some very injudicious pressure must have been put on them with the result now brought to notice. We commend this subject to the attention of the present Commissioner, and trust that he will soon rectify so serious an evil.

We now come to the three subjects of the tea-planters' Memorial, *viz.*, the coolie question, the want of additional courts of justice, and of roads and other public works. Though the Memorandum before us refers exclusively to Assam, it would appear that the wants of all the other tea districts of Bengal are of a similar nature, and the Memorial of course referred to all.

Major Lees has a good deal to say on the coolie question. He asserts that the high rate of wages current among local labourers is in some measure due to philanthropic but mistaken views on the part of Government officers, who imagine that the higher the rate of wages, the more satisfactory will be the condition of the Assamese peasant, and it appears that not only has this tendency to refuse employment except at high and increasing wages been fostered by the authorities, but Government have entered into competition with the tea-planters by bidding high, when labour is necessary for whatever little is done in the way of public works, &c. Major Lees admits that the condition of the lower class—and that class alone—has improved under our rule, as regards such outward and visible signs as brass and iron cooking-pots, in place of earthenware, ornaments worn by the women, &c., but maintains that after reaching this point it stops, and additional wages are spent in opium. There is no such thing as healthy competition among the local labourers, and having cultivated some rice-land, the Assamese is master of the situation where labour is so scarce; he will only work sufficiently to purchase the opium he consumes. Thus while little or no real improvement results to the people by encouraging the demand for high wages, great injury, on the other hand, is done to the tea interest, owing to which the revenues of the province have increased so much. The planters are obliged to import labour from Bengal at great expense, and with all the difficulties and objections that have produced the Contract Law, and when the coolies arrive, they find that Government officers are paying

local labourers double the wages paid by planters to imported coolies, which has the natural effect of inducing the latter to break their contracts and run away. Another result of the high wages paid by Government is that fewer roads and bridges are made for the money. Major Lees, however, points out that Government are in one way gainers by the practice, as whatever excess wages they give is returned to the treasuries in exchange for opium. It is difficult to form an opinion as to how far the high wages are the result of Government encouragement and competition, and how far they are due to natural causes; but certainly the rates are very disproportionally high with reference to the cost of the necessaries of life, and if it is only to make the money spent on public works go further, we trust that Government will offer no higher rates than imported labour would cost, and that, if the Assamese do not want employment at those rates, the Government will import their coolies.

Major Lees thinks that, for the present, contractors and recruiters cannot be dispensed with, though every encouragement should be given to planters to engage coolies without the aid of third parties. The point in which the Contract Law is most frequently evaded, and which is of great importance to the coolie, is the provision for taking the coolie before the Magistrate of his district, but it is exceedingly difficult to insist on this, as a fair reason is always given why the coolies are encountered out of their own districts, and if the Magistrate releases them, they are the first to object. Major Lees condemns the system of numerous depôts in Calcutta, as they cannot be efficiently superintended, and is in favour of one large depôt which should, he thinks, be in or close to Calcutta, as the chief employers hire there, and would never be satisfied if they could not inspect the coolies before they are sent off. He further considers that with proper arrangements between the railway and the steamers no depôt at all is necessary at Kooshtea, and thinks with many others that the coolies are over-clothed and over-fed in the steamers, and that sickness and mortality arise from these causes more than from any others. Lastly, he advocates the establishment of rest-houses at the landing places on the Burhampooter, under the supervision of the local authorities, for the coolies to stay in until the planters can send for them. A special commission has just concluded its enquiries on all the points connected with the depôts and transmission to the tea districts, and the new Bill\* to amend the two Bengal Acts will contain provisions on these points, as well

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\* The Bill has since been laid before the Bengal Council.

as alterations in the recruiting system, so we may hope for real improvement in all these matters before very long.

With regard to the treatment of coolies at the plantations, Major Lees quotes the opinions of all the principal officers in the province in support of his own that, with the exception of one or two particular instances to the contrary, the labourer is kindly and humanely treated. Those opinions were prominently put forward by Mr. Schiller in presenting the planters' Memorial to the Governor-General as the ground of a request that all exceptional legislation should be rescinded. There is, we think, no question now as to the general kind treatment of the coolies, which was admitted by the Governor-General himself, but in asking for the total abolition of the provisions contained in Acts III of 1863 and VI of 1865, we think the planters were decidedly unreasonable, and their assertion that their diminished prosperity was in the main attributable to those laws is quite unjustifiable. It is well known that deficiency of capital, over-speculation, competition, and in consequence a great increase in the cost of importing labour, together with the appointment of incompetent managers, have principally caused the falling off in the profits of tea plantations, and if there were no exceptions whatever to the rule of humane treatment, the necessity of several provisions of the Contract Law would be the same as ever. It is a question whether the exact nature of the supervision and precautions that the Government is bound to exercise in the interests of the imported coolies should be by means of a Protector, and we think it might advantageously take a different form, but though it is to the interest of the planter that the coolies should be well cared for, and justly as well as humanely treated, and though we have no doubt that in the great majority of cases the managers do their best, we are sure that without supervision on the part of some Government officer, there would be no efficient check over the selection of unhealthy sites for coolies' lines, and no adequate medical treatment would be secured, the results of which would be disastrous to planters as well as to coolies, and after the appalling mortality among coolies in transport to the tea districts, no moderate man will deny that the Government are bound to take proper sanitary precautions, though some of those now taken may be, and, we believe, are needless, and actually prejudicial to the health of people utterly unaccustomed to them.

On the remaining points, such as objectionable interference in regard to a minimum rate of wages, the price at which rice is to be sold to the coolies, and the hardship to the planters of allowing the labourers to break their contracts without paying adequate compensation, Major Lees and the



planters are in full accord. The first two points have been conceded by Government, but in regard to the last we are sorry to see that the Secretary of State and Government of India have directed a modification of the law that will increase the difficulties of the planters. The provision to be introduced in the new Act is to the effect that when a coolie has been twice convicted of desertion and has suffered imprisonment for sixty days, he is to be released from his contract. We are afraid that coolies will take advantage of this, even for the mere purpose of getting Government employ at higher wages, and the loss to the importers will be serious. We maintain that on the simplest principles of equity and justice, the coolie should not be freed from his contract, till he has paid compensation. The principle of compensation is admitted when a coolie wishes, as an honest man, to cancel a contract, and Mr. Eden stated in the Bengal Council that the amount would be fixed at Rs. 90 in the first year, Rs. 60 in the second, and Rs. 50 in the third. But what coolie will pay these sums when he can avoid it by undergoing sixty days' imprisonment? There will be a certain amount of punishment for him, but this will not benefit the planter, and we shall be surprised if Government do not find it necessary to rescind this provision within a year's time.

The want of sufficient courts of justice within reasonable distances is a serious inconvenience to the planters, and is forcibly dwelt on in the Memorandum. The prosecution of coolies generally involves a long journey to the nearest court, and the loss of five, six, or more days to the planter and the witnesses, all of whom are wanted at the plantation, which is without supervision in the meanwhile. We cannot, however, concur with Major Lees in his proposal to invest the planters with what would in reality be powers to decide their own disputes with the coolies. Speaking generally, the system of Honorary Magistrates has not been successful in this country, and has been in a great measure abandoned, while in the present instance, beyond an occasional petty squabble between coolies, all the judicial authority the planter would have to exercise would be in the settlement of his own cases. Government will, we hope, however, do something to remedy the inconvenience, and no better plan has been suggested for these plantation cases, than the Ceylon system of peripatetic Magistrates, though an increase in the number of subdivisions would of course be a benefit to the planters as well as to every one else. We understand that this plan, involving the union of the present duties of the Protector with that of Magistrate, meets the wishes of the planters, and if the duties of the Protector are maintained, there should be

no objection on the part of Government. The Governor-General said in his reply to the memorialists, that he was ready to take into consideration any specific requests for more Magistrates and more courts, so the sooner well-considered proposals as to locality and area of jurisdiction are laid before the Government, the better.

The condition or rather absence of public works is perhaps the most discreditable feature of our administration. Major Lees says—

“ Suffice it to say that, speaking generally, in Lower Assam there are no roads at all, and in Upper Assam, *i. e.*, from Golaghât to Debroghur, though there is a fair embankment, it is only now that a commencement at making culverts and bridges has been made. In some parts of Lower Assam, attempts at raised earth-works can be traced out, and that running for about twenty miles south-west of Tezapore, commonly called Vincent’s Road, might very easily be made a good *kutchā* road; but for the rest, the dâk even cannot be sent by the ‘Grand Trunk Road’ from Gowhatty, the capital of the province, to Nowgong, the nearest civil station; and it will suffice to indicate the condition of the remainder to state that, during last rains, a planter, who had the temerity to try and make his way along it to the next civil station, Golaghât, nearly lost his life in the attempt. The serious consequence of a want of roads in every country are too well known to need elucidation here. If a man cannot get his produce to a market, the result is not, as some persons think, that the cultivator will sell it cheap, but rather that he will not produce, and why should he? The ryot in Assam is a sufficiently astute economist to see that there is no sound reason for it, and he does not, therefore, produce more than is sufficient for the support of himself and his family. The results are, though attributable to other causes as well, that fifteen-sixteenths of the culturable land in Assam lie waste and pay no revenue to Government, and the physical energies of the people are not developed at all. But the most serious consequence of all, in a province in the present circumstances of Assam, is, that owing to the absence of roads, there is not a wheeled-carriage in the country. Some planters have introduced a few carts on their plantations, but, with this exception, the nearest approach to anything of the kind I saw during my tour in Assam, was a khîl-boat (a hollowed tree or canoe) drawn by two buffaloes.”

Mr. Mills urged the necessity of public works in 1853, recommending the construction of two main trunk roads—one on

the north, and the other on the south of the river—the restoration of old roads and embankments made by native rulers, and the construction of some new roads. Perhaps our greatest reproach is the manner in which old roads serving the purposes of embankments as well as roads, and thus reclaiming large tracts of land fit for rice cultivation, have been allowed to fall into decay when nothing but annual repairs were necessary. If the British Government had merely kept up what they found on taking possession of the country, without constructing any new works, there is good reason to believe that by this time the resources of this fertile province would have reached a very different stage of development. We have already noticed the remarkable fact that the rent of high lands is less than that of the low, and the reason of this is simply that, whereas the cultivators eat rice, they are unable for want of roads to convey the more valuable crops grown on the high lands to a market. This fact also appears in Mr. Mill's report, and it might have been expected that the mention of it would have roused the attention of Government, but in the matter of public works, as in all matters not of the pettiest detail, no action whatever has been taken on Mr. Mills' report.

It would appear that, excepting the repairs of roads in and near the civil stations and very partial repairs of one or two others connecting two stations, absolutely nothing was done in the way of public works till 1862-63, when Major Briggs was deputed to examine the repeatedly proposed main line of trunk road from Goalparah along the south bank of the Burhampooter to Debrogur. His report was submitted with a letter from the Commissioner, and in both communications the importance of the work was forcibly pressed on the Government. It is but justice to the Lieutenant-Governor to say that he supported the project more warmly than the Supreme Government received it. A certain sum has, however, been sanctioned every year since, and the work has been progressing slowly, but if the Government of India had been more liberal in their grants, and had not thrown cold water on Sir Cecil Beadon's proposal to import a large number of labourers, a great deal more would have been done by this time. The only other work that we are aware of is a bridle path, destined to be eventually made into a road, connecting the valley of Assam with Sylhet *via* Shillong. As seven lacs have been granted to Assam and the frontier districts for the current year, we trust the Government are determined to carry out these two important works as quickly as possible, and hope that not less than from five to six lacs will be allotted annually to them for the future, with additional establishments to ensure the most being made of the money.

But putting aside the construction of main roads with imperial funds, how much might have been done with local roads by means of local funds. In the allotment of the Local Branch of the amalgamated District Road Fund for 1864-65, we find that though the six districts of Assam had produced by means of various local funds Rs. 82,265 during the previous year, only Rs. 46,000 were allotted to them, the balance having been distributed amongst other provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor. In the following year, however, we are glad to see that Assam received nearly all she collected. With her increasing revenues from local sources, an allotment of the annual collections would probably suffice to keep in repair most of the old embankments, if once restored and handed over to the Magistrates in fair condition, but it would be quite inadequate to restore the roads to the state in which we found them originally. In 1863, the Commissioner recommended that Executive Engineers might be appointed to explore the jungles, and make estimates of the cost of restoring the fine old works, more and more of which, he said, were being discovered by planters stumbling on them occasionally. We think it not unreasonable to ask Government to appoint three Executive Engineers and to grant two lacs per annum towards what may be called reclaiming the works so systematically neglected.

In his reply to the memorialists, Sir John Lawrence objected to increased expenditure on the tea districts, saying that after paying for civil charges and cost of military occupation, no great surplus remained. Here we would first remark that the principle of charging each province with the whole cost of the troops stationed in it has long been rejected, and, as we have always understood, by no one more decidedly than the present Governor-General, at least with reference to military expenditure in the Punjab. The argument is, that besides forces to preserve order in the territory itself, an additional force must always be provided in a province on the borders of the empire, with reference to the neighbouring countries, and that such expenditure should be charged to the empire generally for the benefit of which it is incurred. If the contrary view is to be taken, however, then the Lower Provinces of Bengal are entitled to a very much larger proportion of the total annual grant for public works, as the military expenditure is comparatively trifling, and in that case Assam and the other tea districts would get a considerable slice of the cake. We have no complete statement of the cost of Assam to refer to, but the words of the Governor-General imply that there is a balance after every expenditure, military included, in the tea districts. Even if this were not the case,

scarcely any province has, as Major Lees observes, ever paid its expenses at first, while the natural fertility of Assam, her mineral treasures (favourably reported on by Dr. Oldham), and the suitability of the soil for the cultivation of so important an article of the world's consumption as tea, indicate a *prima facie* probability of all expenditure in developing her resources turning out to be a good investment.

But we maintain that there are more than ordinary grounds for the claim of the planters to administrative improvements in Assam, and in support of this we desire to refer briefly to the increase in the Government revenues within the last four years, an increase attributable almost entirely to the action of the tea interest alone. We see by the latest official reports that the amount realized by the sale of waste lands up to the end of 1865-1866, was Rs. 1,994,311, and the eventual maximum revenue to be derived from grants under the old rules will be Rs. 61,977. Major Lees shows that between the years 1859-60 and 1864-65 the opium revenue has risen from Rs. 214,044 to Rs. 1,435,426, (the returns exhibiting an increase in consumption in the face of an increase in the price of the drug), and he quotes the opinion of the Board of Revenue that, though this increase in the revenue "is due in the main to the prohibition of the native cultivation, a large element in it is also unquestionably the development of the agricultural prosperity of the revenue through the enterprise of the tea-planters." Then there are indirect receipts from such sources as increase in cultivation of waste lands by the peasants under the ordinary settlement rules of the province, and consequent increase of revenue under a *ryotwara* settlement. There are of course no trustworthy statistics of population, but we believe that there is no difference of opinion as to there being no perceptible increase, owing, it is supposed, to the immoderate use of opium, and to the epidemics produced by the vast proportion of jungle and swamps to cultivation. The increased cultivation may, therefore, reasonably be assumed to be in consequence of the influx of labourers from Bengal and Behar, and the consequent increased demand for food. The only figures we have seen under this head are for the year 1865-66, when the increase in revenue was Rs. 37,777. Besides the above, it is unnecessary to point out the various indirect sources of revenue, and the advantages in the way of civilization, that follow the settlement of Europeans in an out-lying province, as we trust that we have sufficiently shown how much the Government owe to the tea interest. But though pressing the claims of the tea-planters, we do not ask the Government to grant what will be for their sole benefit. What is asked for

(always excepting the rescinding of the Coolie Acts) would be as beneficial to the whole native population as to Europeans. We think, therefore, that on every ground any reasonable applications for improved administration are entitled to special consideration in the case of Assam, and that an increased expenditure in extending the number of subdivisional courts, with a few peripatetic Magistrates, and in pushing forward the construction of public works has been fairly earned, and should not only be granted for reasons of sound policy to encourage an interest that has proved so beneficial to the province, but also as a measure of simple justice. The Government ought to be glad to have an opportunity of expending a portion of the revenue derived from so objectionable a source as opium, on works that would give the people a chance of moving about more, and of acquiring a taste for spending their earnings in a more satisfactory manner, than in lying down nearly all day in their villages under the influence of the pernicious drug, and which would, by generally improving their condition, render them fit subjects for indirect taxation in other ways that would compensate for loss in opium revenue. We do not mean to assert that such results would necessarily follow, but as long as the mass of people remain shut up in their swamps and jungles, there is scarcely a possibility of raising and improving them.

Many other subjects are touched on in the Memorandum, but our remarks have already extended to such a length that we can only refer to some of them very briefly. Though the difficulties of making cash remittances to so great a distance are the same as ever, the planters have latterly been deprived of the privilege of drafts, which were formerly issued at one half per cent premium on the local treasuries, chiefly on the ground that the practice would tend to prevent the establishment of banks, and interfere with private trade in money. We understand that the native Mahajuns are quite unable to supply the requirements of the planters, and it will be some time before there is likely to be enough business in Assam for a regular bank. Again, as Major Lees points out, a large portion of the silver expended by the planters is returned to the treasuries in payment for opium. The planters are willing to pay all expenses of remitting silver to this or that treasury, when the balances are insufficient to meet the expenditure on tea-gardens, and we think that under all the circumstances Government might unobjectionably make this trifling concession.

Education is as backward as might be expected, and the still more urgent necessity of public works will, we fear, prevent much attention being paid to the subject for some time.

Major Lees comments on the excessive cost of the new Police, which is not considered by the officials to be an improvement on that which it replaced, and he goes so far as to recommend its abolition. Now one of the great advantages expected from the new Police was effective supervision by means of European officers with only Police duties to perform, but owing to the want of roads and the great size of the districts the supervision is almost nominal; thus it would seem that the extension of the new Police to Assam was premature, and that it was injudicious to incur great additional expenditure when the object of it could not be carried out properly. At the same time considerable advantages may reasonably be expected from the change when the officers learn their work, and when Government give them the means of performing it properly, so instead of reverting to the old establishments we should prefer to see old roads restored to their former condition, and new ones constructed, so as to give the new system its best chance of success. Here again we see how the neglect of public works retards other branches of administration.

Major Lees concludes his Memorandum with recommendations of a very important nature. Remarking on the immense extent of the provinces under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the area and population of which exceed those of Madras by more than 50, and those of Bombay and Scinde by about 300 per cent., while the revenues of the Lower Provinces are double those of Madras and Bombay, Major Lees observes that instead of having a Governor and Council, there is one man on whom devolves the sole responsibility of administration without assistance, and he suggests that if the Lieutenant-Governorship is to be continued, it would both relieve the Lieutenant-Governor and benefit the eastern districts, if a Chief Commissionership were created out of the Bhootan Dooars, Cooch Behar, Assam, north and south Cachar, the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills, Sylhet and Mymensing, with three Commissioners, four more Deputy Commissioners, eight more Assistant Commissioners, and additional subdivisions, the non-regulation system being introduced as more suitable to the people and the present condition of the province.

We think that if the Lower Provinces are not to be made over to a Governor and Council, the necessity of relieving the Lieutenant-Governor of a considerable portion of his charge will not be denied much longer. The best way of doing this, with full regard for the greatest good of the greatest number, would be, in our opinion, to constitute another Lieutenant-Governorship with head-quarters at Patna, for the Patna,

Bhaugulpore, Southal Pergunnahs, Chota Nagpore, and Benares Divisions, and the districts, south of the Jumna attached to the Allahabad Division. This would have the advantage of also relieving the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and it would be far more suitable to place the Behar under the same Government as the Benares districts, than to leave them with Bengal; the people, language, climate, and system of local administration being almost exactly the same in Behar and Benares, and entirely different to those of Bengal. But it would be less expensive and more decidedly beneficial to Assam to adopt Major Lees' suggestion of a Chief Commissionership, though the question of de-regulationising requires much consideration. Sylhet and Mymensing are so completely different in every respect to the North-east Frontier districts, that they should be excluded from the scheme, but three new districts should be formed out of Luckimpore, Sebsaugor, and Nowgong with north Cachar, and these with ten new subdivisions, that we hope will be speedily asked for, would give plenty of work to the additional Commissioners proposed by Major Lees. In any case some addition to the number of Deputy and Assistant Commissioners in Assam is absolutely necessary, as they are so much overworked as to be unable to pay more than very cursory attention to any one branch of their multifarious duties.

But it may be said "this expenditure in public works, in providing additional courts and in strengthening and re-organizing the commission would no doubt be beneficial, and would, in all probability, be ultimately remunerative to Government, but where is all the money to come from?" To this we unhesitatingly reply that, besides giving Assam the whole of the local funds collected in the province, the proceeds of sales of waste lands cannot be better employed than in developing the resources of the country, from which they are derived; and lastly that there is a certain moderate standard of administration to which after forty years of British rule every province should be brought, instead of being allowed to fall away in some respects from the standard of native rule, and that the further necessary expenditure should come out of the Imperial Funds, or rather that Assam should for a few years be exempted from contribution to those funds, and allowed to spend her own revenues on herself. The principle, that irrigation works are to be carried out by loans, has now been established, and in the present year a similar principle has been partly admitted in regard to the building of barracks for European soldiers, the cost of which would otherwise be a serious drain on the annual allotment for public works. We trust that the balance of the sum required to



complete the barracks will also be provided by loan. Here we may be considered to advocate extravagance, but we will relieve ourselves of this imputation by the additional proposal, even in regard to these exceptional works, that a Sinking fund (not on Mr. Pitt's principle, but on the sound basis that a pound of money will repay a pound of debt and no more) be made an annual charge on the public works grant to repay all loans for the above purposes in the course of a series of years. The average grant for public works is about £5,000,000, and, as it will henceforward be relieved of one, if not of both, of the above-mentioned exceptional charges, we think it is not too much to ask for a fiftieth part of the amount for so large a province, say for the next ten years, in addition to the funds from local sources already referred to. When so promising a division of the empire is in so backward a state, such works as building new cutcherries, colleges, and, above all, police stations, in the place of old buildings that will be quite serviceable for many years to come, should be postponed, if necessary, in order to restore Assam to the condition it was in as regards public works before our occupation, and thus remove a serious blot on our administration.

Before concluding our remarks we cannot help observing how injudiciously the Lieutenant-Governor has thrown away a chance of doing something to efface the remembrance of past neglect. Instead of annoying an officer engaged in doing good service to the State, and of making him the victim of a question of etiquette between the Supreme and Local Governments, Sir Cecil Beadon might have laid the Memorandum before the Governor-General in Council and asked for such assistance from the Imperial funds as might be necessary to wipe off the reproach involved in the existing state of mal-administration. The responsibility of "masterly inactivity" would then have rested with the Supreme Government, and Sir Cecil Beadon would have done his duty, though somewhat late in the day.

We commend the Memorandum to the perusal of all who take an interest not only in Assam, but in the general results and responsibilities of British rule. Major Lees has roused the planters effectually to a sense of their position, and the Governor-General has promised to repeal some of the really objectionable Sections of the Contract Law. The great increase in the grant of the current year for public works is fairly attributable to Major Lees' exertions, and must be a matter of special congratulation to him. He has done good service, and merits, though he has not received, the thanks of Government. He has earned the special gratitude of all who are interested in tea-planting, and the broad and statesman-like views expressed cannot fail, if

adopted, to benefit the natives<sup>\*</sup> equally. We trust that the Memorandum may lead, at no distant date, to the province being treated in the liberal manner that her natural advantages and undeveloped resources justly demand.

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ART. VI.—*Unpublished Journal of Captain Musafir.*

WE left our friends the Musafirs at Golling, the last town of any note in the direct route between Hallstadt and the König's See. This direct route consists however but of a pathway across the mountains, involving an ascent of upwards of 6,000 feet and a walk of seven hours. This walk is justly celebrated; inasmuch as from the summit of the Königsberg there is a most lovely view of the König's See, with the snow-capped Watzmann rising in all its glorious majesty from its very surface, the Untersberg frowning in the distance. In the descent there is much that is picturesque and beautiful, not to speak of a fine waterfall. But to enjoy this walk fine weather is absolutely necessary, and as this condition was wanting on the occasion we are referring to,—the rain falling in torrents and showing no symptoms of cessation,—the Musafirs determined not to attempt it. The same reason deterred them from trying the alternative mountain route across the Rossfeld Alp, a height of about 5,000 feet, a charming walk of about six hours. They were driven, therefore, to the choice of the third and least interesting route to Hallein by the road, thence across the Dürnberg,—but little over two thousand feet high,—to Berchtesgaden. The drive to Hallein was not very interesting, but it lasted only an hour. The town itself is famous for its salt-mines which penetrate deeply into the Dürnberg, but after the natural wonders of Adelsberg, our travellers did not care to inspect the artificial caverns of Hallein, but pushed at once across the mountain. The ascent from Hallein is extremely steep, but once on the top of the plateau there is a continual though gradual descent towards Berchtesgaden. About half an hour after leaving Hallein our travellers crossed the Bavarian frontier, the only perceptible difference being that, whereas in Austria the subordinate officials wore a uniform of black and yellow, in Bavaria they donned a light blue and white.

From the Bavarian frontier to Berchtesgaden is a drive of about an hour, over a pretty undulating country, surrounded by lofty mountains, conspicuous amongst which is the

Watzmann, 8,578 feet high, and covered with eternal snow. The shapes of all the mountains in this part of the country are very grand and picturesque, and the beauty of the scene is greatly heightened by their many points of difference from one another. The town of Berchtesgaden, which our travellers were now approaching, is one of the prettiest in Germany, being situated on an undulating plateau, green, smiling, and very cheerful, on the banks of the little river Albe, which runs out of the König's See, three miles south of the town. Seen from a height, this cheerful town, with its pretty wooded foreground, and the mountains towering behind it, forms a picture which none who have seen it will easily forget, which remains imprinted for ever on the memory of those between whom and it exists the all but impassable barrier of six thousand miles of black water.

It formed, however, no part of the intentions of the Musafirs to stop at Berchtesgaden, beautiful as it is. When at Ischl they had formed the acquaintance of an English gentleman and his wife, who had spent the previous autumn and part of the winter in the vicinity of Berchtesgaden, and who had indicated to them a place far better suited to their purposes than any of the inns, none of them good, of that town. This place was a small country inn in the little village of Unterstein, about two miles nearer the König's See, kept by a land-lady who had herself written a cookery book, and who also possessed the faculty of making her guests feel, whilst in her house, as if they were in their own home. It is necessary, as we shall be in his company for a few days, to give some short account of the English gentleman who had pointed out this resting place to our travellers. We will call him, as he calls himself, Wild Hunter. He was, as his name signifies, an inveterate sportsman, and, though a barrister by profession, he had abandoned the glories of the circuit and the witticisms of the robing room, to indulge in his favourite pursuit of seeking the feathered and finny tribe all over Europe. He had ransacked Brittany, had exhausted Austria, and was now directing all his energies against the rivers of Bavaria. And not alone against her rivers. We have said that he had passed the previous autumn and part of the winter in the neighbourhood of Berchtesgaden, but we have not yet mentioned the purpose. That will show, more than anything, the absolute devotion of Wild Hunter to sport. It happens that between the countries of Austria and Bavaria, is a mountain called the Untersberg, about 6,500 feet high. This mountain, thus situated between the two countries, forms a kind of debateable land, to which the Austrian and

Bavarian sportsmen think they have each equal right. The consequence is that, whilst on every other mountain the game is carefully preserved, in this it is hunted by all classes, with the result that not only have the animals hunted become few in number, but those that remain are so wild as scarcely to be approached. Their numbers, however, have been accurately ascertained by the sportsmen of the neighbourhood, and in the winter of the year of which we are writing it was known that nine chamois yet remained on the mountain. To get a shot at one of these nine was at that time the great object of Wild Hunter's ambition. To this end he located himself and his wife in a little inn at the foot of the mountain, and seized every opportunity of ascending it for the purpose we have indicated. He made friends with the royal Jägers, and in their company made frequent campaigns against the chamois. The Untersberg is in many places a difficult, and in some, even a dangerous mountain. But neither difficulty nor danger daunted Wild Hunter. After a little practice he was able to climb the most rocky and precipitous ascents, and to follow wherever the sons of the mountain would lead. But all his exertions were vain. He never, we believe, once approached within shooting distance of a chamois. Rendered wary by frequent pursuit, these agile animals always managed to anticipate the hunter, and the sight of one of them bounding across a distant chasm, was the sole return received by Wild Hunter for his all but solitary life and his repeated toils. A chance was, however, afforded him, as we shall have occasion to show, of attaining the object of his ambition before finally taking leave of Bavaria.

Wild Hunter had spent the remainder of the winter, the spring, and part of the summer, elsewhere, but he had returned to the little inn near the König's See to indulge in the excellent trout-fishing in the Alpe, and he and his wife had arranged to meet the Musafirs at that place, to enjoy together the beauties of the surrounding scenery, and a few casts in the tempting waters. That is the reason why the Musafirs drove through, instead of stopping at, Berchtesgaden, and put up at the little house in the village of Unterstein, kept by the authoress of the cookery book.

Though not striking in outside appearance, the place was within a model of everything that was clean and comfortable. There were no other guests but the Wild Hunters, so it was to all intents a private dwelling place. Its situation was very pretty. Underneath the Watzmann, in a smiling valley, full of orchards and gardens, two minutes' walk from the river, and but fifteen from the König's See, it was a site for a king. Indeed, so much

had it been appreciated, that close to it, Count Arco,\* the most famous sportsman in Bavaria, and, perhaps, in Germany, had built a country seat, adorned with the many products of his never-failing rifle. The little inn, was just as favourably situated as the seat, and our travellers found here, as in Austria, that kindness and consideration have taken strong root in the nature of the German housewife.

It was, we have said, within fifteen minutes' walk of the König's See, of all the lakes in Germany the most famous, and challenging comparison in some respects with the glories of Switzerland and North Italy. More grand even than the lake of Hallstadt and much more bright and sunny, possessing much of the wild beauty of the gems of Langbath, and of the little lake of Töplitz, yielding only in soft and enchanting beauty to the Grundl-See, it is yet more striking even than that. Imagine a piece of water, bright green in colour, and clear beyond comparison, very deep, surrounded by lofty mountains rising perpendicularly from its surface to a height of upwards 8,000 feet, some of them bare rock, so smooth and rising so directly, that a boat's crew touching at that point would have no means of landing, some of them covered with rich and picturesque foliage. Round the lake is no pathway, no means to make a circuit on foot; one must traverse its surface to see all its glories. More known and more renowned than any of the other German lakes we have referred to, it is much more visited by the tourists; and the firing of guns made by members of this class to cause an echo, is apt perhaps to interrupt the intense feeling of delight with which the lover of nature gazes at it for the first time. It is not very large; in length it extends about six miles, and its average breadth is perhaps a mile and a half; yet it is so winding, that the end is not seen from the embarking place, and it has this advantage, that each turn brings some new beauty into view. About two-thirds of the distance from the starting point a little island, called the St. Bartholomew, is reached, famous for the lake-trout, which, caught in the lake, are preserved here in ponds for the consumption of the traveller. On this little island is the king's hunting box, but the Jäger in charge of it acts also the part of host, and an excellent thing he makes of it. On the walls

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\* The name of this nobleman is familiar to everyone in Southern Germany. One of his feats, the climbing up a mountain-rock to capture two young eagles in their nest whilst the old birds were flying about, on ladders which when tied together did not reach up to the nest,—a task which the boldest Jägers had declined,—has formed the text of a ballad known all over Bavaria.

of the entrance room of the little inn are pictures of lake-trout and charr of enormous size, some of them about 60 pounds, which from time to time have been taken from the deep waters of the lake. Another picture represents a bear attacking a boat as it is crossing the lake in the middle of winter. This is interesting inasmuch as it is the true representation of an actual fact, and as the bear in question,—which was then killed,—was the last of its species seen in the mountains round the König's See. This event occurred, if Musafir was correctly informed, some forty years ago. To see the island of St. Bartholomew and the mountains behind it in their greatest perfection, the traveller should land at a point on the opposite side of the lake called the Wallner island. The view from this is glorious. There is the little island of St. Bartholomew in the foreground, and the splendid Watzmann with his rugged wall of rock rising up to an unseen height behind it. It is difficult to decide whether it is most attractive in fine bright sunshine, or when the mountains and foliage are under the alternate influence of cloud and sun. The varying tints caused by the latter, the dark angry appearance of the Watzmann suffering under the frowns of Heaven are perhaps more striking, though infinitely less cheerful, than when the sun pours forth its mightiest power on its double head of snow. Beyond the König's See at a distance of about a quarter of a mile, is another though a much smaller lake called the Unter-See, which partakes of the grandeur and wild picturesqueness of its companion.

But not alone the lakes of this lovely district challenge admiration. In every direction its mountains invite visits from the lovers of nature. On the eastern side of the lake, from the Wallner island, there is a most glorious walk to the Gotzen Alp, an ascent of about three hours. The view from the summit of this is very fine, and not only that, but during the ascent the traveller is compelled many and many a time to linger and even to stand motionless, in order to gaze at the everchanging scenery offering itself to his view. Then again on the south-western side of the lake the Salet Alp invites the adventurous traveller to scramble up its grassy and moss-grown sides to show them on the summit the bright green Obersee, a lake situated as it were in a marble-lined basin, and swarming with trout. The Watzmann, the Königsherg, and the Untersberg are likewise well worthy of being attempted, especially the first-named, as from its summit (8,578 feet) a splendid view may be obtained of those giants of the Central Alps, the Venediger and the Gross Glockner. It would take up too much of our space to describe other and more distant excursions, to make which the little

hostelry at Unterstein formed excellent head-quarters. One of these, Reichenhall, is known and appreciated by every traveller. Ramsau and the little lake some two miles beyond it, the Hinter See, the delight of the painter, constitute an extremely pretty drive. The scenery at the Hinter See is so different from the scenery on the other parts of the district; there is more foreground, the mountains are not so near, and yet there are two in the vicinity, the Reiter-Steinberg and the Mühlsturzhorn, the forms of which are most picturesque.

It was in the midst of this scenery, sometimes on the bosom of the König's See, now making an excursion to a distant mountain, now to an enticing lake, ever enjoying the glorious mountain air, and the bright sunniness of smiling Bavaria, that the Musafirs in the society of their friends spent some eight or ten days of their holiday. Nor was fishing entirely neglected. The very first morning after their arrival at the little inn, Musafir was fortunate enough to capture, with very light tackle and a fly, a trout upwards of two pounds and a half in weight, and which was destined the next day to contribute to the table of the ex-king Louis, who arrived that morning at Berchtesgaden. As reference has been made to fishing, it may be as well to point out the method necessary to be adopted by an Englishman fond of the sport, and who may be desirous of enjoying it. The rivers are all rented to individuals, most of them inn-keepers. These have the exclusive right to all the fish in the water they rent, and no one else can try for them without their permission. Now trout and grayling are looked upon, both in Austria and Bavaria, as very great delicacies, and they command a proportionate price. The plan, therefore, adopted by the inn-keepers is to have attached to their hotels two or three tanks kept filled by a constant supply of running water. Into these tanks all the fish caught in the river are thrown, and fed and kept till required for the use of the passing guest. Under these circumstances it becomes an object to each inn-keeper to have a fresh supply of trout and grayling constantly brought in from the river. Hence they, in general, scruple not to give free permission to the Englishman to fish, provided he engage to bring home alive all that he may catch. Means and appliances to this are not wanting. It becomes only necessary for the fisherman to hire a man, at the rate of about eighteen pence a day, to accompany him. This man carries on his back a sort of barrel, with a small opening on the upper side and air-holes. Into this barrel all the fish caught are placed, and it is the business of the man to see that they are supplied with water, and that this water is constantly changed. In this



way the engagement entered into with the landlord is easily kept. The system has this advantage, that the sportsman is under no obligation to any one, for, if he be anything of a fisherman, his indulgence in sport is of great benefit to his host. Indeed, Musafir records that at one place where he stopped, the landlord offered to put him up for the entire season, and give him the best of the house for nothing, provided only he would keep the kitchen well supplied with the produce of his rod. But this was in an out-of-the-way place, in which no fish tanks had been introduced.

But to return. It had been agreed upon between Musafir and Wild Hunter, that whilst the ladies enjoyed a rest after a trip made to Ramsau and the Hinter See, they should ascend the Untersberg, sleep in an Alm-hut on its summit, and either in the cool of the evening, or in the early grey of the morning, make an attempt on the roebuck, of which there were a few. In pursuance of this resolve they left the little inn at mid-day, and walked eight miles to the village of Schellenberg, just under the Untersberg. Here they dined, and here they were joined by a Bavarian Jäger, who had accompanied Wild Hunter in many of his excursions to the same mountain the previous autumn. At 5 p.m., they started to ascend the mountain. To do this they had to climb first a smaller range called the Ettenberg, extremely well-wooded, and considered the most likely place for roebuck, then to descend a little till a junction was formed with the Untersberg. The ascent of the Ettenberg took about an hour; but not a roebuck was seen; then, after descending, the three commenced the more difficult task of the Untersberg. After an hour and a half's hard work of constant ascent, the Jäger called a halt, as this was also considered a good place for roedeer. But after beating about for half an hour no sign of them appeared, and the ascent was continued. From this place to the Alm-hut was an hour's stiff pull: indeed some parts of the ascent were very trying indeed. At length the Alm-hut was reached. Arrived there, the Jäger at once knocked at the door, but receiving no answer after repeated knockings, he came to the conclusion that it had been left by those in charge of it, and that the ascent to a hut further off would have to be resumed. Fortunately, however, his last knock met with a response, and it appeared that the old couple who pastured the cows were not absent but asleep. The three travellers at once groped their way through the cowsheds, and found themselves in a little room in which were an old man just out of bed, and an old lady in the act of getting out. These did not at all feel the gravity of the situation, but giving our travellers a hearty welcome, they

briskly began to light the fire, to bring seats, and to dry their wet clothes. They then went into an adjoining room, and brought out a bowl or two of the richest and most refreshing milk. Then kneeling before the fire they set themselves to work to make some *schmarren* or mountain cake, the composition of which has been described in a previous number. Of this Musafir and the Jäger partook heartily, but Wild Hunter did not much relish it. He, meanwhile, had recognised in the old couple acquaintances of the previous year, under whose slender roof he had often enjoyed a nights' lodging on the mountains. It is difficult to describe their pleasure at seeing him again; their welcome was most hearty, and showed how much these simple people value those strangers, who do not consider it as derogating from their own importance to regard and treat them as men formed of the same clay and shaped in the same mould. The conversation soon became general; the narrow escapes, the wildness of the chamois, the exploits of the poachers, the relative merits of the Austrian and Bavarian climbers, were topics which came easily to the surface, and were discussed with interest by all. At length it was time to turn in, and the three travellers were shown into a loft piled up with fresh hay. Taking off their shoes, they threw themselves on this, and slept soundly and comfortably till the small hours of the following day.

As they still hoped to get sight of a roebuck, the travellers were roused at half-past two in the morning. Putting on their shoes they went outside, had a good wash at a pump that was found there, drank a good draught of the delicious milk that was offered them, gave some small remuneration to their kind hosts, and started off. Their way lay for some time along the side of the mountain, alternately ascending and descending. After walking about three quarters of an hour, they came upon another Alm-hut; immediately after leaving which they found themselves amongst the *latschen* or brushwood, so useful to the climber. They still walked carelessly on, rather ascending, when suddenly the Jäger, who was in front, stopped, and put his hand up to his ear. A second later, he turned with an overjoyed glance to his companions, and whispering the word *Gemse* (chamois), made a sign to them to stoop down. He had heard in fact the peculiar sound made by the buck chamois in the ravine near to which they were walking. Immediately afterwards they caught sight of the animal going slowly down the ravine in front of them. At this sight, the Jäger gave his rifle to Musafir, and whispering "come quickly" bounded like a deer up the steep sides of a rock commanding the ravine. In a few seconds, Musafir was beside

and the shining Watzmann in the distance. The summit of this hill, on which, by the way, is a very good little *auberge*, commands perhaps the best view of Salzburg itself, and of the mountains surrounding it.\* It is one of those views which, once seen, engraves itself for ever on the memory.

The best hotel in Salzburg in those days was the "*Drei Allürten*" kept by a Mr. Jung, a most attentive and excellent host. He speaks English, attends to his business himself, and will always go out of his way to oblige his guests. Do they want to do some sight seeing, to visit Berchtesgaden and the König's See, to make preparations for a walking tour, to change English or Bavarian money into Austrian, even to start on a fishing excursion, they have only to mention their wishes to Jung, and leave the rest to him. He will make every arrangement, and, what is often of no small importance and very rare, he will charge most moderately. Jung is not only civil and obliging himself, but he makes all his waiters the same. He keeps a capital cook, and his is the only hotel in Salzburg which is supplied with the famous *Kaltenhausen* ale, second to none in the world. Here also the traveller gets in perfection the red and white Vöslauer. The sparkling wine of that name is at least equal to Champagne and costs but one-half. In a word, our travellers found at the *Drei Allürten* all the attention of the smaller inns they had visited, combined with the luxuries incidental to a first-class town hotel.†

Our travellers stayed three days at Salzburg, making excursions to the various places of interest in the neighbourhood, and then started by rail to Traunstein, a little village across the Bavarian frontier, on the white Traun, of the fishing capabilities of which they had received marvellous accounts. In the same carriage with them there travelled a Prussian, native of Berlin, who lost no opportunity of hinting the low estimation in which he held every thing Austrian, and the infinite and overwhelming superiority of Prussia and the Prussians. He declared that with two shillings he could buy more in Berlin than with three gulden (six shillings) in Salzburg. A Bavarian in the carriage supported him in his hits against Austria, but when he too

\* One of the best descriptions of Salzburg and of the pretty places in its vicinity, such as Aigen, the Gaisberg, and Hellbrunn, is to be found in Baroness Tautpheus' *Novel* of Cyrilla.

† Should any one be tempted by this description to place himself under the care of Mr. Jung, we deem it right to inform him that since the Musafir visited Salzburg, he has given up the *Drei Allürten*, and built a magnificent hotel of his own, near the railway terminus, called *Hotel de l'Europe*.

observed that they managed things differently in Bavaria, the Prussian quietly shrugged his shoulders, and made a grimace intimating more plainly than words could convey, that he held Bavaria in much the same esteem as Austria. He continued to hint this in various ways during the journey.

Traunstein, to which the train in about an hour's time brought the Musafirs, is a pretty and very clean village on the white Traun; it is surrounded by hills, none of them, however, very near, but looking grand in the distance. The country about is pretty and well wooded, and the place being famed for the salubrity of its climate, is resorted to in considerable numbers by the Bavarians. It has several excellent inns, and these, during the summer and autumn, are well filled. The charges in all are extremely moderate. The Musafirs put up in that to which they had been recommended, the *Hirsch*, and found themselves there most comfortable. Amongst other places of amusement, Traunstein, like all German towns at all frequented during the summer, boasts of a small theatre, to attend which it is not necessary to don evening dress. The performances begin about seven o'clock and are over by ten, a far more rational procedure than in the great cities of Europe. Here, as at Gratz, at Lintz, and other places in Southern Germany, ices are brought in during the intervals between the acts, and are freely partaken of.

In this little town our travellers remained six days, Musafir having capital sport in the way of fishing. It was generally arranged that he and his wife should go out for the day, making for a spot fixed upon near the banks of the river, at once pretty and commodious. This became the head-quarters for the day. Musafir then fished the river for an hour or two, his wife either looking on or picking the ferns and wild flowers with which the place abounded. After the box carried by the attendant porter had been pretty well filled,—and all fish under half a pound in weight were returned to the river,—they sauntered home by a fresh path, or wandered in search of other beauties of nature.

One day an excursion was made to the Chiem-See, the largest lake in Bavaria. Starting early in the morning, they drove ten miles to Seebruck at the head of the lake, and whence they commanded a good view of a great part of it. It is an enormous piece of water, quite open, presenting a grand appearance from its mere size. Contrasted with the pure green water of the König's See, the water of this lake is discoloured and dirty, and altogether it is not to be mentioned in the same list. Nevertheless it is far from being ugly. The hills on its southern and eastern

sides are picturesque and well wooded. Two pretty islands Frauenwörth and Herrenwörth deserve a visit, especially the first. It must nevertheless be admitted that to the traveller coming from the Austrian lakes and the König's See the effect of this lake is disappointing. He misses the points which make those lakes so enchanting—the overhanging mountains, the smiling foregrounds, the varying tints, the deep, clear water. The Chiemsee more resembles an inland sea than one of the gems which add so much to the beauty of mountain scenery.

Two days later the Musafirs went on by rail to Munich, and stayed there nearly a fortnight. We do not propose to follow them in their inspection of the many points of interest in a city so well known and so much visited. The famous guide books of Murray and Baedeker are open to every one, and point out clearly all that is worthy of inspection. The Musafirs, however, had always intended that Munich should form a point whence to plan fresh mountain excursions. It had been their idea to proceed in the direction of Innsbrück, taking on the way the beautiful lakes, Ammer See and Wurm See, then stopping at Ober Ammergau, the scene of the events described in Baroness Tautphœus' novel of "Quits," thence by the Walchen and Achen lakes to Zell in Zillerthal, and from that to Innsbrück. It would have been a charming trip, and Musafir was divided between that and Switzerland, when a letter from a friend decided him in favour of the latter.

This friend was a young Anglo-Indian, whom we will call Punjaabee, who had lately married, and who was then on his way with his bride to Lucerne with the intention of making thence, with her and some of the members of her family, excursions into the best appreciated parts of the country in the neighbourhood. Both Musafir and his wife jumped at the idea of a tour in such company, and the order of the day therefore was passed for Lucerne.

The direct route by the railway from Munich towards Lucerne takes the traveller to the ancient city of Augsburg, thence to Lake Constance, which is traversed from its eastern point at Lindau to its western at Schaffhausen, whence the railway takes him direct to Lucerne. The Musafirs could not pass so famous a city as Augsburg without paying it a visit, and the day they spent in it more than repaid them for the delay. It was interesting to notice the part of the town, which was still a flourishing city in the time of the glories of the old Roman Empire; to examine buildings bearing the date some of the 3rd, very many of the 10th, century; to enter the ancient

town-hall, of the latter period, interesting besides from its frescoed ceilings and the historical pictures which adorned its walls; the room, still a royal residence, in which Luther read out the Augsburg Confession to Charles V.; the cloister in which he lived for ten days, and the adjoining church in which he sometimes preached; to go over the houses of the Fugger family,—the Rothschilds of the seventeenth century; to see that mansion, from the window of which Philippina Welser, the fair maid of Augsburg, captivated the heart of the heir of the Holy Roman Empire; to examine the little chapel in the hotel "*Drei Mohren*," kept still in precisely the same condition as when the emperor Charles V. heard mass there; and the room, now sadly desecrated, in which the generous Fugger burned in a cinnamon fire, in the presence of the emperor, the bond given him by that prince for the heavy sums advanced by him for the expenses of the war against the Moors; to enjoy, too the sight of water playing from fountains of ancient date and classic form. All these attractive objects—not to speak of others of more modern construction—constitute the charm of Augsburg, and make it, next to Nuremberg, which stands *facile princeps*, the most interesting of the old cities of Germany.

The railway journey from Augsburg to Lindau on Lake Constance took about six hours. Its weariness was broken by the peculiar conversation of an Englishman in the carriage, who, unable to speak German, and being somewhat overbearing in his manners, had been terribly fleeced in Austria and Hungary, and who favoured his fellow-travellers with his experiences. Suddenly and accidentally the conversation turned on the French emperor, and then the Englishman's excitement knew no bounds. He endorsed all Kinglake's attacks, and painted him in the most odious colours, with the manifest sympathy of the Germans in the carriage who understood him, and with whom Louis Napoléon was no favourite. But when the Englishman diverted his attacks to Germany, the smiles on the faces of his companions disappeared, and it was easy to see that the subject was unpalatable to them. With great good taste, however, they allowed him to rattle on. Lindau was reached that evening, and left on the following morning, our travellers embarking on board the steamer at 7 A.M. The day was lovely; the scenery, however, on the shores of Lake Constance is not very interesting. It is a small inland sea, some idea of the length of which may be obtained from the fact that to proceed from the most eastern point of Bregenz to the point beyond Constance where the Rhine is entered, a steamer requires seven hours. A distant view is obtained from the decks of the steamer of the giants of

Switzerland, but the German side of the lake is almost flat. After the Rhine is entered the scenery improves. On a prettily wooded height may be seen the castle of Arenenberg, the property of the emperor Napoléon, the scene in which he passed his infant years, from whence he undertook his Strasbourg expedition, and in which he closed his mother's eyes. Here apparently the feeling towards the former inmate of the castle is much more favourable than in Germany.

Schaffhausen reached about 4 P.M., our travellers started at once for a little inn called the Hotel Witzig, situated on the railway, and about a quarter of a mile from the falls. This hotel had been strongly recommended to them, and they found it most comfortable. Scarcely had they secured a room in it when they set out again to see the falls which make Schaffhausen famous. Most wonderful are they! Such a volume of water; such a breadth; such a mass of foam! As they stood underneath the fall, in a sort of arbour, just at the head of the Rhine, it was impossible for them, looking up, to see the summit of the crest; the waves seemed as though about to overwhelm and sweep them away. The sight of this mass of water, enjoyed from the particular point—and it is the tourist's point—was quite sufficient to extort the most unfeigned admiration. There are, nevertheless, mockers who deride it. More to be envied, we think, are those to whom is left the faculty of enjoyment, who are able to bear willing and heart-felt testimony to the wonders and glories of nature, who are neither too wrapt up in themselves, nor in their own fancied importance to be pleased!

From Schaffhausen the Musafirs proceeded next morning to Lucerne, arriving there about mid-day. We will not dwell upon the meeting with Punjaubee, or the introduction to his wife and her family. It will suffice to say that a very short time induced a feeling amongst all the members of the party that their acquaintance had been not for hours but for years. Shame on those Anglo-Indians who malign their countrymen by imputing to them unnatural coldness and reserve; never was there a more stupid calumny uttered. The fault is not in the English; the fault is with the Anglo-Indians who descending from a position of colonial importance to one of equality with their fellow-countrymen, cannot bring themselves to accept the reality of their new *status*, but sigh in vain for the adulation to which, as leaders of society, they have been accustomed in India! We have always regarded it as a strong mark of common sense the admission from a lady in India, more especially a lady in high position, that she prefers England to India. The temptation to a certain order of mind to prefer India

is so strong, that there are really many who are unable to resist it. Miss Edgeworth once wrote a very famous tale in which she portrayed the struggles of a tradesman's wife to migrate from the first position in Cranbourne Alley to the last in Bedford Row, and painted in glowing terms the misery of her position when she got there. There is a moral in the story, the application of which, taken either in its natural sense or inversely, commends itself to very many in India.

For our parts, and judging simply from the personal experience gained from two successive visits to the old country, we hesitate not to declare our conviction that the English people proper are the kindest, the most hospitable, the warmest hearted people in the world. They must know who you are before they will receive you into their houses; but, satisfied on that point, the Anglo-Indian may be sure that he will be received on his own merits and be judged accordingly. As a rule, in fact, the only disagreeable people we met in England were the Anglo-Indians settled there. Many of them were so wrapped up in themselves, and in the by-gone glories of their former days, so satisfied that every Englishman they met in the street knew they were Anglo-Indians, and therefore intended to slight them, that they really were quite intolerable. We write thus as much in warning as in sober earnest. We are jealous of the character of our Anglo-Indians. We are vexed that they should be regarded, that they should regard themselves, as a race apart, distinct from the great body of their countrymen. We are desirous, above all, that they should rid themselves of the foolish notion, in many of them quite rampant, that they are more learned and wise than the bulk of the Englishmen they are brought in contact with. We much fear that this feeling is one of the main causes of the line they take up. They are not appreciated according to their fancied merits; they seek for refuge, therefore, in the reminiscences of the past, and shut their eyes to the present.

But to return to the Musafirs. After many rambles with Punjaabee and his relations in the neighbourhood of Lucerne after ascending the Bürgenstock, "doing" Pilatus, and walking over the other hills which surround the glorious lake, it was determined to make an excursion to one of the snow mountains, thence to proceed to Interlaken, and from that place across the Wengern Alp to the glaciers of Grindelwald and Rosenlaui. The route is an oft-trodden one, but the ~~adventurers~~ met with by some of the party render it worthy of a notice in this faithful record of Captain Musafir's wanderings.

The snow mountain fixed upon was the Titlis, upwards of 11,000 feet high. To reach it from Lucerne the traveller had to



proceed to Stanzstadt at the other end of the lake, thence to the village Stanz, and from there to Engelberg. At Engelberg began the regular ascent, across the Joch Pass, to a little inn on the Engstlen Alp. From this the ascent of the Titlis was generally made.

As at that time of the year, the month of August, the Engstlen Alp inn was often crowded with tourists, it was deemed a wise and even a necessary precaution that the landlord of that inn should be written to, in order that rooms might be secured for the whole party. As, however, the necessity for such a step did not present itself until it was too late to receive an answer at Lucerne, the landlord was requested to direct his reply to the inn at Engelberg, in which, in case he should be full, the travellers hoped to find quarters for the night. All these arrangements having been completed, the party, consisting of Musafir and his wife, Punjaabee, his wife, her two sisters, and her brother, stepped on board a steamer at Lucerne. A merrier one never set out on any expedition. A French writer not long ago alluded to the charming and graceful facility with which English girls adapt themselves to all the circumstances of travel; how their gay and sprightly laughter quadruples the pleasure of climbing up the mountain side: how they may be seen adorning the loftiest peaks, how thus daring and enduring of fatigue in the mountains, they are, when met again in the drawing-room, as graceful and natural in another way; totally without affectation and without too great self-esteem; always anxious to please, yet never overstepping the bounds of true feminine reserve. After describing their charming manners, so happily adapted to all circumstances, in a vein of chivalrous enthusiasm, he gravely adds: "Some people complain of the English as being a nation of travellers; but I would soberly enquire, what would those mountains be without those charming, high-spirited girls, whose coloured petticoats may be always seen in contrast, now to the green mountain side, now to the snowy peak; who have a kind word for every stranger who may speak to them; whose merry laughter disperses the gloomiest atmosphere, and inspires a whole company; who climb to delight themselves, and who succeed in delighting all around them. Miserable would be the man who having made one visit to the mountains in such society, should go there a second time to find that they were absent."

If the words we have quoted had not been written before the period of Musafir's visit, we should have believed that the chivalrous Frenchman must have belonged to one of the many

parties that interchanged civilities with the merry travellers whose short tour we are about to describe. Certainly in gay and airy spirits, in the enjoyment of the little difficulties which beset travellers, in thorough appreciation of lovely scenery, in sprightly humour, in amiability and kind-heartedness, and the most entire abnegation of self upon every occasion, these ladies realised the description we have quoted. Without such, a tour of this sort must be a blank, with them it is the most perfect enjoyment.

The travellers left Lucerne at eight o'clock in the morning in a steamer for the little village of Stanzstadt, where they hoped to find carriages to take them on. Here, however, they met with their first mishap, which led indirectly to all those that followed. Not a carriage was available. There had, they were informed, been a great rush that day to Engelberg, and every conveyance had been taken up. Still as it was only a distance of three miles to Stanz, which was a much larger place, it was easy to walk there. They started accordingly, their traps being conveyed in a sort of wheel-barrow. An hour took them to Stanz, but here too there were some difficulties about carriages, so to while away the time whilst these were being smoothed away, they rambled over the place, and looked at the church and other lions. At the end of about a couple of hours two carriages were produced, and in these they set out for Engelberg. The day was lovely though very hot indeed. As there was now no prospect of reaching Engelberg before five o'clock, and they had a foot journey of five hours to the Engstlen Alp after that, our travellers took the opportunity of arriving at a very pretty spot to dine *à fresco*. They then pushed on, but as from that point to Engelberg the ascent was rather steep, Musafir and Punjaabee's brother-in-law—whom we shall call Oxonian—walked it, and arrived at Engelberg nearly an hour before the carriages. In reply to their enquiries they found that every room in all the inns and *pensions* in Engelberg was occupied, that not a pony was to be had to take the ladies on to the Engstlen Alp, and that there were but two *chaises à porteur*, one of them broken, and which it would take an hour to repair. To compensate for this, however, a letter was found from the landlord of the Engstlen Alp inn to the address of Musafir, stating that he had secured rooms for his party.

It was now five o'clock, and as the carriages were believed to be close behind, an order was issued for the immediate repair of the second chair, and guides and porters were called out with the utmost despatch. Still it was six o'clock before the carriages arrived, and half-past that hour before the two chais

with the proper compliment of porters and luggage-bearers were ready to start. They had then, as we have said, a five hours' march before them, over very steep ground, as after passing a very high point in front of Engelberg, they had to descend to the Trüb See—a most dismal place—and from that to ascend the Joch Pass (6,890 feet), from the summit of which the Engstlen Alp was nearly four miles distant. However, the journey and its difficulties were made light of in anticipation, and at half-past six they started, the three gentlemen walking, and the four ladies using the chairs alternately.

It was a lovely evening, but unfortunately there was no moon. For half an hour the seven travellers pushed on rapidly, but then came the ascent of the steep point which separates Engelberg from the Joch Pass. Still, laughing, talking, stopping to gaze at the lovely scenery which makes Engelberg so popular, they trudged steadily on. But before that first ascent had been achieved, daylight had disappeared, and even the twilight was fast fading. Then came the descent to the Trüb See,—a flat sandy surface interspersed with water courses, which it was difficult in the dark to cross without getting wet. However, the various members of the party progressed somehow by the aid of mutual assistance, and all re-united at a chalet in the depths of the Trüb See. This chalet bore a striking contrast to the Alm-huts of Austria, being not only dirty itself, but apparently the cause of dirt in its inmates. Nevertheless hunger overpowered other considerations, and the seven did not scruple to partake of bread and milk albeit offered them by not the cleanest of hands, and charged for—again in contrast to Austria—exorbitantly. It was now close upon nine o'clock, and pitch dark. The lanterns were therefore lighted, and the travellers, refreshed, set out again for the ascent of the Joch Pass. They had not, however, gone very far before all the lights, except one tallow candle, went out, the guides lost their way, members of the party got separated, and confusion became worse confounded. There remained only to all the consciousness that there was a steep ascent before them, and that they had to climb it. How they wandered, and fell, and tumbled, how this one rolled down an incline, and the other scrambled amongst the rocks, boots not to describe; it was certainly rough work, but had it been ten times more so, he would have been worse than a heathen who had not enjoyed it, supported, as all were, by the imperturbable merriment and good humour of those brave English girls. What though they fell, they got up again with a jest; what though the ascent seemed never ending they were always to the fore; what though even the guides

murmured, they made light of every difficulty. It was really an inspiring sight to watch those girls, who in a drawing-room would have attracted all by their grace and elegance, meet thus lightly the difficulties of a night march in a region of snow-clad mountains, not knowing one inch of the way, and the guides floundering in darkness. Still on they went, merrily and cheerfully, until at last the summit of the Joch Pass was stumbled upon rather than reached. It was very cold, the snow lying within a few feet of them, albeit not directly on their path, and though now past midnight, they had yet four miles to traverse. Once on the summit, the track to the Engstlen Alp was soon found, and they pushed on merrily, descending in the four miles about a thousand feet. This distance was accomplished in something over the hour, and about half-past one o'clock they entered the little inn on the Engstlen Alp, having walked for seven hours since leaving Engelberg. But the catastrophe of their adventures was at hand. There was naturally no one at that hour waiting their arrival, but a light was burning in the kitchen, and to it they bent their steps, Musafir leading the way. On opening the door they encountered the landlord, rather a smart-looking man, ready dressed: the cook too was busy at the fire, and there were no signs of turning in. At their appearance the landlord appeared at first startled and surprised; but when Musafir, addressing him in German, told him that they formed the party regarding whom he had addressed a letter to the hotel at Engelberg, the form of his visage began strangely to alter. He did not speak, but an expression of sadness and self-reproach replaced that of astonishment. For some short time he did no more than stand still and wring his hands. By this time all the seven were assembled in the kitchen, curiously watching the apparently insane motions of the host. In vain did Musafir and Oxonian address him: he would not speak, but continued to hang out signal of distress with his hands. At last, the form of the question was varied, and Musafir asked him for their rooms. But this query seemed only to redouble his grief; at last, making a tremendous effort, he exclaimed: "I kept the rooms for you till ten o'clock; the influx of guests then was so great and your arrival was so uncertain, that I was forced then to give them up. Yes," added the poor fellow, "and I've given up my own room too,—this is the place where I have to sleep." With these words he opened a cupboard, showing a mattress stretched on the floor. The feelings of our travellers on hearing these words found vent in a loud and prolonged and hearty laugh. There was something so novel in being in such a position after a seven hours' walk, something to them so enjoyable, that they sat

down on the bench in the kitchen and roared. The landlord at first could not believe his senses. He looked from one member of the party to the other as if he doubted whether their mirth was genuine; then at himself as if sceptical of his own existence. It was doubtless new to him to hear guests suddenly deprived of their rooms meet him, not with reproaches, but with merriment. At last he too was carried away, and added his own laughter to the others! When this outbreak had somewhat subsided, the idea began to steal over the intruding visitors that they were hungry. They, therefore, took the opportunity of restored quiet to ask the landlord whether he could give them something to eat. His face brightened up at the question as he replied looking towards the blazing fire: "Oh yes, what will 'you have?'" Almost immediately afterwards however, his countenance fell, as he exclaimed; "but we've no room to serve it in." "Can't we have it in the *salle à manger*?" asked one of the party. "Well," said the host ruefully, "I have a *salle à manger*, but 'there are three Englishmen sleeping in it, and the door is 'locked.'" Our travellers, however, were not to be balked of their meal by the idea of encountering three *Englander*, as the host called them, and it was resolved that one of their party should accompany the latter to hold a parley with their countrymen. For this duty Oxonian was selected. The two set forth and knocked at the door of the room, but for some time knocked in vain. At last, however, the knocks became louder, and a movement was heard within. After some consultation the door was opened, the two ambassadors entered, when to his surprise Oxonian recognised in the three *Englander* three relatives, one of them a young cousin whom we will designate as "Cantab." The parley at once assumed a pleasant aspect, and an agreement, fair to both, was soon entered into between the two high contracting parties. It was decided that one end of the room, which was a long one, should be kept in utter darkness, and that in this end the three gentlemen should continue to repose, that the other end should be brilliantly lighted up, and at this the ladies should sup. This arrangement entered into, the countenance of the landlord assumed a benignant hue, and he incited his cook to exert herself to the utmost. This she did, and in about half an hour a most excellent supper was served up, to which ample justice was rendered by the travellers, good digestion waiting on appetite, health on both, and, to borrow a simile from the immortal Dickens,—the smiling landlord upon all three. Certainly a merrier party never sat down anywhere to a meal.

With the discovery by Oxonian of his three relatives, the fortunes of our travellers appear to have taken a turn. For

no sooner was their jovial supper over, and the question had begun to be mooted as to what they should do next, than two Germans leaving one of the bedrooms, entered the *salle* bent upon ascending the Titlis. "At least the ladies can now be "provided for," whispered the landlord to Musafir, as he instantly gave orders for the room to be swept out, and the beds made ready. Of these there were but three and there were four ladies, but it was not difficult to arrange for the remainder of the night. The three gentlemen meanwhile made themselves comfortable on the floor.

The next day some of the inmates of the little inn went away and all our travellers were accommodated. The landlord, however, never forgot the good humour with which they had borne what he believed they would regard as a great disappointment. He treated them henceforth as his most honoured guests, and exhausted all his resources to make them feel perfectly at home. The kindness was appreciated although the exertions were scarcely needed, for with such a party and in such a lovely spot he would have been a yahoo indeed, who could have been in the least degree put out.

The Engstlen Alp is indeed one of Nature's favourite spots. About 5,700 feet above the level of the sea, it is surrounded by glorious mountains, some of them white masses of snow. Others again wore a grassy covering until just at the very summit. Close to the inn was a little lake formed of glacier water, which, though icy cold, was infinitely refreshing after a day's excursion. Between the inn and the mountains were smaller elevations, prettily wooded, and containing numberless species of wild flowers, whilst the road in the valley descending to Imhof followed the course of a most beautiful little river, running over rocks, and abounding in cascades and waterfalls, which appeared to the greater advantage from the luxuriant foliage on the other side.

The day after their arrival at the little inn was spent in wandering amongst these scenes, and most delightful it was to revel in the bright snow, and gaze as one could over many miles of mountains which had worn their dazzling peaks for centuries, then to descend into the valley and admire the charming contrast of wild and luxuriant foliage, to crown all by a plunge into the ice-cold lake. At about four o'clock, the Germans who had ascended the Titlis returned. They gave a most melancholy account of their trip, described it as not only difficult but dangerous, and they strongly advised our travellers not to think of attempting it, one of them showing the cuts and bruises he had received in a fall which, he seemed to think,

might have been fatal. This advice was entirely thrown away on the male portion of our travellers, but it had possibly some effect in deciding them not to allow the ladies to join the party,—a decision which was entirely opposed to their inclinations.

At one o'clock on the following morning, the four gentlemen, Oxonian, Cantab, Punjaabee, and Musafir, were roused from their slumbers, and partaking, after dressing, of a slight meal, started off to make the ascent of the Titlis. They again walked to the summit of the Joch Pass, then descending to the right, crossed a glacier at the foot of the Titlis, and then began the ascent. After climbing for about two hours they reached a point just below the level of the snow. Here they stopped and breakfasted. After a short rest they again started, and going as it were round the mountain under the snow level, reached the point from which they were again to mount. Here, as they were to enter the snow, they were roped together, thus: A guide first, then Punjaabee, Cantab, Oxonian, Musafir, guide. At first the snow was hard, but as the sun's power became stronger and stronger, it soon became so soft as to cause each climber to plunge in it above the knee. They passed several crevasses, seemingly without foundation of any sort, but their guides knew the road well, and steered them clear of them all. Ahead of them,\* at one time the distance of nearly an hour, was a party of foreigners also accompanied by two guides. On these our friends steadily gained, and when within two hundred yards of the summit, closed with them. A tremendous race now ensued, both parties walking their best. It ended, however, by a few seconds, in favour of the travellers whose adventures we are tracing.

The ascent achieved, all the pedestrians sat still to gaze at the glorious view which presented itself from the summit of the mountain. Some of the finest peaks in all Switzerland lay but a few hundred feet above their level; beneath them a sea of snow, broken up as it were into waves, so irregular were the formations; above them the clear blue heaven, its glory undiminished by a single cloud, and all around them the crisp fresh air, wonderfully exhilarating, and taking away all sense of fatigue. It was a most enjoyable half-hour, and if one thought did occur to affect it, it was that the ladies, who might easily, as it turned out, have made the ascent, were not there to partake of and to heighten their pleasure.

The descent of our friends was very rapid: the snow was melting more and more every minute, and they consequently made all haste to reach the point below it. Thence they went

on more leisurely, and meeting some of the ladies near the Joch Pass, they proceeded at an easy pace, reaching the Alp just eleven hours after they had left it. One or two of them felt rather tired, but a plunge into the glacier water of the lake took away every vestige of fatigue. Indeed, so little did two out of the four feel the ascent, that Punjaubee declared that if he had been alone he could have done it in an hour less time, whilst Oxonian actually did climb again to the summit the following morning in company with some friends who unexpectedly arrived that evening.

The following morning, the whole party, now reduced to six by the defection of Oxonian, separated from their other friends and from their jovial host, and started for Brienz. The parting with the host was quite affecting so much had he been taken with our friends. He begged them to return, and promised that whatever might happen there should always be room for them. The walk from Engstlen to Imhof along the course of the little river before referred to, was most lovely, and many were the additions made to the collections of ferns and wild flowers. It was like strolling through a beautiful park, so soft was the turf, so beautiful the trees, and so enchanting the entire scenery. Indeed, what with the ferns and the wild strawberries, and halts in beautiful spots, our travellers delayed somewhat too long upon the road, so that by the time they reached Imhof, at a considerable lower elevation than Engstlen, the sun was shining with a power that made itself felt. Here too no carriages were available for sometime for a start to Brienz, and it was 7 p.m., before they could get away, ten o'clock before they reached their destination.

Brienz, a rather uninteresting town at the northernmost end of the lake which bears its name, is the point of embarkation for Interlaken, at the other end, to which place our travellers proceeded on the following morning, halting there a day, and making, amongst other excursions, a visit to the famous falls of Giesbach. These, though very beautiful, are not, according to Musafir, equal in interest to the waterfall of Golling, which the unexplored mystery of the imprisoned lake within the mountain invests with a kind of romance unattainable by any other fall. The following morning they all started for the Wengern Alp.

We will not attempt to follow our travellers in the further details of their tour. We leave them in ground well known to the tourists, and which the majority of our readers have probably explored for themselves. It will suffice to state that passing Lauterbrunnen and the famous fall, the Staubbach, they crossed the Wengern Alp, sat for some hours *vis-à-vis* to those



glories of Switzerland, the Jung-frau with her two horns, the Monch, and the Eiger, rising up to nearly 13,000 feet, listening to the descending avalanches, and watching the striking effect of the alternate sunshine and cloud on their hoary heads; then, passing over the lower Scheideck (6,482 feet) the weather bitterly cold, they descended in a storm of thunder and lightning to Grindelwald; that there they visited, the following day, its famous glacier, and walked on its sea of ice, being out all day on the trip, and returning wet through; that, the next day, they crossed the upper Scheideck (5,960), having previously done honour to a little grotto hewn out of pure ice on the upper glacier of Grindelwald; then descending to Rosenläui, famous for its lovely ferns, they visited its glacier, and pushed on the same evening to Reichenbach. As the weather had now set in rainy they deemed it wise to curtail their expedition, and to return over the Brünig Pass,—an uninteresting route—to Lucerne,—the rain coming down in torrents all the way. It was a most enjoyable trip, without one drawback from its beginning to its close, except perhaps the wet weather after passing the Scheideck; but even the dismal state of the sky brought into more striking contrast the cheerfulness and gaiety of the companions of Musafir.

A few days later it cleared up again, and another trip was attempted. Of this too, equally enjoyable as the first, we shall merely give the outline. Starting early one morning they steamed to Fluelen, passing Tell's chapel *en route*, then drove to Amsteg, passing through the village of Altorf, the scene of many of the exploits of the far-famed patriot of Switzerland. Sleeping at Amsteg they started at four o'clock next morning for a walk up the Maderaner Thal to the Hüfi glacier at its further end. This walk is one of the most beautiful in Switzerland. The "Thal" or valley, runs up between two ranges of mountains, those on the one side covered with lovely foliage, those on the other, bare, grand, and imposing. The valley between these two is most beautiful, consisting of alternate mead and forest, with a picturesque brook below, crossed more than once by the most picturesque of bridges. All the members of the party were as usual in the highest spirits and eager for a climb. Breakfasting *en route*, the Hüfi glacier was reached about mid-day. It is a glorious glacier, full of crevasses, a glance down which shows one the ice clear and transparent to a very great depth. After disporting themselves on this glacier for some time, they all returned to Amsteg after a most enjoyable trip.

Next day starting in carriages they drove up the St. Gothard Pass as far as Hospenthal. It was a glorious drive; indeed

under no circumstances could it have been otherwise, but on this occasion the day was most favourable, and the mountain foliage, the rugged rocks, the winding turns, were seen to the very best advantage. The same evening they returned to Lucerne, and a few days later the Musafirs bade adieu to their friends and to Switzerland, carrying away with them an immense appreciation of the English as a people,—an appreciation which further experience in England tended only to confirm and to increase.

From Lucerne the Musafirs travelled direct *viâ* Strasbourg to the Black Forest, to enjoy in it a month's ramble. We shall not follow them so far, but part with them at Strasbourg, where Musafir, who even at the time of the imprisonment of the heir of the empire in Ham,—where he wrote these words: "With the name I bear there are only two destinies which are proper to me, a prison or a throne,"—had watched his career with intense interest, seized the opportunity of inspecting the spot where he made his abortive attempt in 1836. The place where Louis Napoléon was taken prisoner is a narrow piece of ground in front of the Infantry barrack, and between it and a wall. It was this narrowness of space that was fatal to him. At the head of the Artillery, who had pronounced for him at once, he had gone along a narrow street leading to the Infantry barracks, and, passing between these, had found himself in the narrow space above referred to, the mass of the Artillery remaining in the narrow street outside. When in the narrow space, the soldiers crowded out of the barracks to listen to the harangue addressed to them by Louis Napoléon. They were just about to declare for him when the Colonel of the Regiment, by name Tallandier, rushed forward, and said to his men—"You think you are going to declare for the heir of Napoléon; this is not he, this is an impostor, a son of Colonel Vaudry." This readiness on the part of Tallandier had the effect he wished for. The soldiers saw in the features of the young man before them no resemblance to the features of the first emperor. Colonel Tallandier's confidence of assertion added to their doubts, and they, who would have marched to Paris for the nephew of the emperor, declined to have aught to do with an impostor. There is no doubt in the present day that but for that speech of Tallandier the plot would have succeeded. Musafir was assured that all the regiments on the eastern frontier had been gained, and needed but the signal from Strasbourg to rally to the Napoléonic standard. It is perhaps better as it is. The emperor owes much to his six years of silence and meditation in the castle of Ham.

We have now brought to a conclusion the rough notes with which we have been entrusted by Captain Musafir. They tell but a plain and unvarnished story; but if the perusal of that story incite others to reserve themselves for the intense pleasure, whilst yet they are able to enjoy it, of European travel; if it induce them to shake off local prejudices and to conform as much as may be to the standard prevalent in Europe; if it persuade them to see and judge for themselves whether their countrymen in Europe are so cold and distant as they are sometimes represented to be by resident Anglo-Indians, we shall not regret the trouble of the compilation, for we shall then feel that we have accomplished a real success.

We will only add that Captain Musafir has promised to send us the notes he took of a pedestrian journey over his old haunts in the Salzkammergut and over the Tyrol in the year subsequent to the adventures we have recorded. Should they appear after examination to be of a nature to enlist the interest of the public, we shall endeavour to prepare them for a future number.

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ART. VII.—*The British Captives in Abyssinia.* By Charles T. Beke, PH. D., F.S.A. Fellow and Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society; Author of "*Origines Biblicæ*," "*The Sources of the Nile*," &c. Second Edition. London. Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer. 1867.

THERE are few Englishmen who, whatever their political prejudices may be, can feel insensible to the insults and sufferings heaped upon their fellow-countrymen at the Court of Theodore, the most Christian Emperor of Abyssinia. That these indignities should have been allowed to go so long unpunished, that this should now be the fourth year of the prisoners' captivity, that two successive representatives of Her Britannic Majesty should be treated with impunity in the manner in which Consul Cameron and Mr. Rassam have been treated, may well excite in the minds of some, like Dr. Beke, at once the keenest sympathy with the sufferers, and a righteous indignation against the inactivity of our Government. Before, however, considering the political aspect of the Abyssinian question, it may be well to place before our readers a brief *resumé* of the events which have brought about the present embarrassing complications in that unhappy country.

The kingdom of Abyssinia is a high table-land, lying between 9°—15° north latitude and 35°—40° east longitude, and separated from the coast of the Red Sea by a belt of low desert, very narrow at the north, and gradually widening towards the south. These lowlands, inhabited by Dankali tribes, have for many years been nominally subject to the Ottoman Porte, by which they were only last year transferred to the Pasha of Egypt. Abyssinia itself has long been divided into numerous provinces, always jealous of, and not unfrequently at war with, each other. For our present purpose, however, it will be sufficient to distinguish between the province of Tigre or Northern Abyssinia, Ambara or Central Abyssinia, (containing the capital Gondar), and Shoa or Southern Abyssinia. Our earliest relations with this country date, according to Dr. Beke, from the commencement of the

present century, when an alliance was formed with the ruler of Tigre; but on his defeat and execution by a usurper, Dedjatj Ubye of Semyen, we seem to have transferred our alliance to his rival Ras Ali, the virtual ruler of Central Abyssinia. It is to this attempt to establish relations at the capital of the titular Emperor, to the neglect of the more important, because more accessible, province of Tigre, that Dr. Beke attributes a great measure of our difficulties in that country.

When in 1853 the present Emperor, from being the petty chieftain of Kwara, rose to aspire to the sovereignty of the whole empire, and when, after successively defeating Ras Ali and Ubye, his aspirations seemed to be wellnigh realized, our Consul, Mr. Plowden, decided upon opening negotiations with him, which he did during a visit paid to the capital in 1855, and his proceedings met with the entire approval of the Foreign Office. At the commencement of 1860, Consul Plowden was attacked on the road to Massowah, (the only communication between which place and Gondar passes through the heart of Tigre,) by some of the relations of Ubye, who, supported, it is said, by the French, had raised the standard of revolt. Mr. Plowden was wounded and taken prisoner; and, though ransomed by the Emperor, died of his wounds shortly after. To revenge his death, Theodore, accompanied by Mr. Bell, a British adventurer in his army who was slain in the combat which ensued, marched against the insurgents, and compelling them to capitulate, mercilessly butchered in cold blood about 1,500 of them, as a holocaust to appease the manes of the unfortunate two Englishmen. "He did this, he said, to win the friendship of Her Majesty," but it may be questioned whether the massacre was not simply prompted by one of those savage outbursts of violence to which Theodore would appear to be subject.\*

Before proceeding with the history of our political relations with Abyssinia, it may be useful to explain the origin of those missions in the country, the unfortunate members of which are now in duance vile. The religion of the Abyssinians, as is well known, is a form of Christianity, to which they are said to have been converted in the reign of Constantine. The bishop is a Coptic priest, consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria. But

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\* We cannot help noticing here a somewhat unfair insinuation made by Dr. Beke at p. 61 of his work, where the reader is led to infer that Earl Russell *thanked* the Emperor in Her Majesty's name for this brutal massacre. As we read the despatch, the word "murdered" may be too strong an expression, but the Foreign Secretary of State simply thanks the Emperor for his letter.

the country would appear from all accounts to be a perfect nest of Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and attempts at their regeneration have consequently been made by both the Protestant and the Romish Churches. The first mission was established in 1829 by Dr. Gobat, now Bishop of Jerusalem, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. On the assumption of the Government by Ubye, however, the English, who were proved to be secretly supporting his enemies, were expelled from the country, and the place of the mission was assumed by the Church of Rome under Padre de Jacobis. Identifying as he does the progress of French influence with the establishment of the Romish Faith, this expulsion of Bishop Gobat's mission is declared by Dr. Beke to be "the seed of "all the troubles that have arisen." Padre de Jacobis however over-reached himself; for having raised the question of filling the vacant see of Abyssinia, the Abuna Salama was appointed precisely in consequence of his friendly views towards the Anglican Church; and though the Italian missionary succeeded for a time in establishing himself as a rival Romish Bishop, he was afterwards banished by Theodore, and subsequently thrown into prison for having allowed the escape of Captain de Russel's French mission to the insurgents in Tigre, where he died. Under the benignant sway of the Abuna Salama, three Protestant missions were soon established in Abyssinia. At Bishop Gobat's suggestion, we believe, a lay mission was organised in 1855 by Dr. Krapf, the members of which arrived in the following year and settled at Gaffat, where they are known as the Emperor's European artisans, having long since abandoned all efforts at conversion. In 1860, a second mission was organized at Djenda by the Rev. H. A. Stern under the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and this had for its immediate object the conversion of the Falashas or native Israelites. A Scottish mission was subsequently established by the Rev. Messrs. Steiger and Brandeis.

How far the Emperor himself was really interested in the propagation of the Anglican faith, may be inferred from the *ruse* which he practised upon the Coptic Abuna to win him over to his side. There is reason, indeed, to believe that the most Christian Theodore, whose faith, to quote Consul Plowden's opinion, was so "signal," professes the doctrines of his religion only so far as they may forward his ambitious views. Bishop Gobat's *lay* mission has been spared the persecution and suffering inflicted on Messrs. Stern and Rosenthal, only because its members made themselves useful in the manufacture of firearms and the distillation of spirits. Even Theodore's fanatical

zeal against his Mahomedan subjects and neighbours would only seem to be the cloak with which he concealed his ambitious schemes of conquest. Both he and his unhappy country afford standing evidence, that a mere profession of Christianity has no power at all as a civilizing element.

It is important however, that the character of Theodore should be understood, and we, therefore, extract the following passages from the otherwise indiscriminate eulogy bestowed upon him by Mr. Plowden—a eulogy so fulsome that it might well be adopted as his epitaph. “The worst points in his character are his violent anger at times, his unyielding pride as regards his kingly and “divine right, and his fanatical religious zeal.” And these very points have since been so exaggerated that, in the opinion of all Englishmen at least, they have wellnigh obliterated the recollection of those good qualities of which his early career gave promise. “He is peculiarly jealous, as may be expected, of “his sovereign rights and of anything that appears to trench on “them: he wishes in a short time to send embassies to the great “European powers to treat with them on equal terms. The most “difficult trait in his character is this jealousy and the pride “that, fed by ignorance, renders it impossible for him yet to “believe that so great a monarch as himself exists in the world.” Accordingly we find that in the negotiations for a treaty with Mr. Plowden, “he feared the clause conferring jurisdiction on “the Consul as trenching on his prerogative.” And hence his indignation with Captain Cameron, because his letter to Her Majesty had not been answered.

But we are anticipating the regular order of events. On the death of Mr. Plowden in 1860, Captain Cameron was appointed “Her Majesty’s Consul in Abyssinia,” and on February 9th, 1862, he arrived at Massowah, which he was told to consider “his head-quarters.” Anxious, however, to continue the negotiations in which Mr. Plowden had been engaged, Captain Cameron proceeded to the Emperor’s camp in Godjam, from whence the famous letter to the Queen was written proposing to send an embassy to England, and Consul Cameron then departed on a visit to the outlying provinces of Bogos.

As between Russia and Turkey, so between Egypt and Abyssinia lie certain frontier districts which are in a manner debatable ground. Originally, no doubt, they formed a portion of the kingdom of Abyssinia, though in the unhappy wars by which that kingdom has been rent asunder, the power of the central authority was so weakened as to be unable to check the greed of Turco-Egyptian Governors. Accordingly some of these

districts, like Taka, have already been annexed and incorporated with Egyptian territory; while others like Bogos, Senhait, and Bidjûk are continually invaded by bands of free-booting marauders, who carry off the Christian inhabitants into hopeless slavery. The melancholy and inhuman details of a Turkish raid have been but too vividly portrayed by the pen of Sir Samuel Baker and every other traveller who has visited these parts; and it is not surprising, therefore, when we find our Government through the Consul-General remonstrating with the Egyptian Government in this matter. Following the same policy, Mr. Plowden, apparently with the approval of his Government, had interfered in 1854 to protect the Christian Abyssinians of these districts, and it was for the same purpose that Captain Cameron now directed his course towards Bogos. His proceedings however were disapproved by the Egyptian authorities and at their instigation he was ordered to return to Massowah.

While still in Bogos, the Consul seems to have received instructions from the Foreign Office to make enquiries regarding Ethiopian cotton, and Captain Cameron accordingly passed on into Matamma, finding his way back to Gondar in June, 1868. We now quote from Dr. Beke. "In the following month, July, the Emperor himself came to Gondar, and it was under the outward circumstances which have just been described, that the British Consul met the Emperor of Abyssinia face to face. At his first audience that monarch put to him a series of point-blank questions, to which he was required to give straightforward and unequivocal answers. They were to this effect:— "Where have you been since you parted from Samuel in Bogos?" "Into the frontier provinces of Soudan." "What for?" "To see about cotton and trade and so forth." "Who told you to go there?" "The British Government." "Have you brought me an answer from the Queen of England?" "No." "Why not?" "Because I have not received any communication from the Government on the subject." "Why then do you come to me now?" "To request permission to return to Massowah." "What for?" "Because I have been ordered by the Government to go there." "So," exclaimed the exasperated monarch, "your Queen can give you orders to go and visit my enemies, the Turks, and then to return to Massowah; but she cannot send a civil answer to my letter to her. You shall not leave me till that answer comes." And verily he kept his word.

Now without in the least approving of Captain Cameron's very undiplomatical conduct in thus blurting out the altered policy of his Government, we think that the simple facts of



the case afforded to Theodore the very strongest grounds of suspicion. Here was our Consul, originally posted to Abyssinia, after being employed in the Egyptian provinces of Soudan, virtually withdrawn to Massowah, and the Emperor's letter to the Queen written in the previous year not even answered. Add to this that Theodore had already received intelligence that the English had withdrawn their protection from the Abyssinians at Jerusalem in favour of the Turks who claimed sovereignty over them as a nation, and that the Governor of Bombay, acting of course under instructions from England, had refused to despatch a mission to his Court. We quote again from Dr. Beke. "The breach between them could not but be widened when Consul Cameron gave the Emperor to understand, as he would have felt himself bound to do, that the oppressed Christian inhabitants of Bogos were to be left to the tender mercies of the Turks; for it would naturally have served to confirm Theodore's belief that Captain Cameron, when absent in Soudan, had been intriguing with his Mahomedan enemies; whilst his knowledge of the friendly terms on which the French and English Consuls were together, and of the enormous commercial transactions between Egypt and England, would have led him to the not unreasonable conclusion that, for the sake of Egypt and apparently at the instigation of France, he and the Christians of Abyssinia were being betrayed and abandoned by the British Government and their representatives. And he could only regard the refusal of the Government of Bombay to treat him as they had formerly treated the king of Shoa, now become his vassal, as an additional proof of this change of feeling and conduct towards him."

From this date, July 1868, Consul Cameron was in disgrace, being virtually detained as a hostage for the apparent breach of faith which we had committed with Theodore. In the following September, M. Lejean arrived with a reply from the French Minister to the letter which Theodore had addressed to Napoleon in the year before. This reply was unsatisfactory, if not threatening, in its tone, and the French mission was expelled from the country in disgrace. The next important event occurred on the 15th October, when Mr. Stern, who was already on his way to England, happened to come across the Emperor's camp, and, as in duty bound, stopped to pay his respects. Let us hear Mr. Stern's own account of the interview. "After waiting about two hours, His Majesty came into the open air. Myself and attendants immediately made a most humble obeisance. There was a frown on the king's countenance, which augured nothing auspicious.

"Between the first question and the death of my two servants, the hand of time could not have advanced ten minutes. The gloom of the approaching night, the rattling of the sticks, and my own doubtful fate prompted me to put my hand mechanically to my lips, or, as it was said, to put a finger into my mouth. This was construed into a crime, and in less time than these words take to pen, I was stript, beaten, and lay almost lifeless on the ground. Wounded, bruised, and bleeding, my executioners dragged or rather carried me down the hill, where my swollen wrist was fastened by a hoop and chain to the arm of a soldier." From that day Mr. Stern was a prisoner. Orders had been sent that I should have foot and hand fetters, but as my ankles were too much inflamed for the hoops, the guards transgressed the royal commands, and only tied my left hand to my right ankle."

The cause of this outrage has not been satisfactorily explained. Captain Cameron's despatches had been seized the same day, and Dr. Beke conjectures that despatches from England forbidding the Consul to meddle further in the affairs of Abyssinia, must also have been intercepted about this time. This is not improbable. It should further be mentioned that there was now in the Emperor's camp a Frenchman, M. Bardel, who having originally come to Abyssinia as Secretary to the English Consul, had been sent to Paris with the Emperor's letter, and had just returned with the reply. This man is said to have been promised a Vice-Consulship if he could succeed in overthrowing the Protestant Missions, and in establishing the Papal supremacy in their place; and it is certain that it was M. Bardel who subsequently examined the missionaries' papers, and furnished the Emperor with his charges against them.

On the 13th of November, 1863, all the missionaries were seized at Djenda and brought to Gondar, where Mr. Rosenthal was also bound. All the Europeans in the country, including Consul Cameron, were then seized, but the members of the lay and Scottish missions were subsequently released. On the 20th, Stern, Rosenthal, and Mrs. Flad (the wife of a third missionary) were tried in open court, for having written disrespectfully of the Emperor. They were found guilty. Mrs. Flad was pardoned for her husband's sake, but the other two were kept in close confinement.

On the 22nd, despatches were brought from the Foreign Office by one Kerans, and their unfavourable tenor, coupled with the absence of any reply from the Queen, still further exasperated Theodore. "The Consul had previously had his hands only half-bound; they were now bound altogether." On the 4th December,

Stern and Rosenthal were summoned again before the Emperor, when, after being grossly abused, they were stript of their clothing. "Miserable, wretched, with a mere rag round the waist, we were conducted back to our prison." In the following month however, brighter hopes seemed in store for them, on condition that Stern would supply "Mr. Flad, who was going to Europe, with letters to procure machines and one or two gunpowder-makers." "We were again," writes Stern, "allowed to have a servant and also clothing, which consisted of shifts from Mrs. Rosenthal's and Mrs. Flad's rifled wardrobes."

But these hopes were soon dashed to the ground. On the 4th of January, 1864, Captain Cameron having presumed to ask leave to return to Massowah, the Emperor's indignation was again roused, and the Consul, his attendants, and the missionaries were put in fetters and confined in one common prison. Mr. Steiger, one of the unfortunates, attributes this incarceration, and not without reason, in a great measure to the arrival at Gondar of the head of the Abyssinian convent at Jerusalem, and the intelligence he brought of British policy there. Thus, however, they remained till May 12th, when after an exciting conference in full assembly, the prisoners had again been driven into their tent for the night. Suddenly broke on their ears the passionate voice of Theodore: "Dog, Falasha, scoundrel, tell me the name of the man who reviled my ancestors, or I'll tear the secret out of your heart." Let us hear Mr. Stern's description of the scene which ensued. "Ere I could finish a sentence, I was blinded with buffets, whilst at the same time several fellows violently seized me by the hand and began to twist round my arms hard coarse ropes, formed of the fibres of the Doloussa tree. Rosenthal, simultaneously with myself, experienced a similar treatment." The Consul and the other prisoners were thrown on the ground and pinioned. "Writhing and quivering in every nerve, we lay in contortious heavings on the hard bare ground." "Samuel every few minutes made his appearance and enquired whether I would confess, and not receiving a satisfactory reply, whispered to the guards, 'give him another rope round the chest!' Three times he repeated his visits, and three times a couple of soldiers jumped on me and with ardent delight, as if they felt pleasure in torturing a white man, executed the royal behest. To contract the dry ropes, the black fiends now and then poured a profusion of cold water down our insensible backs." The same torture was repeated the following night, and all this because of some quarrel between Theodore and the Abuna, who was supposed to favour the Protestant missionaries. At the end of the same year, the prisoners

were all removed to their dungeon at Magdala. "To reach that "fortress," writes Dr. Beke, "which was destined to be their "prison for so many months, they were dragged two and two, "chained together, across the country on mules, every moment "in danger of pulling one another off their animals and breaking "their necks; and on arriving there they were huddled together "with about two hundred persons of various ranks, ages, and "sexes, charged with real or supposed crimes, and variously "chained, and crammed into a place about sixty feet in "diameter."

On 1st July, 1865, in consequence of a revolt in Shoa the prisoners, who had up to this time had their feet only shackled, now had hand-chains fastened to the fetters on their ankles, their bodies being by this means bent double. And thus they continued till the 25th February, 1866, when orders arrived for their liberation, in consequence of Mr. Rassam's arrival at the Emperor's camp. Mr. Rassam had at last arrived with an answer from Her Majesty, and after some protracted negotiations the prisoners were released, and a promise was held out of their being speedily allowed to depart. But when everything was ready, and they had been directed to cross the lake Tsána to take leave of the Emperor, Mr. Rassam again exasperated this proud and jealous potentate by sending on the Europeans towards Matamma, and going himself to meet the king alone. They were in consequence all arrested on July 13th, and thrown again into chains. Dr. Beke states that they still, however, might have been allowed to depart, had Mr. Rassam himself been willing to remain alone, but this that gentleman declined to do. Mr. Flad then, his wife and children being left behind as hostages, was sent to England in August last, and has since returned to Gondar. The captives have been sent back to Magdala, where according to the *Friend*, they were well but still in confinement on the 15th February last, and with no brighter prospects of ultimate liberation.

Such is the history of the captivity up to the present. Dr. Beke has fully proved the cause to have been the change in British policy towards that country in 1862. As we are not in the secrets of the Foreign Office, we are not in a position to refute that charge, neither are we prepared to adopt all Dr. Beke's *ideas* on the Abyssinian question. It is quite possible that Theodore at that time expected, if he does not still expect, much greater aid from England than we could ever afford consistently with our other relations. It is well known that the Emperor entertains the most bitter hostility towards the Mahomedan inhabitants of Abyssinia, and has even expressed his

intention of invading Egyptian territory. In his very letter to the Queen he writes—"For the Turks, I have told them to leave the land of my ancestors. They refuse. I am now going to wrestle with them." And his letter concludes with this pregnant sentence: "See how the Islam oppress the Christian." So long as this was the language held by Theodore, it was no wonder that the Egyptian authorities should be upon their guard, or that complaints should be made to our Government, when they heard of Consul Cameron's visit to Bogos in company with the Emperor's emissaries. But while in simple fairness we were unable to give Theodore that active support which he expected, and which our previous policy, perhaps, led him to expect, there would seem to be no sufficient reason why we should suddenly rush into the opposite extreme, withdraw our protection and our Consul, and allow the Abyssinians to be delivered over as a nation into the merciless hands of the Turks. Having once recognised the independence of Abyssinia, it was not necessary, because we could not assist her Emperor in his schemes of conquest, that we should, therefore, abandon the country to the almost certain fate of falling a prey to Egyptian greed. But not only has our Government acted in a manner inconsistent with good faith, but scarcely perhaps in accordance with our own interests in those quarters. Seeing the extent to which the prosperity of Great Britain is now connected with the welfare of India, it behoves us to regard with the utmost jealousy any circumstance which may tend to threaten the safety of speedy intercourse between the two countries, and we should, therefore, be on our guard against offering opportunities to our rivals, which may some day enable them to wound us in a vulnerable part. There is quite sufficient evidence in Dr. Beke's book to show that the French are fully alive to the importance of establishing themselves in the Red Sea, and they have already acquired a base of operations at Obokh. We may perhaps not see, like Dr. Beke, French influence backing the insidious policy of the Roman Catholic missionaries; but it cannot be denied by any one who has read Dr. Beke's work, that the emissaries of France have done their very best to thwart us in Abyssinia. French influence is already sufficiently alarming in Egypt, without its being increased by any acts or omissions of ours. But of late it would seem as though we had been acting on the *laissez faire* principle, simply drifting with the stream,—as though the Abyssinian question had been characterised by that "masterly inactivity," for which we are becoming so famous, and which may some day cost us so dear.

The fact is that in the present case, as in some others we have had a double policy to pursue, according as the interests of India or England were affected, and when these different lines of policy come into contact, the Indian Foreign Office must of course give way to the Home Government. Our readers will recollect an instance of this assertion which occurred in 1839, when the Indian Government was constrained to refrain from checking the excesses of the Wahabees, because the Home Government wanted the Wahabees to make a successful opposition to the Pasha of Egypt. Since then our policy would appear to have undergone an entire change. We have again chastised the Wahabees, and we make no objection to any extension of the Pasha's dominions. Nay, we have actually been parties to the transfer of the west coast of the Red Sea, and are now prepared to allow Egypt to absorb the empire of Abyssinia. We have every confidence in the Egyptian Government of to-day, but how long such confidence may last, or how soon a future Pasha may forfeit it, is not for us to predict. But if that day should ever dawn, it would not be congratulatory to find that we had put our whole trust in a broken reed. In the present condition of European politics, the consideration of this question is not inappropriate. There is no doubt that in the main, the foreign policy of India must be made to bend itself to the requirements of the mother-country, but at the same time England's prestige is now so intimately interwoven with her Indian administration, that it seems to us the height of folly to overlook for merely European considerations the effect of English policy upon the stability of our rule in India.

Regarding our further relations with Abyssinia, there seems to us to be only one course now left open. Mr. Flad's mission, it is understood, has failed; and even had it succeeded, we can scarcely see how, after what has occurred, we could ever revert to our former policy. And yet had Mr. Talbot and his six English artisans taken the place of the present captives, we should have been bound to extend to them British protection, and if that means anything, it means also protection of Theodore. We could not again have occupied a neutral ground in Abyssinia; we could not with impunity and without dishonour have allowed that unhappy country to be made the sport of other Governments, and in course of time to have been devoured by Egypt. The cause of the Emperor's quarrel with us now is our profession of neutrality, and he certainly would not have been appeased, unless the grounds of his discontent had been removed. As it is, however, a sterner course of action is forced upon us, and it is to be hoped that a bold and decisive stroke will settle

this vexed question for ever. There is insult and disgrace to be wiped out—there are not only British subjects, but two representatives of Her Majesty to be released, or their death to be avenged, and there is a lesson to be read to the proud and insolent ruler of Abyssinia, which may not be easily effaced from his memory. In other words it is only left us to undertake an expedition against Theodore for the purpose of compelling the liberation of the captives, and such an expedition we trust to see shortly organized. Whether the business is conducted by the Home Government, or by the Resident at Aden, acting under the orders of the Government of India, matters little, so that decision and energy are infused into it. The Indian Foreign Office, from its experience in expeditions of this kind, and from the special interests which it has at stake, would probably conduct the business to a satisfactory conclusion. And to those in whose minds the religion of the Abyssinians would excite sympathy, and who would dread to see “the Islam oppressing the Christian,” we would say that the religion of Abyssinia is a mere profession, and that a policy of peace and war is not a matter of mere sentiment. There is to our own mind a stronger objection to decisive measures in the consideration that Theodore’s conduct has, to a great extent, been the natural consequence of the false game we have played with him, and that our own Government is far from being entirely free from blame. But it must be remembered that the most decisive is in the end the most merciful policy. We seek not vengeance; we covet no territory; it is doubtful whether we should even feel justified in inflicting chastisement. But we must liberate the captives at any cost, and it rests with Theodore to decide how far justice may then be tempered with mercy.

It is time, however, that we should notice Dr. Beke’s work, from which we have gathered so much of our information, and in doing so our space compels us to be very brief. Dr. Beke, it is well known, has long been connected with Abyssinia. He visited the country in 1840, and on two subsequent occasions he barely escaped the honour of being our representative there. Last year too he was selected by those interested to convey to Theodore the petition from the relatives of the captives, though on hearing of their being released to Mr. Rassam, he proceeded no further than Halai. There can be no doubt, therefore, of his entire competency for the task which he undertook. That task was to lay before the British public a full statement of all the circumstances connected with the Abyssinian question, to enlist its sympathies in favour of our captive and insulted countrymen, and to point out what the

author considers to have been inconsistent and impolitic in our conduct towards the Emperor Theodore. In the next discussion of this subject in Parliament, Dr. Beke's book will no doubt be found serviceable. But, professing as it does to be in a great measure a party pamphlet, it cannot be denied that this very circumstance detracts from its value to the general reader. Its style is argumentative throughout. The course of the narrative is repeatedly interrupted by long political discussions, which the majority of readers, we imagine, will be inclined to omit. Nevertheless, the book is most interesting, and the tale which it relates is one of the most tragic and pitiful, which has been told since the time of Stoddart and Conolly. No one, we are convinced, can read Dr. Beke's work and straightway forget that pathetic story. Rather would we venture to believe that greater fervour and earnestness will henceforth be breathed in that Litany to the Eternal "King of kings," that it may please Him "to show His pity upon all prisoners and captives."

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## SHORT NOTICES.

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1. *Descriptive Catalogue of Vernacular Books and Pamphlets, forwarded by the Government of India to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867*, compiled by the Rev. J. Long, Church Missionary, Calcutta. To which is added a list of Vernacular Works sent from the Agra Presidency, and a list of the Vernacular Works published in 1865 in the N. W. P. Calcutta. 1867.
2. *Act XXV of 1867 of the Legislative Council of India.*
3. *Discours de M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, à l'ouverture de son cours d'Hindoustani à l'Ecole Impériale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, le 3 Décembre, 1866.* Paris.

THE Paris Exhibition of the present year will be the means of affording a treat amongst others to distinguished French savans like M. Garcin de Tassy, who take an interest in the current indigenous literature of this country. A most interesting collection of Vernacular Books and Pamphlets, brought together by the exertions of the Rev. J. Long and others, has been forwarded from this Presidency, having been accompanied moreover by a descriptive catalogue which cannot fail to prove of considerable utility and importance. The difficulties in the way of forming such a collection, in the absence of any system of registration of publications, are fully explained by Mr. Long in his Preface; and the catalogue does not, therefore, pretend to be exhaustive, even as regards the publications for the year 1865. Measures, however, have been taken during the present session of the Legislative Council to obviate these difficulties in future, and to ensure complete and accurate returns of all Books and Pamphlets printed in India. The subject was first forced upon the attention of Government in 1863 by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and

in the following year, the Government of Bengal proposed the enactment of a law requiring that two copies of every work published in India should be delivered to Government, one copy for the purpose of being transmitted to England, and the other to be deposited in a public library in this country. The Government of India preferred to adopt an experimental scheme of Mr. Talboys Wheeler, substituting a voluntary system of registration based upon the inducement of gratuitous advertisement. The scheme, however, was not successful, and by Act XXV. of 1867 the registration of all Books and Pamphlets published on or after the 1st July next has been made compulsory.

There is probably no European in India who is better acquainted with Bengali literature than Mr. Long. Twice previously has he been selected by Government to compile statistics on this subject, and the two volumes which contain the results of his labours are among the most interesting of the Records of the Bengal Government. Considering, however, that the present catalogue is primarily intended for the use of European students, we could have wished that somewhat greater uniformity, if not greater accuracy, had been preserved in the transliteration of vernacular titles. To take a single instance, we find the *Shûlâ-i-Tûr* of Cawnpore described in p. 34 as *Shah-Too*, and in p. 37 as *Sholatoor*.

The vernacular literature of Bengal still continues to increase, and also, we may trust, to improve in taste and character. In 1820, thirty books only were published in the vernacular; in 1857, this number had expanded to 322; in 1865, we find that from as many as seventy native presses in Calcutta alone, no less than 414 vernacular works issued, besides 51 which are returned as having been published at Serampore, Cuttack, and Rungpore. Of those published in Calcutta, 290 works were in the Bengalee or Sanscrit language, 22 were in Hindi, 65 in what Mr. Long calls Musulman-Bengali, 20 in Urdu, 13 in Persian, and 4 in Arabic (including a copy of the Koran published under the patronage of a khansamah.) For the North-West Provinces a list is given of 334 works issued from the native presses during the same year. Of these, 138 were written in Urdu, 97 in Hindi, 40 in Sanscrit, 30 in Persian, 18 in Arabic, 3 in English, one in English and Urdu, 3 in Persian and Urdu, 2 in Hindi and Urdu, and 2 in Arabic and Persian.

According to the Administration Report of the Bengal Presidency for 1865-66, the number of vernacular newspapers published in Calcutta is twenty, of which sixteen are written in Bengali, three in Persian, and one in Urdu—the whole having a circulation of about 5,643 copies. In the North-West

Provinces there would appear to have been published in 1866 twenty-two vernacular periodicals, with a circulation of 12,365 copies. It must be borne in mind however, that these figures refer exclusively to the Regulation Provinces, without taking into account the rich crop of indigenous literature which has lately sprung up in the Punjab and Oude.

We have to acknowledge the pleasure with which we have perused the annual address in which M. Garcin de Tassy continues his very excellent practice of reviewing the current Hindustani literature of the preceding year. He commences the opening lecture of the 3rd December last by announcing the addition of no less than twenty-six Hindustani journals during the year to the periodical literature of the day. If, however, the means of attaining accurate information on this subject are beset with difficulties in this country, they must be so even to a greater degree in Europe, and we accordingly think we can detect some errors in the statements of M. Garcin de Tassy. One of the newly announced Hindustani journals looks very like our Bengali *Som Prakash*, which has now been in existence nearly ten years. After briefly noticing the more important publications which issued from the native press last year, the French Professor introduces his audience to those discussions which have been carried on of late regarding the relative importance of a polished Urdu style, and the more homely Hindi. In this discussion, confessedly of small importance, M. Garcin de Tassy very properly ranges himself on the side of Urdu, not only, as he says, because so far from being a distinct language, it is really but a more finished dialect of the same language, but for reasons more weighty than those which are based on philology merely. "Hindi," says he, "represents Hinduism, polytheism with all its unhappy consequences; whilst Urdu represents Islamism, Semiticism, monotheism, and consequently European and Christian civilization." To our own mind there can be no doubt whatever that Urdu is the dialect which is destined ere long to be the *lingua franca* of northern India, and that it should be cultivated with that object—however desirable it may be for the present to encourage literature in Hindi and the other vernaculars of the masses. It might indeed as well be said, that the early English writers should have discarded foreign elements, and confined themselves to the use of pure Anglo-Saxon, as that Indian authors should abstain from Persian and Arabic words in the composition of Urdu.

M. Garcin de Tassy next proceeds to notice those scientific and literary institutions, which the increased intellectual activity of the age, prompted by the zeal of some of our own

countrymen, has lately brought into existence. First, amongst these comes the Oriental University of Lahore, a brief account of which naturally leads the lecturer to notice the successful attempts which have been made in the Punjab to excite amongst the natives an interest in the spread of education. The Lahore Association for the diffusion of science, the Delhi Society, and the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta are then successively mentioned. In praising our system of religious toleration, the Professor informs us that Islamism is daily gaining ground, a single Musulman having lately made no less than 200,000 converts among the Hindus of the Punjab; and in the obituary with which he concludes his address, our late good Bishop is eulogized in the following words:—"Le respectable défunt se distinguait par des connaissances profondes et variées à la fois et par une active charité. Il était non seulement zélé pour la conversion des indigènes, mais aussi pour leur instruction littéraire et scientifique. Il voulait par là, comme l'illustre Reginald Heber, un de ses prédécesseurs, éloigner d'eux les préjugés et les convertir ainsi plus aisément à la foi chrétienne. De même que le Dr. Hartman, il était habile en hindoustani, et jé vous avais cité de lui l'an passé plusieurs allocutions faites en cette langue. Il était le sixième évêque de Calcutta, immense diocèse qui comprend outre le Bengale, les provinces nord-ouest, l'Ôude, le Penjab, l'Assam, l'Arracan, le Tenasserim, et ce qu'on appelle *Strait Settlements*."\*

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2. *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs, from 1859 to 1866.* By Algernon West, Deputy Director of Indian Military Funds, and lately Private Secretary to the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, Bart., M.P., G.C.B., and the Earl de Grey and Ripon. London. Smith Elder and Co. 1867.

A WRITER in the January Number of the *Edinburgh Review* had either the ignorance or the audacity to describe his subject as

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\* The following note is interesting as being the French explanation of a story which has gone the round of most of the Anglo-Indian papers. "Ce qui choque surtout les Musulmans ce sont les signes extérieurs du culte. C'est pour écrier ce motif de répugnance que l'évêque de Bombay n'a jamais voulu qu'on suivît pour sa cathédrale l'usage adopté dans beaucoup d'églises Anglaises d'ériger l'autel d'une croix entourée de chandeliers et de fleurs. Ainsi le jour de Noël dernier, ayant su qu'on avait décoré l'autel de cette manière il refusa d'entrer dans l'église tant qu'on on n'aurait pas dépouillé l'autel de ces ornements : en quoi il a été fortement blâmé par les organes de la haute Eglise. (*Colonial Church Chronicle*. March 1. 1868.)

the Foreign Policy of *Sir John Lawrence*, and to attribute to our present Viceroy that policy of "masterly inactivity," the wisdom of which seems to many people to be so very questionable. Fortunately we know better now. Mr. Algernon West has enlightened us and told us all about it. Sir John Lawrence is not the author of that policy at all. It was no less a person than Sir Charles Wood, who "set an example of non-interference with foreign politics which has of late years been happily followed in this country (England)." Indeed, those who have hitherto believed in the power and importance of the Government of India, may now see the demonstration of their folly, and learn (if for the first time) from the pen of Sir Charles Wood's own private Secretary (and who should know better?) that there is not a shadow of authority any longer left to that Government. The power of centralization can go no further. The entire management of this vast empire is concentrated in a single individual—the Maharaja of Victoria Street. Ever since the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown, the Viceroy has been a mere puppet in the hands of another; he has been reduced to the level of one of those pageant princes, who are so ornamental in this country, but so expensive. Not a single measure of importance is now-a-days introduced into the empire, which is not directly due to the Home Government. The blunders and mistakes may perhaps be put down to the Governor-General, but certainly all measures of a beneficial tendency must go to swell the credit side of the Secretary of State's account with the British Parliament.

Such at least is the picture which Mr. Algernon West would have us accept of Sir Charles Wood's administration, and which will probably find acceptance in England, however false it may seem to us in this country who know better. If it is the fact that India is ruled in every matter, as Mr. West says it is ruled, directly from England, why not abolish the Governor-General and Council at once and so effect an enormous saving? For the first time we begin to understand why it was that the Secretary of State allowed those annual fittings to Simla. The Government of India may go to Hongkong or anywhere else that it likes, if the business of the Government is really conducted in England.

Mr. West has written his book, however, with a single purpose, and that purpose is the glorification of his relative and patron, Viscount Halifax. The book is styled by the *Saturday Review* "a catalogue of the official acts of Sir Charles Wood with commendatory notes," and this title would be tolerably correct, if it

was added that a large proportion of the "official acts," which are put down to Sir Charles Wood, were never his acts at all. It is indeed a laudatory sketch of the chief measures of Indian administration from 1859 to 1866, in which with admirable *sangfroid* they are all attributed to the author's patron, no matter by whom they were originated or by whom carried out. We have not heard Sir John Lawrence's opinion of Mr. West's "catalogue," but to our mind it seems a great pity that an attempt so uncalled for should have been sanctioned to bring the Government of India into greater contempt with the natives.

It cannot be denied that there has been very much in the administration of India, for which the country and the natives especially ought to be deeply indebted to Sir Charles Wood. He was, during his tenure of office, an industrious and conscientious public servant, ever working for the welfare of this vast empire. Everybody knows and admits the fact, and it was not necessary, therefore, for Mr. West to trumpet it forth again. But at the same time it must be admitted that Sir Charles Wood made mistakes, and that he was guilty of much unnecessary and mischievous interference. It is perhaps a moral impossibility for any Secretary of State to rule this vast empire without committing some mistakes, and Sir Charles Wood was certainly no exception to the rule. But none of these mistakes find a place, as such, in Mr. West's *brochure*. According to him, everything that was done during the period under review was done by Sir Charles Wood, and nothing that he did could have been done better.

We are not disposed to quarrel with Mr. West's first two chapters, relating, as they do, entirely to the Home Government. It may be conceded that in re-organizing the Indian Council, Sir Charles Wood had a most difficult task to perform, and that the manner in which he performed it exhibited great tact and firmness. But no sooner do we come to any mention of the authorities in India, than we meet with a sort of apologetic preface, disarming those who might be inclined to give some portion of credit to them, and insinuating that whatever praise they earned is solely due to the Home Government for its discriminating patronage. Thus in the chapter on "Law and Justice" we might have expected perhaps that the merit of its measures would have been reserved to the Legislative Council; but no, they had always been "previously discussed and" "in a great measure determined on in private communication" between Sir Charles Wood and Messrs. Maine and Hawkins. Yet the only measure which the only legal commission appointed by Sir Charles Wood has sent out to us from England, is the

Indian Succession Act, and that Act has been declared inapplicable the two great sections of Indian society. Similarly in matters of finance, "Mr. Wilson had to learn Sir Charles Wood's views, "and before he left England, he received clear and explicit "instructions as to what was to be done." Even Sir John Lawrence's inquiry into tenant-right in Oude would only prove successful, we are told, "if conducted with the calm discretion "and care impressed upon him by Sir Charles Wood."

We do not propose to discuss again the Indigo Blue Book, and the expediency or otherwise of a Criminal Contract Law. There is a great deal to be said on both sides of the question, but Mr. West's statements, as usual, are entirely *ex parte*. Why the planters *should* "be prepared to yield without a "struggle, the profits" from the cultivation in which their all was embarked, or why they should *not* "avail themselves of "their position as lessees or owners of the land" to raise the rents of their tenants, Mr. West has not condescended to inform us. There are still people who think that the existing law is not strong enough to give proper support to the planter when in the right, and Mr. West should remember that he himself designates this law as "a mere rule of thumb."

The chapter on *Finance* ought to be one of the most interesting in the Work, but unfortunately it is one of the most disappointing. In his appointment of a financial member of Council, and in disallowing the proposed export duties on certain articles of Indian produce, the Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer is doubtless entitled to no small meed of praise. But at the same time his quarrel with Mr Laing, resulting in the loss to India of one of her best financiers, and the appointment of Sir Charles Trevelyan as his successor, were acts of which no statesman need be proud. The former is entirely ignored by Mr. West. The latter would seem to be represented as a sort of atonement made by Sir Charles Wood to his friend for having recalled him from the Government of Madras. "It may be safely asserted," writes our author, "that "the financial measures of Sir Charles Wood's administration have "been numerous and successful beyond all reasonable expectation, "and that his comprehensive knowledge and great capacity in "dealing with all matters relating to finance, have been of the "greatest value in retrieving the Indian Exchequer from the "disastrous state into which it had fallen"—praise however which is shared this time with a Mr. Seccombe, a gentleman unknown to Indian fame. If the present state of the Financial Department may be taken as the index of the success of Sir Charles Wood's reforms, we can only say that that

Department, is, apparently with some reason, one of the best-abused in India. The smallest outlay cannot be sanctioned under a delay of from four to six months, while local Governments are "wiggled," if they venture to approve of urgent expenditure in anticipation of such sanction. Not even a subordinate post can be created without the previous sanction of the Home Government. Mr. Massey's last Budget Statement shows in what delightful confusion and uncertainty the accounts still are, notwithstanding the expensive commission of Messrs. Whiffin and Foster. Indeed, many of the reforms proposed by these gentlemen have since, we believe, had to be abandoned. Sir Charles Wood's re-organization of the Department has been as unsuccessful as it was unjust. In the endeavour to abolish the exclusive character and to introduce a special knowledge of accounts, the Civil Service and therewith all local experience and knowledge of the country have been in turn excluded, while the "new blood" imported from England, we understand, only arrives in this country to find itself disgusted with its position, and anxious to return. That a capacity for dealing with figures is not wanting in the Civil Service is proved by such men as the Harrisons and Mr. Sandeman. But these men are leaving India one by one, and we are not acquainted with a single junior Civilian in the Department.

On the Currency question we are not disposed to enter at present, but we may assert that, Mr. West's eulogy notwithstanding, the action of the Government hitherto has been only characterised by gross bungling and consequent failure. Sir Charles Wood's unfair treatment of the Military and Medical Services is too well known to call for recapitulation here. And although great praise is undoubtedly due to him for pushing on the construction of public works, yet it must not be forgotten that he was decidedly opposed to the principle of loans for this purpose. The official papers which have been lately published on the subject show that, ever since the famine of 1860-61, the Government of India has been urging the extension of irrigation works in this country, but its proposals were persistently vetoed so long as Sir Charles Wood was in office. Though willing to risk the unpopularity of an income tax to swell the surplus revenue available for such works, he would have no works executed which could not be paid for out of such surplus.

On the whole then, Mr. West's book would appear to be very unsatisfactory, and the history of Sir Charles Wood's administration has yet to be written. The result will ultimately be by no means discreditable to Viscount Halifax, and Mr. West would, therefore, have done better to have left the composition



of his fulsome periods to the British and Indian Association, as he styles it.

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3. *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Secretary to the Indian Record Commission, Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c. &c. Vol. I. The Vedic Period and the Mahá Bhárata. London. Trübner and Co. 1867.

WE have to thank Mr. Wheeler for the first volume of what promises to be at once the most interesting, the most truthful, and the most scientific History of India which has yet been produced. Its perusal has afforded us the most unqualified pleasure, and though at the very moment of going to press, we dare not venture upon a detailed criticism of its contents, we hasten to announce its publication, reserving a fuller notice for a future number.

It must be well known to many of our readers that some years ago Mr. Talboys Wheeler entertained the idea of compiling a complete history of this country, and that for many years he has been actively engaged in collecting materials for this purpose. With this object in view he has laboured day after day over the translations of the ancient Sanscrit literature, so that his manuscript extracts alone form a small library in themselves. The volume before us however treats only of the Mahá Bhárata, one of the two great Hindu Epics. The other, the Ramáyana, will be similarly treated in the second volume, and the third will include the results of both, as well as those which are to be drawn from the more salient points of other Sanscrit and Mussulman literature. These three volumes will thus complete the first or Hindu period of the History.

The method which has been pursued by Mr. Wheeler in the treatment of his subject, is one of which the most impartial reader must cordially approve. Instead of occupying a lifetime in the acquisition of a knowledge of the great Sanscrit originals or the discussion of mere philological details, he has been content to utilise the knowledge of others by a judicious selection of the translations which have, from time to time, been made by the most eminent oriental scholars. By following out this scheme of a division of labour, Mr. Wheeler has been enabled to extend his researches over a much wider area than would have been possible, had he obliged himself to use of the originals themselves. He does not write as a philologist, but as a historian. His business has been to sift and analyse what others have

prepared for him; to separate the wheat from the chaff, truth from falsehood, history from myth and fable. He has in fact sought to apply to Sanscrit literature those modern rules of criticism, which have done so much of late years towards a right appreciation of Greek and Roman history. And he has exhibited in the task an ingenuity, a fine discrimination, and a good taste, which cannot fail to recommend the present volume to all who are interested in the early condition of India.

In attempting to trace the rudimentary civilization and institutions of the primitive Hindus, Mr. Wheeler has, we think, found the right key in the analysis of the ancient traditions which lie at the root of the great national epics. However exaggerated and disfigured they may be by later Brahmanical interpolations and additions, the main incidents of the story are doubtless founded upon truth, and refer to a period long anterior to that in which the oldest of the Sanscrit writings were composed. The conquest and subjugation of the aboriginal tribes by the Aryan invaders afforded themes for song and recitation, which would scrupulously be handed down from father to son, and which, however they might be exaggerated in each successive recital, would never be allowed to lose one iota of their pristine significance. To ascertain these fundamental traditions and divest them of all subsequent elaboration, as well as to trace the institutions and the rude manner of life which underlie and are implied in the legends themselves, has been the very difficult task which Mr. Wheeler set before him. He has doubtless been assisted by his intimate knowledge of the country and its people, among the great body of whom the national epics still exert no inconsiderable influence. In fact, we might safely venture to assert, that, so intimately in India are the ideas, the religion, and the inevitable customs of the present associated with the memory and traditions of the past, no writer could hope to succeed in realizing Hindu antiquity who has not a personal and close acquaintance with the Hindus of to-day. Mr. Talboys Wheeler is almost the only historian of India, who possesses this first qualification, and we sincerely trust that he will be both encouraged and spared to continue and complete the original scheme of his comprehensive work.

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4. *The Kashmir Hand-book, A Guide for Visitors, with three Maps.* By John Ince, M.D., M.B.C.S., S.G.A.S. Bengal Medical Service. Calcutta. Wyman Bros. 1867.

DR. INCE has conferred upon his fellow-exiles a most appreciable service. He has written a model hand-book for the most

beautiful of all the mountain ranges of India. Under no circumstances is it easy to write a hand-book. The experience of travellers in Europe is decisive on this point, and it is a curious fact that the most practical guide books for travellers on the continent have been written not by Englishmen but by Germans. Yet Dr. Ince has contrived to write a book on Cashmere, which not merely the ordinary traveller, but the man of science, the sportsman, even the lover of piscatory pursuits, will find eminently useful. It is not every one who possesses the time or the taste to exhaust the long list of works which have undergone examination at the hands of the author of this Manual. Yet we know for a fact that the want of some authoritative guide as to the peculiarities of the country, the best mode of travelling, the places to stop at, the servants and supplies to take, have been not the least of the difficulties that have beset the intending traveller into Cashmere. In this little book all this information is contained, and much more besides. And what, too, is of scarcely less importance, the information is arranged in the most practical manner, and is made accessible to the dullest comprehension. We will only add that the three excellent maps attached to the work, the useful appendices, and the admirable index, combine to render it an indispensable companion to the intending tourist in Cashmere.

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5. *Yesterday and To-day in India.* By Sidney Laman Blanchard. London. W. H. Allen & Co. 1867.

"YESTERDAY and To-day in India" is a republication of a series of papers upon Indian subjects, which have appeared from time to time in *All the Year Round* and *Temple Bar*. It is essentially of the lightest of literature,—so light indeed that it seems almost incongruous to attempt to apply to it the canons of grave criticism. But so far as these papers have tended to enlighten the gross darkness which prevails in England on things Indian, and to give our mothers and sisters a somewhat clearer idea of our manner of life out here, the Anglo-Indian public should be grateful to their author. There are of course numerous petty errors of which a writer with greater experience would not have been guilty; but for a passing traveller we must say that Mr. Blanchard's statements are, on the whole, unusually fair and authentic. We give one or two instances however of our assertion. In speaking of the newly constituted High Courts of Judicature, the following sentence occurs:—"The Queen's Judges and the Company's Judges (*natives among the latter*)

"will henceforth sit upon the same bench, and administer the same law." The old Sudder Court is similarly called the *native* Court of Appeal, the writer evidently being under the impression that native Judges sat in it. He does not seem to be aware that the native element in the highest Courts of Appeal was first introduced, when all the Judges became the Queen's Judges. On the Currency question, Mr. Blanchard asserts that "the Home Government, for some mysterious reason, will not allow it to be extended to the whole of India, but has ordered that it be confined to Bengal." We certainly never heard of these orders, and the fact is that the Currency was introduced into all the Presidencies from the first. The writer would appear to have misunderstood the whole gist of the discussions on the subject. And what will the fair sex think of this? "Ladies in India pride themselves upon the delicate paleness of their complexions, and have established such a standard of beauty in this respect as to vote the roses of Britain, brought out upon the cheeks of its daughters, rather a vulgar exhibition, to be toned down as soon as possible,—a refinement very soon effected in either (are their only two?) of the Presidency Towns." Whether this be the case or not, England's daughters may be consoled by hearing that the gentlemen have not yet passed any such sweeping condemnation, and their opinion considering the subject is perhaps as important as that of the other sex. A writer of Mr. Blanchard's reputation ought not to have made the mistake of calling the Asiatic Society of Bengal a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The latter Society was founded by Colebrooke after his retirement from this country, where for many years he had adorned the President's chair in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But we are growing hyper-critical, a position which we thought we had abnegated at least in regard to the present book. In conclusion then we recommend to our readers the perusal of "*Mrs. Dulcimer's Shipwreck*"—perhaps the most interesting and the best written of the fourteen papers in the book.

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6. *An Antidote to Brahmoism*, in four lectures, by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, Pastor of the Free Mission Church, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta. G. C. Hay & Co. 1867.

THE sudden revulsion from the most debasing superstition in the world to the purer light of reason and of faith, and the natural attempt to reconcile that purer light with the dearest associations of the past, have created in India, as is well known, a powerful religious sect who call themselves Brahmoists.

Founded originally by the great Rammohun Roy in 1828, this sect has gone on advancing in influence and enlightenment to the present day, when its tenets find expression and elaboration in the rhetorical periods of Babu Kesub Chander Sen. Rammohun Roy's great discovery was the unity of God, and so sublime were his views on this subject, that some people, even in England, have not hesitated to attribute to him a *Christian* faith. Anxious to preserve the sacred character of his ancient literature, he based the principles of the new sect upon the supposed monotheistic revelation of the Vedas. In 1839, these novel doctrines were strengthened by the establishment of the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* under Dwarkanath Tagore, and, since his death, Debendronath Tagore. But doubts having arisen as to the correct interpretation of the standard of faith, a deputation of pundits was sent to Benares, and the result was the rejection of revelation altogether, and the substitution of a system of Natural Religion founded on reason or intuition.

To prove the insufficiency of such a religious belief to satisfy the spiritual necessities of mankind, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, whose earnestness and eloquence have already gained for him among his countrymen the *sobriquet* of the Indian Spurgeon, has delivered certain lectures from time to time which have lately been re-published in the volume before us. Apparently not intended originally for publication either separately or as a course, the reader must expect to find in these lectures much that will not strike him as new, and perhaps some repetition. The lectures in fact, though spirited and admirably adapted for oral declamation, do not come up to the modern standard of soberly written arguments of faith. But we are not going to quarrel with the author on this account. As lectures, they probably served their purpose, and are by no means without value. It is by such men as Mr. Day, we believe, that the work of evangelization and regeneration will be most successfully carried on among his countrymen, and we heartily wish him and his fellow-labourers, God-speed in their good work. That Christian must care little indeed for the principles of his own faith, who does not watch with anxious interest the efforts of our small native missionary band to dissipate the darkness of blind superstition, and spread the light of Gospel truth.

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7. *Sitana, a Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Affghanistan in 1863*, by Colonel John Adye, C.B. Royal Artillery.

THAT an officer of such high military attainments as Colonel Adye should come forward to present to the public a detailed

account of the mountain campaign of 1863, at the close of which he was present, is a matter of congratulation to military men. Few are better qualified for the task. Colonel Adye happens to combine in his own person to a very remarkable extent the qualifications of the scientific and the practical soldier. It sometimes happens that the study in the closet has the effect of making the soldier pedantic, and the slave of theory in the field. But Colonel Adye has shown throughout a distinguished career in the Crimea and in India that few men are less slaves to theory than himself, that none have more bent the science of the military art to aid in the development of real and practical military reform.

The proof of the broadness and sincerity of Colonel Adye's opinions has not to be sought very far in the pages of this volume. An officer of the old royal Artillery, opposed by instinct as well as by conviction, to the anomaly of maintaining a local field force under a local Government to defend our most vulnerable frontier, Colonel Adye loses not one opportunity of doing full and ample justice to the merits of the old officers of the Company, and especially to the officers of that force the separate existence of which he, in our opinion, justly condemns. Thus in introducing to his readers the illustrious commander of that independent force he writes thus:—"Considering the  
" hasty manner in which the expedition was organised, the very  
" difficult country to be operated in, and the powerful combination which the force had to fight against, the Government were  
" most fortunate in their selection of the officer appointed to the  
" command. Sir Neville Chamberlain's great name, his long  
" experience, and his well known brave and chivalrous character,  
" were indeed sufficient guarantees of the ultimate success of our  
" arms; and it is a happy circumstance that in the serious  
" complications and hard battles which ensued, a man of such rare  
" energy and never-failing courage should have been at the head  
" of affairs; and although he was struck down by a severe  
" wound before the operations were quite at an end, it may be  
" admitted, without disparagement to his successor, that the  
" neck of the confederacy had already in great measure been  
" broken by the vigorous blows struck by General Chamberlain,  
" and that the tribes were sick at heart and almost weary of the  
" contest." A little further on Colonel Adye writes thus, most truly, of the same officer:—" His whole career, indeed, affords a  
" bright example of true devotion and of modest courage." Of the Punjab Field Force as a body he thus writes:—" As a  
" fighting body, its deeds have ever shown it to be thoroughly  
" well manned and admirably led." Again, " The officers are

"carefully selected, and the whole force is full of martial spirit." Throughout the work, indeed, not a single occasion is missed of bringing to the notice of the world the gallantry and fidelity of the native soldiers of the force, when engaged in fighting against their own kith and kin, and the excellence of its officers.

Still there can be little doubt that the anomaly, condemned by Colonel Adye, of maintaining a local force to guard our frontier, independent of the Commander-in-chief, and subordinate to a civil local Government, was very nearly the cause of a great disaster. In the first place, it is clearly proved, that had the management of the campaign rested with the Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Rose, a large reserve force would have occupied Eusofzye, and the six week's defensive struggle which cost Sir Neville Chamberlain so many lives and exposed him to such serious straits would have been exchanged for the triumphant march of General Garvoek. In a word, the force on the 24th October would have moved as it did move on the 15th December. But Sir Hugh Rose's advice was disregarded, and no reserves were sent. Our prestige was even in greater peril when, after the terrible combats which ended in the recovery of the Crag by the gallantry of Colonel Hope and his Highland and Goorkha following, it was seriously proposed by the local Government of Lahore, and, according to Colonel Adye, deliberately agreed to by the Supreme Government of Calcutta, to withdraw our force from the mountains in the face of the unsubdued enemy. At that time the tribes were sick of the contest and desirous to give in, but, "could they," writes Colonel Adye, "have divined the moral effect which they had already produced at Lahore, it is probable they would have been tempted to strike hard once more for victory." A second time did Sir Hugh Rose strenuously urge the adoption of the only safe, the only possible course, contributing thereto all that lay in his power by pushing on reserves as fast as possible. It is probable, however, that even his urgent advice would have been unheeded but for the opportune arrival of Sir William Denison in Calcutta. Though only acting as Governor-General, Sir William saw at once the magnitude of the interests at stake, felt how they would be imperilled by withdrawal, and persuaded his Council to adopt the policy recommended no less by Sir Neville Chamberlain than Sir Hugh Rose, and to carry to a triumphant conclusion the expedition, which, whether wisely or unwisely, the Government of India had undertaken.

For the manner in which this story is told, we refer our readers to the book itself. It is well worthy of their perusal. The style is clear and forcible, simple and manly. When the author does

express his own opinions as to the mode in which our relations on the frontier ought to be conducted in contradistinction to the opinions of officials whose names appear in the work, it is impossible for the candid reader to withhold his adhesion. The opinions of Colonel Adye on this point are the opinions likewise of one who has earned the highest title to the respect of the public,—Sir Bartle Frere. Let us hope that no long time will elapse before they become universal. We may add that Colonel Adye appears to share the general opinion that, had Colonel James been the political officer at Peshawur, the war would never have attained the magnitude it did.

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## TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

SIR,

The article in No. 87 of the *Calcutta Review*, styled "Orissa Past and Present," contains so many inaccuracies, and such calumnious representations of the character of the Oorias, that, in fairness to the people, they should not be allowed to pass without contradiction.

At page 5 I find—"Indeed as regards want of manliness, what the Bengalees are to the inhabitants of the Upper Provinces, the Oorias are to the Bengalees. Deficient both in spirit and intelligence, they may well be denominated the Bœotians of Bengal."

"The circumstance of all the public offices being held by Bengalees affords conclusive evidence of their intellectual inferiority."

At page 37 of Stirling's account of Orissa, published between forty and fifty years ago, I find—"They are extremely deficient in manly spirit. They are moreover equally ignorant and stupid. Orissa might be termed the Bœotia of India with reference to the intellectual dulness of its inhabitants as compared with the people of any other Province. A striking proof of the estimation in which their capacity has been ever held is the fact, that in all ages, and under all Governments since the downfall of the Orissan monarchy, the principal official employments throughout the Province have been engrossed by Foreigners,—by Bengalees, north, Telingas, south, of the Chilka Lake." The author of the article has copied from Stirling's old book, and taken it for granted that what he wrote was correct, and that things have remained unchanged;



whereas Stirling greatly exaggerated the faults of the race, and the complete change that has taken place in all the public offices has shown that the opportunity only was wanting—ability and aptness for administration were by no means rare.

In the earlier years of possession by the English, want of spirit and manliness of character were not charged against them; on the contrary, they resisted and resented mismanagement and oppression in a manner which secured a different treatment. Stirling in careful language says—"much suffering was long experienced in particular quarters from injudicious measures." In truth the misrule was intolerable. Twice the people rose in insurrection, and though, of course, they could do but little against the power of the English Government, all and more than all they sought was obtained. The treatment was changed, and for many years those European officers only were sent into the Province who were known to be by natural disposition inclined to treat our native subjects with forbearance and consideration. The manliness they showed bears fruit, which their children and their grand-children are gathering to this day.

It is true that when Stirling wrote, and for some years after, the principal official employments were engrossed by Foreigners. The person to whom the honour is due of first giving the Oorias opportunity of showing their fitness for public employ, was William Wilkinson, Collector of Pooree and Khoordah. Mr. Mills and I followed his example, and in a few years nearly all administrative offices in the Province were held by Oorias. All the details of the settlement of the Province were conducted by Ooria Deputy Collectors: and it is not too much to say, that their excellent conduct, the efficiency and the honesty which trust and sympathy produced, had a beneficial effect on the fortunes of their fellow-countrymen, far beyond the Province of Cutlack. Many of the Deputy Collectors were employed on duties which had always been regarded as calling for the rarest and nicest discrimination, such as the decision of boundary disputes. The manner in which they acquitted themselves; called for the warmest encomiums of the superior authorities, repeated again and again. Doubts, which up to that time had prevailed with so many, gradually began to give way—the employment of natives in offices of responsibility ceased to be regarded as wild imprudence.\* *The prospects of legitimate and honourable ambition were no longer closed against them, and in proportion as we have trusted them we have found them as trustworthy*

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\* Marshman's History of India.

*as their local knowledge has made them efficient. During the last few years great progress has been made, alike in Revenue and in Civil and Criminal Administration—to be attributed more to the greater extent to which we have associated the natives of the country with us in that administration, than to any other cause whatever.\** I repeat, it is not too much to say that this great change, and all the many advantages connected with it, may be traced to the unqualified success which attended the extensive employment of Oorias in the administration of Orissa.

The Reviewer says the people rank very low in the moral and social scale, equally wanting in spirit, intelligence, and enterprise. Again, following Stirling almost word for word, who writes—"In justice, however, to the bulk of the agricultural population it must be said that they are extremely industrious though they work with but little spirit or intelligence." Truly this is but scant justice to a race which furnishes those who do the hardest work performed by our native subjects in any part of our empire, and also those who for honesty and fidelity are more generally trusted by Englishmen, than any other class between Comorin and Lahore.

If there is hard work anywhere on earth, it is carrying a palankeen about the streets of Calcutta, with the thermometer standing at 130; and this work is performed, almost entirely, by Oorias. If there is irksome, tiresome, wearying work on earth, it is pulling a punkah, hour after hour, all through the reeking day, all through the steamy night; and this work is performed by thousands and thousands of Oorias, who leave their houses, and pull the punkahs over sleeping, wearied Englishmen, all over Bengal. Are they unmindful of kindness? Are they ungrateful? Let those who think so, go to Pooree and mention the name of William Wilkinson. He left them full thirty years ago, and the respect, the love for his memory, which they cherish, could not be felt by a people not endowed with some of the most attractive qualities with which human nature is adorned."

And then for fidelity and honesty! It is no exaggeration whatever, to say, they stand in a position far above any other class of our native subjects. The proof undeniable of this is the prevailing practice—go to the house of the Collector of Meerut; who has the keys? the Ooriah Sirdar: go to the house of the Judge of Mymensingh; who brings you your cigar and a pair of slippers? the Ooriah Sirdar; you meet the children of the Magistrate of Chittagong on the road; who

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\* *Spectator*, February 16th, 1867.

pulls the little carriage? who holds the chattah? who carries the baby when the Ayah is tired? the Ooriah Bearer; faithful, honest, patient, grateful, one word of kindness will atone for many words of another description; they will do their duty by the child, though the parents may not always display the kindness and forbearance which devotion and good service call for.

Doubtless there are instances of breach of trust on the part of Oorias; when you show me the race, or the class on earth, among whom no faithless are to be found, I will admit that the Oorias can only hold the second place on the list of trustworthy servants.

There are many other parts of the article connected with the settlement, which I should like to discuss with the author, but I cannot ask you to allow me more space. I do ask you, in fairness to a calumniated people, to print this in your next number, and to attach it to the article, should a second edition of the *Review* be called for. I lived among the Oorias for twelve years; one of the most pleasing recollections of my life is the treatment I received at their hands; and I must not allow such attacks to pass unnoticed, as that which No. 87 contains.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

HENRY RICKETTS,

*Sometime Commissioner in Cutlack.*

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(We willingly give insertion to the above letter from Sir Henry Ricketts on the subject of an article which appeared in the 87th Number of our *Review*, entitled "Orissa Past and Present." It is not given to every one to possess the intimate personal acquaintance with the inhabitants of Orissa enjoyed by Sir H. Ricketts, and we think that our contributor, the writer of the article, can scarcely be blamed, if, in the absence of that personal acquaintance, writing of Orissa at a period when information regarding the province was sorely needed by the public, he should have taken his estimate of the character of her people from Stirling. In one point we think that Sir Henry himself is mistaken. Ooriah sirdars and Ooriah bearers are certainly not common out of Bengal. We are strongly of opinion that the household keys of the Collector of Meerut are carried, not by an Ooriah, but by an up-country Kahar; and we know for a fact that, by the majority of those who have tried both classes of servants, the Ooriah and the up-country Kahar, the latter is preferred alike on the ground of cleanliness, capacity for work, and of honesty.—*Ed. C. R.*)

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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NO. XC.  
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- ART. I.—1. *The Seir Mutakherin*. By Seid Gholam Hossein Khan, an Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as an actor and spectator. Calcutta. 1789.
2. *Mémoire a consulter et pour consultation pour le sieur de Bussy*. Paris. 1766.
3. *Mémoire pour le comte de Lally, contre Monsieur le Procureur Général*. Paris. 1766.
4. *Memoirs of Count Lally, to which are added, accounts of the prior part of his life, condemnation, and execution, with such other pieces, (most of them produced on his trial) as were thought most necessary to illustrate his civil and military character*. London: F. Newberry. 1766.
5. *Fragments relating to some Revolutions in India, and the death of Count Lally*. Translated from the French of M. de Voltaire. London: J. Nourse. 1774.
6. *An Account of the War in India, between the French and the English, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the year 1758 to the year 1760*. By Colonel Lawrence. London. 1761.
7. *A Journal of the siege of Fort St. George from 12th December, 1758, to 17th February, 1759*. By J. Call, Chief Engineer. London. 1761.
8. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*. By Robert Orme, M.A., F.A.S. London: John Nourse. 1773.
9. *Historie de la Conquête de l'Inde par l'Angleterre*, par le Baron Barchou de Penhoen. Paris. 1844.
10. *Inde*, per M. Dubois de Jancigny et par M. Xavier Raymond. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. 1845.
11. *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*. By Captain Arthur Broome, Bengal Artillery. Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co. London: Smith Elder and Co. 1850.

There are many other parts of the article connected with the settlement, which I should like to discuss with the author, but I cannot ask you to allow me more space. I do ask you, in fairness to a calumniated people, to print this in your next number, and to attach it to the article, should a second edition of the *Review* be called for. I lived among the Oorias for twelve years; one of the most pleasing recollections of my life is the treatment I received at their hands; and I must not allow such attacks to pass unnoticed, as that which No. 87 contains.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

HENRY RICKETTS,

*Sometime Commissioner in Cuttack.*

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(We willingly give insertion to the above letter from Sir Henry Ricketts on the subject of an article which appeared in the 87th Number of our *Review*, entitled "Orissa Past and Present." It is not given to every one to possess the intimate personal acquaintance with the inhabitants of Orissa enjoyed by Sir H. Ricketts, and we think that our contributor, the writer of the article, can scarcely be blamed, if, in the absence of that personal acquaintance, writing of Orissa at a period when information regarding the province was sorely needed by the public, he should have taken his estimate of the character of her people from Stirling. In one point we think that Sir Henry himself is mistaken. Ooriah sirdars and Ooriah bearers are certainly not common out of Bengal. We are strongly of opinion that the household keys of the Collector of Meerut are carried, not by an Ooriah, but by an up-country Kahar; and we know for a fact that, by the majority of those who have tried both classes of servants, the Ooriah and the up-country Kahar, the latter is preferred alike on the ground of cleanliness, capacity for work, and of honesty.—*Ed. C. R.*)

man destined to a brilliant career; as certain to occupy a very prominent position in the event of future complications. He was looked upon as a man with respect to whom "it needed only that success should be possible for him to succeed." Voltaire, who recorded this opinion regarding him, added that he had worked with him by the desire of the Minister for nearly a month, and had "found in him a stubborn fierceness of soul, accompanied by great gentleness of manners." It is beyond question that his reputation at this period was such that his influence with the Ministry on military matters was unbounded; that to him the Government looked for advice on all matters that should pursue in case of war.

Khan, an Indian Nobleman in Calcutta, both as an actor and spectator.

2. *Mémoire à consulter et pour consultation pour le comte de Bussy*. Paris. 1766.
3. *Mémoire pour le comte de Lally, contre Monsieur le Procureur Général*. Paris. 1766.
4. *Memoirs of Count Lally, to which are added, accounts of the prior part of his life, condemnation, and execution, with such other pieces, (most of them produced on his trial) as were thought most necessary to illustrate his civil and military character*. London: F. Newberry. 1766.

12. *Historical Sketches of Southern India.* By Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. London: Longman. 1810.
13. *The History of British India.* By James Mill, with Notes by Professor H. H. Wilson. London: Madden and Co. 1858.

THE new commander, Thomas Arthur, Count de Lally and Baron de Tollendal, upon whom the hopes of France in her struggle with England for supremacy in the East now rested, was regarded at the time of his appointment as the most eminent and promising of all the younger officers of the armies of Louis XV. The son of an Irish exile, Sir Gerard O'Lally, who had entered the service of France after the capture of Limerick in 1691, Lally, born nine years later, had, from his earliest days, been initiated in war. When a mere youth he had served under his father at Gerona and Barcelona, and he was not yet nineteen when he obtained the command of a company in the regiment of Dillon, one of the regiments of the Irish Brigade. During the French-Austrian war of 1734, he distinguished himself greatly at Kehl and Philipsburg. Nor, when peace followed, did he show himself less capable of achieving diplomatic success. Sent into Russia to negotiate a secret alliance between France and that country, he acquitted himself so well as to gain the favour of the Czarina, though the timid policy of Cardinal Fleury rendered his mission resultless. On the breaking out of the war of the Succession, Lally served with distinction, but it was at Fontenoy that he gained his spurs. To him, it is said, was due the idea of that famous charge on the flank of the English column, terribly galled by the artillery in its front, which decided the day. Certain it is that for his conduct on this occasion he was appointed by Louis XV., on the field of battle, Colonel of the regiment of Dillon, and that he was personally thanked by Marshal Saxe. From this time his reputation was made. Passing over to England after Fontenoy, he exerted himself to the utmost to aid the cause of Charles Edward, but, sent to the south after the battle of Falkirk, in which he had served on the Prince's staff, he was compelled, mainly in consequence of the despair and denunciations that followed Culloden, to return to France. He there rejoined the army in the Netherlands; was present at Laffeldt, and at Bergen-op-Zoom where he was taken prisoner. He was, however, soon released, and was rewarded by his Sovereign for his services in that campaign with the rank of Major-General.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored peace to Europe, and deprived Lally of any further opportunity of distinction on the field of battle. He was nevertheless regarded as a

man destined to a brilliant career; as certain to occupy a very prominent position in the event of future complications. He was looked upon as a man with respect to whom "it needed only that success should be possible for him to succeed." Voltaire, who recorded this opinion regarding him, added that he had worked with him by the desire of the Minister for nearly a month, and had "found in him a stubborn fierceness of soul, accompanied by great gentleness of manners." It is beyond question that his reputation at this period was very great, that his influence with the Ministry on military questions was unbounded; that to him the Government looked for suggestions as to the conduct they should pursue in case of war.

When, seven years after the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, complications of no ordinary character ensued between France and England: when in reprisal for French aggression in Canada, the English captured two French merchantmen off Newfoundland, and persistently refused to restore them: it appeared to the French Ministry that war was inevitable. Lally was, therefore, called upon for his opinion. His advice was characteristic. "There are," he said, "three courses open to you:—the first, to fit out a sufficient fleet and army, and taking Charles Edward on board, to make a descent upon England; the second, to chase the English out of Canada; the third, to drive them out of India; but," he added, "whatever course you adopt, it is primarily necessary that you should think and act at the same time." The French Ministry did not at the time accept this advice, but when, a year later, they saw three-fourths of their merchant navy swept from the seas, they concluded an alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, and on the 17th May, 1756, the King of France declared war against England. Very soon after the issue of this declaration of war, it was resolved to make a great effort to drive the English from India, and Lally was appointed to the command of the expedition destined for this purpose.

It had been originally intended that this expedition should consist of three thousand men and three ships of war; but before it could set sail, it had become evident to the French Ministry that the English, more ready and more vigorous in action than they were, had appropriated to themselves one of Lally's plans, and were bent upon making a great effort to drive the French out of Canada. Almost at the last moment, therefore, they withdrew from Lally one-third of the force intended to act under him, and deprived him of two of his men-of-war. The order for the diminution of his force would, however, have arrived too late,—for the expedition had already sailed,—but that Count



d'Aché, who commanded the fleet, insisted, against the advice of all his captains, on returning to the port of Brest on account of some trifling repairs he considered necessary for two of his vessels. Whilst he was lying there, the order for the reduction reached him. It happened, therefore, that whilst one half the force, under Chevalier de Soupire, left L'Orient on the 30th December, 1756, the other half, under Lally in person, was not able to sail till the 2nd May of the following year.

Those who have accompanied us thus far in our history of the attempts of the French to form an empire in India, cannot fail to have been struck by the remarkable fact of the incongruous character of the various leaders who ought to have acted together. There is, perhaps, in the entire story, no more striking example of this peculiarity than that afforded by Lally and his associates. He himself was apparently a man of hasty temper, yet possessing a ready mind, fertile in resources, and quick to apprehend; one who feared no responsibility, prompt in action, a daring soldier, fully impressed with the conviction, that in Eastern warfare he wins who strikes quickly and with all his force; he had too a proper idea of the point at which his blows should be directed,—the expulsion of the English from the Coromandel. He was a man, who, had he enjoyed the advantage of some slight Indian training and experience, would have been invaluable as a leader at Pondichery; but, not having had that, and having imbibed a supreme contempt for all who had acquired that experience, he was destined to fall into errors more than sufficient to neutralise his other many shining qualities. The second in command, de Soupire, was a man the very opposite of his chief. Indolent, unenterprising, and incapable, he was just the man to waste the time which Lally would have employed, and to lose opportunities which the other would have eagerly seized. D'Aché was even worse. It is impossible to assert that if the French armament which accompanied Lally had been commanded by a Suffren it might not have achieved a temporary success. Suffren himself, some five and twenty years later, did maintain on the seas the superiority which, in 1758, would have enabled Lally to carry out his designs on shore. But d'Aché was the feeblest, the weakest, the most nerveless of men; the very last officer to whom the command of a fleet should have been intrusted, the most unfit man in the world to be the colleague of Lally.

The Chevalier de Soupire, sailing with nearly a thousand men of the regiment of Lorraine and 50 artillerymen, and two millions of livres (about £80,000), on the 30th December, 1756, anchored off Pondichery on the 9th September of the following year. He arrived at a moment, which, had he been a man of action, might

have been made decisive. It was at the time when the English had retired from all their conquests in southern India—Trichinopoly, Arcot, Chingleput and Conjeveram alone excepted; when Madras was still unfortified; when Fort St. David, almost in ruins, was garrisoned by but sixty invalids; when Saubinet was retaking the places which his predecessors had lost, unopposed by the English in the field, and caring little for the undisciplined levies of Mahomed Ali. It was just such a moment which Dupleix, or La Bourdonnais, or Bussy, or Lally himself, would have used to the complete expulsion of the British from the Carnatic. For the French were not only masters on land: they were, up to the end of the month of April of the following year, masters also at sea.

The obvious course for the Government of Pondichery to have followed in such a crisis was to have directed the combined forces of Saubinet and de Soupire to proceed against the cardinal points of the English possessions—Fort St. David and Fort St. George. The first would most certainly have fallen without a blow, and its fall would have so shaken English influence in the Carnatic that it would not have been difficult—in fact under an efficient leader it would have been easy—to strike a decisive blow at Madras itself. For, all the English troops, except those actually necessary for purposes of defence, had been despatched to assist Clive in Bengal, whilst the English fleet still remained in the waters of the Hooghly.

But neither de Leyrit, nor de Soupire, nor Saubinet, was equal to the occasion. De Soupire indeed was a stranger to the country, and being a man of weak and facile character, he suffered himself to be guided by the Governor. Saubinet was simply a brave soldier in the field, and he too was entirely under the authority of de Leyrit. At this important crisis, therefore, of the fortunes of France, everything depended upon the decision arrived at regarding military operations by the civil Governor, a man sufficiently well-meaning, but utterly deficient in those higher qualities which mark the practical statesman. To de Leyrit, indeed, it occurred, as it occurred to all around him, that in the advantageous position in which he found himself, consequent upon the arrival of de Soupire's reinforcements,\* an expedition against Fort St. David presented the most tempting opportunity. But other considerations crowded themselves at the same time into his mind. He could

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\* Major Lawrence, in his *Memoirs*, states that the English authorities were "surprised that they (the French) should remain inactive for so many months after the taking of Chittaput."

not forget that Fort St. David had successfully resisted all the attacks made upon it by Dupleix, and that the repulses received before that place had given to the English the encouragement which had enabled them gradually to attain a position of at least equality in the Carnatic. Then again, the reported character of Lally, described as haughty, imperious, violently prejudiced against all Franco-Indians, influenced him not a little. He could not foresee that Lally would be nearly twelve months on his way; he did not even know that he had put back; he believed, on the contrary, that he had left France six weeks after de Soupire, and he thought therefore that it might be regarded as presumptuous on his part, and that it would certainly be rash, were he to attempt any considerable object before the arrival of the Commander-in-chief. A third reason\* likewise weighed with him: he dreaded lest the English fleet in the Hooghly should at any moment bear down upon the Coromandel coast and regain the superiority at sea. He could not then know the great things to which the conquest of Chandernagore had given birth in the heart of Clive.

Instead, therefore, of attempting to strike at either of the vital points of the English position, de Leyrit resolved to content himself with the reduction of the various forts in the Carnatic, and with subjecting the country under the influence of those forts to the sway of men devoted to the Pondichery Government. In this view he joined the soldiers of de Soupire to Saubinet, and employed them, in the interval between the arrival of the former and the close of the year, in the capture of Trinomalee and other places in the vicinity of Chittaput and Gingee.† But from the beginning of the following year till the arrival of Lally on the 28th of April, the precious moments were frittered away in inactivity, in delusive negotiations with Hyder Ali, or in abortive attempts to induce a rising amongst the French prisoners in Trichinopoly.

Meanwhile d'Aché's squadron had been slowly pursuing its course. Throughout the whole voyage the admiral himself had never ceased to display his weakness and folly, to show how utterly unfit he was for such a command. He had picked up on the way a small English merchant ship, and, to preserve this ship, which was not worth £1,600, he had not hesitated, despite the remonstrances and even the threats of Lally, to lie to every night. More than that, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, he actually remained six weeks in port in order to dispose of the cargo of that

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\* Orme.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. LXXXIX., page 24.

vessel, and to re-load her ; to avoid the Cape during the equinox, he steered for six weeks out of his course ; to avoid the second equinox he took the longest course from the Isle of France to Pondichery. So timid was he, that on the appearance of a sail in the daytime he altered his course by night, and took in his sails whenever there was the smallest gust of wind. He took a course, in fact, which,—to use Mr. Orme's graphic expression,—it would be useful to know, in order to avoid it. And this, whilst the English fleet was following in his wake ; whilst the possession of India depended upon the rapid movements of those ships whose course he was thus hindering. If, indeed, there is one person than another more responsible for the fatal result of Lally's expedition, that individual is undoubtedly Count d' Aché. A little more haste on his part, the curtailment of the delays with the merchant ship and of the long sojourn in Rio de Janeiro, and Lally, with the cold weather before him, with d'Aché's squadron unopposed to aid him, could not have failed to capture both Fort St. David and Madras. He himself was sanguine that under such circumstances he would have been able to expel the English from Bengal.

At length, on the 28th of April, the fleet anchored off Pondichery, and Lally with some of his principal officers arrived. Amongst these were the representatives of some of the great aristocratic families of monarchical France. There were under his command a "d'Estaing, descended from him who saved the "life of Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovine, and who trans-  
"mitted to his family the coat of arms used by the Kings of  
"France ; a Crillon, great grandson of Crillon, surnamed the brave,  
"worthy of the love of the great Henry IV. ; a Montmorency ;  
"a Conflans, of ancient and illustrious family ; a La Fare, and  
"many others of the first rank."\* Besides these there were Breteuil, Verdière, Landivisiau, and other officers of good family and of the highest merit. A singular circumstance which occurred before the landing, did not fail to be regarded by many, especially by the sailors, as of very evil omen. On the arrival of Lally in the Pondichery roads becoming known to the authorities of that city, it was directed that a salute should be fired in his honour. By accident,—it could hardly have been by design,—some of the guns set apart for firing the salute were loaded ; by a greater chance still, five shots fired struck the *Comte de Provence*, the vessel on board of which was Lally, three of which went right through the hull and two damaged the rigging. It was a strange greeting for the new

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\* Voltaire's Fragments.

Commander-in-chief, and gave him, it would appear, some impression of the hostility he might expect to meet from the authorities.

Lally had come out armed with very extensive powers. He was appointed Commander-in-chief and Commissary of the King for all French possessions in the East; he was to command as well the inhabitants of Pondichery and the other French settlements as the officers and clerks of the Company; "likewise the governors, commanders, officers of the land and sea forces of the Company who now are, or who hereafter may be there, to preside in all the Councils, as well superior and provincial, both those that are already, and those that may be hereafter, without making any innovation, however, in the settled order for collecting the votes." All the governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, soldiers, land and sea forces, all servants of the Company, and all the inhabitants of the French settlements, were directed to recognise Lally as Commissary of the King and Commander-in-chief, "and to obey him in everything he may command, without any contravention what-ever."\* It will thus be seen that Lally in a way superseded de Leyrit, the latter, however, still retaining the rank and position of Governor. This position, combined with his local influence, and added to the restriction relative to the votes, gave him, as Lally was destined soon to discover, very considerable power.

Lally had left France prepared to find fault. Before he sailed, the Directors had themselves placed in his hands a memorandum, in which their principal officers on the Coromandel coast, Bussy alone excepted, were painted in the most unfavourable colours. But this was not all. It had been likewise intimated to him, as well by the Directors as by the Ministers of the Crown, that corruption was rampant at Pondichery, and that they looked to him to check it. He had been informed that the farming out of lands, the supply of artillery cattle, the provisioning of the sepoys, the purchase and re-sale of goods drawn from the magazines of the Company, and,—the most important of all,—the conducting of treaties with native princes, were matters which required thorough and searching investigation, inasmuch as it was believed that they were made the means of enriching private individuals to the great injury of the shareholders of the Company. To such an extent had these points been pressed upon his attention whilst in Paris; so incontestable apparently were the proofs that had been placed

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\* This order is dated the 31st December, 1756; signed by Louis XV., and counter-signed by the Minister, Machault.

before him ;—that Lally had left France with the conscientious conviction on his mind that he was coming out to uproot a nest of robbers and extortioners. He had, he believed, a double mission—to root out those robbers, and to throw the English into the sea.

He landed, as we have stated, with a few of his officers, on the 28th April. He at once set himself to work to inquire as to the condition of Madras and of Fort St. David, regarding the fortifications of Cuddalore, and the number of English troops on the coast of Coromandel. To his surprise, de Leyrit could give him precise answers to none of these questions ; nor could he even afford him any definite information as to the route to Cuddalore or the number of rivers to be crossed ; he could only offer guides. Lally, impatient for action, was not, however, deterred by this ignorance and apparent want of interest from following the policy, which, in his belief, ought to have been attempted eight months earlier, but sent off, that same evening, a detachment of 750 Europeans and some sepoys, under the command of the Count d'Estaing, to Cuddalore, following himself the next day. Whilst on his way to join, he learned to his mortification one of the first results of the slowness and unfitness for command of his naval colleague. Commodore Stevens, who had left England three months after d'Aché had left France, had, by pursuing a direct course, arrived at Madras five weeks before d'Aché reached Pondichery. Uniting himself there to Admiral Pocock, who had returned from Bengal on the 24th February, the two squadrons had sailed from Madras on the 17th April to intercept the French fleet, and had come up with it at noon on the 28th April off Negapatam.

The English fleet consisted of seven ships of war\* ranging from 50 to 66 guns each. These ships all belonging to the Royal Navy, had just been placed in the best condition possible for sea,† and were unencumbered by troops. In this respect they had a considerable advantage over the French squadron, which had arrived that very day after a long voyage, crowded

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* These were :	The <i>Yarmouth</i>	64 guns,	Captain	John Harrison.
	<i>Elizabeth</i>	64	" "	Kempenfelt,
	<i>Cumberland</i>	66	" "	Brereton,
	<i>Weymouth</i>	60	" "	Vincent,
	<i>Tiger</i>	60	" "	Latham,
	<i>Newcastle</i>	50	" "	Legge,
	<i>Salisbury</i>	50	" "	Somerset,

and two store ships.

† Colonel Lawrence's narrative.

with soldiers, and but one of the ships composing which belonged to the Royal Navy of France. At the time he was seen by the English admiral, d'Aché\* was standing up towards Pondichery from Negapatam, seven of his ships being in line, and two cruising in the offing. The English admiral at once formed his line, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon bore down on the *Zodiaque*, and, as soon as he came within half musket shot, made the signal to his captains for close action. Meanwhile the ships of d'Aché's squadron had opened a hot fire on the approaching enemy, without, however, receiving any in return. About four o'clock, however, the English succeeded in forming their line, and the action became general, the two admirals sailing close to, and directing their fire at, one another. But the French ships experienced in this sort of engagement all the disadvantage of want of regular training and of overcrowding. Their fire was slow and badly directed, whilst the well-aimed discharges of the English made terrible havoc on their crowded decks. It is due, however, to d'Aché to state that he fought his ship, the *Zodiaque*, with great skill and gallantry, and it was only after the *Sylphide*, the *Condé*, the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Bien Aimé*, and the *Moras*, had been forced to quit the line, that d'Aché, with the remainder of the squadron, bore up to follow them. Meanwhile the *Comte de Provence*† and the *Diligente* had come out from Pondichery to assist the French. Towards them therefore d'Aché directed his course, intending with their aid, to renew the engagement. But the rigging of the English ships had been so shattered by the ill-directed fire of the French, that Admiral Pocock, anxious as he was to complete his victory, was forced to renounce the pursuit, and to haul down the signal for action. The French squadron, thereupon, with the exception of the *Bien Aimé*, which, by the parting of her cable, was driven on shore, ran into the roadstead of Alumparva, and five or six days later reached Pondichery. The English admiral bore up to Madras to refit.

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\* His ships were: *Le Zodiaque* 74 guns—of the French Navy.  
*Le Vengeur* 54 " }  
*Le Bien Aimé* 58 " } belonging to the Com-  
*Le Condé* 44 " } pany of the Indies,  
*Le Saint Louis* 50 " } and built to serve, when  
*Le Moras* 44 " } required, as men-of-war.  
*Le Sylphide* 36 " }  
*Le Duc d'Orléans* 50 " }  
*Le Duc de Bourgogne* 60 " }  
† Carrying 74 guns, the *Diligente*, 24.

Such was the intelligence that reached Lally on the 29th April, whilst on his way to join the detachment he had sent towards Cuddalore, the previous evening, under Count d'Estaing. He was little, if at all, daunted by it, resolving to atone, so far as was possible, for a defeat at sea, by the celerity of his movements on land. The detachment under d'Estaing, though misled by its guides, appeared before Cuddalore on the 29th; it was followed the next day by a portion of the regiment de Lorraine and some heavy guns: on the 1st of May, Lally himself appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender.

To such an extent had the spirit of neglect and unconcern made way in the Pondichery Government since the departure of Dupleix, that, although a year and more had elapsed since it was known that war between France and England had been declared; although the question of attacking Cuddalore and Fort St. David had, in that interval, been considered by de Leyrit and his colleagues, not one of them had taken the trouble to ascertain the military condition of those places, or the provision, if any, that had been made for defending them. Lally was compelled, by this culpable indifference on the part of the Franco-Indian authorities,—strongly confirmatory as it was in his mind of the character he had received of them from their own directors in Europe,—to find out everything through his own officers. Count d'Estaing, who first appeared before Cuddalore, found it fortified on three sides; he did not know, nor did any one in the force know, although the Pondichery authorities ought to have known, that it was open towards the sea. Lally, on his arrival, was no better informed. He agreed therefore to accept the capitulation offered by the garrison for the third day, although had intimation been given him of its defenceless state on the fourth side, he would probably have forced its surrender at once.\*

Still, on the 4th May, Cuddalore surrendered. With that surrender began Lally's first difficulties—none of them, it is proper to observe, of his own creation. Surely he had a right to expect that de Leyrit, who for eight months had postponed the expedition against Fort St. David on the main plea that it was proper to await the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, would in the meanwhile have taken the precaution to procure carriage for movements he must have known to be inevitable. The two finest regiments of the French army, still less

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\* Cuddalore was garrisoned by 30 European infantry, 25 European artillerymen, 400 sepoys, and some lascars. The garrison was allowed to retire to Fort St. David.



the most rising of all the generals in the French service, had not come out to Pondichery, merely to sit there at their ease. De Leyrit was well aware of this, yet up to the hour of the landing of the new General he had not made a single preparation. Although large sums were charged in the Pondichery accounts for carriage cattle, none were available; there were no coolies, no means of transport, not even guides. The difficulty was not so much felt in the first march to Cuddalore, though even then, Lally, determined to move, and left entirely unaided by de Leyrit, had not hesitated to impress the native inhabitants of the town. It was when Cuddalore was taken, when the siege of Fort St. David was imminent, when it had become necessary for the army to sit down before that place, dependent upon Pondichery for supplies, and for the carriage of supplies, that the culpable indifference of de Leyrit and his colleagues began to make itself keenly felt.

Lally, seeing the utter impossibility of carrying on a siege until he had first organised a system of supply, aware also, in consequence of the presence of the victorious English fleet at Madras, of the absolute necessity of promptitude, returned, immediately after the taking of Cuddalore, to Pondichery, with a view to rouse the authorities there to a sense of their duties and of their position, and to make, at all costs, proper arrangements for supplies. At Pondichery, however, Lally found nought but apathy and indifference. To every request that he preferred he was answered by an "impossible." He did not find there, although he had sent them 100,000 francs to make preparations, resources that were worth an hundred pence.\* It can scarcely be wondered at if Lally attributed this conduct to something more than indolence or apathy. He says himself, in his memoirs, that he saw very clearly how ill-will lay at the bottom of it all. It is little marvellous then, if he, ignorant of India, knowing nothing of the distinction between castes, left to himself by those who should have aided him, and whose duty it was to have prevented this necessity, should, rather than abandon his enterprise, have insisted on a wholesale conscription of the native inhabitants to carry the loads necessary for his army.

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\* The extent to which Lally felt this is shown by the following extract of a letter he addressed to de Leyrit, dated the 15th May, and which runs thus:—"The Minister (at Paris) will find it difficult to believe that you "awaited the disembarkation of the troops on board the first vessel of our "squadron, before you employed the money at your disposal in preparations "for an enterprise of which you had had eight months' warning. I sent "you 100,000 francs of my money to aid in the necessary expenses; I have "not found on my arrival, resources of 100 pence in your purse or in that "of your council."—*Official Correspondence.*

True it is, that such a course was a blunder no less than a crime; true it is, that it would have been wiser far to have abandoned his enterprise, to have re-embarked even for Europe, than to adopt a line of action so repugnant to the feelings and the ideas of the class without whose hearty co-operation nothing of permanent importance could be achieved; but whilst we blame him for that, let not us forget the wilful neglect of the Pondichery authorities, his own ignorance of Indian customs, the grounds he had for disbelieving all the assertions of the Franco-Indians. He was doubtless culpable, but they were ten thousand times more so.

Some sort of a system having been established by these unwise means, and by others, more legitimate, to which the employment of these compelled de Leyrit and his colleagues to have recourse, Lally returned to Cuddalore, and on the 16th May opened fire on Fort St. David. This fort is situated at the southern angle of an island nearly three quarters of a mile long and about half the breadth. On two sides of that angle it was guarded by the river of Tripopalore and the sea. On the third side it was protected by four small masonry forts, nearly a quarter of a mile from the covered way, each supporting the other. It was necessary to take these before trenches could be opened. The garrison of the fort consisted of 619 Europeans, of whom 83 were pensioners, and of about 1600 Sepoys and lascars. The fortifications, especially those of the two exterior forts, had been repaired and greatly strengthened during the eight months that had intervened between the arrival of de Soupire and the investment. The troops under the command of Lally consisted of 1,600 Europeans, and 600 natives of all arms.

The four forts already alluded to were the first objects of Lally's attack. These were stormed,—notwithstanding that the guns and mortars sent him from Pondichery, and on which he depended for success, unaccountably failed him,—sword in hand, on the night of the 17th. On the evening of the following day trenches were opened at a distance of less than four hundred yards from the glacis. From this date to the 2nd June the siege continued, under great difficulties on both sides. In the French camp there was a scarcity of money, of provisions, of guns, of ammunition and of carriage: the most angry letters passed between Lally and de Leyrit, the one accusing and threatening, the other constantly asserting that his resources were exhausted. In the fort, on the other hand, discipline was relaxed, desertions were frequent, and defence had become hopeless, unless it were from the English fleet. Under these circumstances the feelings of Lally may be imagined when on the

28th May he received intimation that the English fleet had appeared before Pondichery, making apparently for Fort St. David, whilst the French sailors had unanimously refused to embark on board their ships, on the pretext that faith had not been kept with them regarding their pay, and that d'Aché had thereupon announced his intention to moor his ships in the roadstead of Pondichery under the protection of the place.

However much Lally felt that his presence before Fort St. David was necessary for the carrying on of the siege, this intelligence of the determination to yield the sea to the English forced him to return at once to Pondichery, taking with him 400 Europeans and 200 sepoys. Assembling, on arrival, a council, he ordered 60,000 francs to be paid out of his own funds to the sailors, embarked them and the 600 men he had brought with him on board the ships of the fleet, and persuaded d'Aché to proceed at once to sea. He then returned to his post before Fort St. David. The result corresponded to his anticipations. The French fleet, putting to sea, effectually prevented any communication between the English Admiral and the besieged fort; the latter, thus left to itself, and hardly pushed by Lally, capitulated on the 2nd June, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war. The fortifications were immediately rased to the ground.

Thus, in less than five weeks after his landing, had Lally, notwithstanding difficulties unheard of and almost inconceivable, certainly entirely unexpected, carried out one part of his programme. He had driven the English from one of their principal settlements,—from that one indeed which for a long time had remained their seat of government, which had defied the efforts of Duplex, and whence Lawrence and Clive had sallied to baffle the French arms at Trichinopoly. But he did not stop here. The very day of the surrender, the Count d'Estaing was detached to Devicotta, which the English garrison, counting only 30 Europeans and 600 sepoys, did not care to defend, but abandoned on his approach. Whilst this expedition was in course of progress, d'Aché landed at Fort St. David, and dined with Lally, who seized the occasion to open to him his new designs. Now was the time, he said, to attack Madras. The place was unfortified, the garrison weak, the Council discouraged by the capture of Fort St. David. Let but d'Aché agree to act with him, to take his army on board, and to land it either at Madras itself, or at least on the high land of Alumparva, already occupied by the French, and success, he said, was certain. But, to his chagrin, d'Aché refused him his support. Acting in the same spirit which had animated him when he had delayed his voyage to India in order to keep and dispose

of the little merchant ship which he had captured, d'Aché now alleged that it devolved upon him to cruise off Ceylon to intercept the stray merchant ships of England. To all the remonstrances of Lally he replied only by urging the deficiency of provisions and the sickness of his crews,—reasons which appeared equally to apply to their cruising off Ceylon. Unable to shake his resolution, Lally, rejoined by the detachment under d'Estaing, returned to Pondichery, into which he made a triumphant entry,—a *Te Deum* being celebrated in honour of the capture of Fort St. David. Still, however, bent more than ever on the practical, he lost no time in vain rejoicing, but summoned a council to which he invited d'Aché. Again he urged his reasons for instant action against Madras, but again was he met by the dogged and obstinate refusal of his naval colleague. It was a hard trial to see the fruits of his victory thus snatched from his grasp by the stolid stupidity of the man whose indecision and delays had already cost him so much, and who happened to be the only official not subjected to his orders. But hard as it was, Lally was forced to bear it, and to see the fleet that might, he believed, have carried him in triumph to Madras, leave the roadstead of Pondichery on an uncertain and profitless cruise, carrying with it the 600 troops he had lent its commander.

Still, notwithstanding the defection of d'Aché, Lally was very unwilling to renounce his designs on Madras. With the *coup d'œil* of a real soldier he saw, as La Bourdonnais had seen before him, that there the decisive blow was to be struck. Yet he was helpless. He had not the money to equip his army, and de Leyrit and his colleagues persisted in declaring that it was impossible for them to raise it. Out of this difficulty, the local chief of the Jesuits, by name Father Lavour, one of the most influential of the residents at Pondichery, suggested an escape. It so happened that amongst the prisoners taken at Fort St. David was that same Sahoojee, ex-rajah of Tanjore, who had been twice expelled from that country in 1739, and who, taken up by the English for their own purposes in 1749, and thrown aside when no longer of use to them, had continued ever since a pensioner on their bounty.\* The arrival of Sahoojee in Pondichery suggested to the mind of the Jesuit that he might be made use of to frighten the Rajah of Tanjore, his nephew, upon whom the French had a claim for fifty-five lakhs of rupees in consequence of a bond given to Chunda Sahib, and made over by his son, Raja Sahib, to Dupleix. "Thus," added Lavour, to Lally, "you will obtain, at easy cost, the means of equipping

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\* Vide *Calcutta Review*. Nos. LXXXIII. and LXXXVI.

“your force for Madras, and gaining at the same time a considerable augmentation of influence.” Lally did not like the plan. His mind was bent upon Madras. Any object that would delay the movement against that place was to him unpalatable. The Tanjore expedition was a diversion from the direct line he had marked out for himself, and of which he never once lost sight,—the expulsion of the English from India. But he was helpless. Unsupported by the authorities of Pondichery and by d’Aché he could not march towards Madras. Unwillingly, therefore, and solely as a means whereby he could eventually carry out his own plans, he consented to move upon Tanjore.

Meanwhile d’Aché had sailed on his projected cruise, and had arrived on the 16th (June) off Karical, which it had been his intention to leave the next day. But a curious fatality attended all the counsels of the French at this epoch. Had d’Aché left Karical, as he intended, on the 17th June, he would almost certainly have intercepted two English ships which were conveying to Madras a portion of the annual supplies of *specie* from England. This supply would have been more than sufficient to enable Lally to equip his army and to march to Madras. Unfortunately for him, however, and for the French cause, the members of the Council of Pondichery were so alarmed at the idea of being left exposed, by the contemplated absence of Lally, to an attack from the English fleet, that they sent a pressing message to d’Aché to return. This message reached him on the 16th. More pliable to the wishes of the Council than to those of Lally, he suffered himself to be persuaded, renounced his intended cruise, and returned to Pondichery. The two English vessels, which could not have escaped him had he proceeded in a southerly direction, arrived safely at Madras.

On the following day Lally started for Tanjore, at the head of 1,600 European troops and a proportion of sepoy, leaving 600 Europeans and 200 sepoy under de Soupire in an entrenched camp between Alamparva and Pondichery. So powerful a force in point of numbers had never before invaded the dominions of a native prince, but it was deficient in every particular which tends to make an army useful and efficient.

It marched without organised carriage, without provisions, without money, without even a sufficiency of ammunition. All these supplies were to be obtained on the road, an arrangement which could not be carried into effect without relaxing to a dangerous extent the discipline of the army, and, what was of even more importance, alienating the people of the country.

It is difficult to exaggerate the sufferings the soldiers endured.\* At Devicotta they had nothing to eat but rice in the husk, and it was not till they reached Karical, 100 miles by the road from Pondichery, that they really had a meal. Even here, Lally found only twenty-eight oxen and a small quantity of meal, the remainder of the supplies having been consumed by the squadron. But he received the next day from the Dutch at Tranquebar and Negapatam both ammunition and food.

The difficulties of his march, the suffering of his troops, and the obstacles thrown in his way upon every occasion, had affected the disposition of Lally to such an extent, that, from the moment of his entering into the Tanjore territory, he began to indulge in acts of harsh and unreasoning severity, most detrimental to his cause. He plundered the town of Nagore, ransacked all the Brahminical temples he met with on his route, and finding six Brahmins lingering about his camp, he blew them away from guns. Such was the license he allowed his army, and so wide was the terror caused by this approach, that we cannot wonder that he met with scarcely an inhabitant on his route, and that the country through which he marched was "like a barren desert."†

At length, on the 18th July, the French army found itself close to Tanjore. Lally had previously sent a requisition to the king requiring payment of the fifty-five lakhs of rupees, but to this he had received an evasive reply, it being the object of the Rajah to delay him until assistance could be obtained from the English. In the negotiations that followed it is probable that Lally might eventually have reaped some advantage had he conducted himself with ordinary prudence. But the violence of his temper ruined him. When he had brought the Rajah to an undertaking to pay five lakhs of rupees and the value of three or four lakhs in the shape of supplies, his suspicions induced him to regard an accidental failure in the fulfillment of one of the stipulations into a deliberate breach of faith. Carried away by his violence, he at once sent the Rajah a message in which he threatened to transport him and all his family as slaves to the

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\* From Devicotta, which they reached on the second day, without finding wherewith to satisfy their hunger, Lally wrote thus to de Leyrit: "J'attends dans la nuit les bœufs qui traînent l'Artillerie afin de les faire tuer. \* \* \* "J'ai envoyé à Trinquebar pour y acheter tous les chiens marrons et bœufs que l'on pourra rencontrer, ainsi que la Rague à quelque prix que ce soit: voilà, à la lettre, l'horreur de la situation dans laquelle vous nous avez mis, et le danger auquel vous exposez une armée, que je ne serais point surpris de voir passer à l'ennemie pour chercher à manger."—*Lally's correspondence with Pondichery.*

† *Mémoire de Lally*, page 67.

Isle of France. This was too great an indignity to be endured, and the Rajah, supported by the promises of the English and some trained sepoys sent him by Captain Calliaud from Trichinopoly, bade defiance to his enemy. Lally upon this determined to try the effect of an assault. Two batteries were opened on the 2nd August, a breach was effected on the 7th, and the attack ordered for the 8th. On the morning of that day however, intelligence reached the camp that d'Aché had been attacked by the English, been beaten and driven off the coast, and that the English were threatening Karical, which formed the base of the French operations against Tanjore. At the same time advices were received from de Soupire to the effect that Pondichery was threatened by a corps of 800 English from Madras, and that he, having only 600, was preparing to evacuate his position.

When this intelligence reached Lally, he had in camp but supplies for two days, and the Tanjorean cavalry effectually prevented him from procuring any more; his small arm ammunition was almost entirely exhausted, and for cannon shot he depended on those fired by the enemy. Still the breach had been effected, and both d'Estaing and Saubinet were eager that the assault should be delivered. But the consideration that after the fort was taken it would be necessary to attack the town, which was itself strongly defended, that the attack upon the fort would exhaust all his ammunition, and, if that attack were unsuccessful, his men would be, as it were, an unarmed multitude, determined Lally, on the advice of the council of war he assembled, to retreat. Instead, therefore, of delivering the assault on the 8th, he sent off a detachment of a hundred and fifty men, escorting the sick, the wounded, and the siege stores, in the direction of Karical, on the 9th, intending to follow himself with the main body on the evening of the 10th.

Early on that morning however, the Tanjoreans, gaining courage from the reported intentions of Lally, attacked his camp suddenly. They were repulsed, indeed, with considerable loss on their side, but, meanwhile, a Jemadar and fifty horsemen had ridden up to the pagoda in which Lally, had been sleeping, giving that they were deserters. Lally, who was still in his night-dress, went, on hearing of their approach, to the door of the pagoda, but they had no sooner come up, than their leader, instead of making his submission, struck at Lally with his sabre. The French General warded off the blow with a stick, but it was about to be repeated when the Jemadar was shot dead by one of Lally's followers. The conspirators then made successive charges on the French guard, which had turned out on witnessing these events, but they were each time repulsed, twenty-eight of their number being killed. Disheartened by this loss,

the remainder endeavoured to escape, but galloping by mistake into a tank, they were destroyed to a man. The general attack made on the other part of the camp was, as we have said, easily repulsed.

That night Lally broke up from before Tanjore, having subsisted for two months on the country. Of *specie*, his great want, he had succeeded in wringing from the Rajah but little. The three pieces of heavy cannon which had constituted his siege battery he spiked, breaking up their carriages for want of cattle to drag them. He then marched in two columns, the baggage and carriage for the sick being in the interval between them, two pieces of artillery preceding, and two being in rear of, the force. The retreat was executed in the finest order. Lally left nothing behind him but the three spiked guns. Unfortunately, however, hunger was the constant attendant of his camp. He had exhausted all his supplies, and the Tanjorean cavalry effectually prevented him from gaining any from the country. Arriving at his first halting-place, after marching from midnight till 9 o'clock in the morning, he could serve out to his soldiers nothing but water. Hungry and faint, they marched on to Trivalore where provisions had been sent for them from Karical. From this place the enemy, abandoning the pursuit, returned to Tanjore; from here, too, Count d'Estaing was sent to Pondichery to endeavour once more to persuade d'Aché, who had signified his intention of returning to the Isle of France, to make a combined attack on Madras. After a halt of three days at Trivalore, the army continued its retreat, and arrived on the 18th at Karical, which they found blockaded by the English fleet. A few days later Lally marched with part of his force to Pondichery, arriving there on the 28th.

Meanwhile d'Aché, leaving the Pondichery roadstead on the 28th July, had encountered the English fleet off Tranquebar on the 1st August, and after a severe engagement of about two hours, in which he lost many men and was himself wounded, had been completely worsted, and had saved himself only by the superior sailing qualities of his ships. Bearing up for Pondichery he arrived there the next day, and learning that the Dutch at Negapatam had allowed a French ship to be captured in their roadstead by the English squadron, he seized, in reprisal, a Dutch vessel lying in the Pondichery roads, on board of which were three lakhs of rupees in gold and merchandise. He then brought to his squadron under the guns of the town, apprehensive of an attack from the English.

He was in this position when Lally, on the 28th August, arrived. Great was the indignation of the French General at



what he considered the pusillanimous position taken up by his naval colleague; greater still his fury, when he found that all the remonstrances of d'Estaing had availed nothing, and that d'Aché was resolute, not only to decline all further contests with the English, but to abandon the coast. In vain did Lally offer to strengthen his fleet with as many of his soldiers as he might require, with a view to his again encountering the English, whilst Lally himself should march upon Madras: in vain did the Council, for once unanimous, urge upon him the necessity of at least remaining some time longer on the coast. He was obstinate to run no further risk; the utmost he would do and that he did, was to land 500 of his sailors to augment the land forces of the settlement. He then,—on the 2nd September,—sailed for the Isle of France. The English squadron, now without an opponent, remained for three weeks longer before Pondichery, and then sailed for Bombay.

The capture of the Dutch vessel, however indefensible in itself, had at least supplied Lally with money. He employed the time, therefore, after his return to Pondichery in making preparations for his darling design upon Madras. As a preliminary to this expedition he despatched Saubinet to retake Trinomalee,—which had been recaptured by the adherents of the English,—de Soupire against Carangoly, de Crillon against Trivalore, appointing all these detachments to meet him at Wandewash. Here too, Bussy, to whom, as we have seen, he had written on the 13th June,\* joined him, having preceded his troops left under the orders of Moracin. The three expeditions having been successful and the troops having reunited, Lally marched towards Arcot, which the native commandant, who had been gained over, surrendered to him at once. There now remained between the French and Madras, in occupation of the English, the posts of Chingleput and Conjeveram, neither of them adequately garrisoned, and both almost inviting attack. Upon these, more especially upon Chingleput, the position of which on the Palaur made it of great importance to the English, it was his obvious duty to have marched without delay. He himself declares that he could not move because his money was exhausted and the sepoys refused to march unless they were paid. But it is difficult to believe that he could not have detached the

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\* In that letter Lally had opened his whole heart to Bussy. After stating his designs upon Madras he had added—"I will not conceal from you, that, Madras once taken, I am determined to proceed to the Ganges, either by land or by sea. \* \* \* I confine myself now to indicate to you my policy in these five words; *no more English in India (plus d'Anglais dans la Péninsule).*"

divisions of Saubinet or d'Estaing to besiege a place which, at the time of his entry into Arcot (4th October), was guarded only by two companies of sepoy, and the capture of which would have ensured him at least supplies. It would appear that it was not until the English had strengthened the place considerably, and supplied it with an adequate garrison, that he became sensible of its importance. But it was just at that moment that, in the view of the chance of a protracted siege, the absolute necessity for a further supply of money came home to him. Unable to procure that supply by means of a letter to the council, he left his army in cantonments, and proceeded with Bussy and other of his officers to Pondichery, in the hope to be able to come to some definite arrangement by means of which the expedition, not only against Chingleput, but against Madras itself, might be made feasible.

The deliberations at Pondichery succeeded better than Lally had dared to hope. At a meeting of a mixed council the expedition against Madras was resolved upon, the military and some of the civil members expressing their opinion that it was better to encounter the risk of dying from a musket ball on the glacis of Madras than of hunger in Pondichery. De Leyrit alone dissented, alleging that he had no money whatever. But this article was not altogether wanting. Moracin had brought with him not only 250 European troops, and 500 sepoy, but 100,000 rupees; the superior officers and members of council, instigated by the example of Lally himself,\* added contributions from their private purses. Still, notwithstanding the considerable sum thus raised, it was very much reduced by the necessary preparations, and when, on the 2nd November, Lally started to join his army, his treasure-chest contained but 94,000 rupees, whilst the monthly expenses of the army alone were not less than 40,000.

The meeting between Lally and Bussy had been apparently friendly, and Lally had not only expressed his sense of the advantage he would derive from the great Indian experience of his subordinate, but on their arrival at Pondichery, had paid him the compliment of inviting him to a seat in the Supreme Council. Nevertheless the secret feelings of the two men for one another were far from cordial. Lally, whose one great idea was the expulsion of the English, could not enter into the plan of a French Empire in the heart of the Dekkan, dependent on English weakness and English forbearance. Aware besides

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\* Lally subscribed 144,000 livres, Count d'Estaing and others 80,000 livres in plate. According to Lally, Bussy gave nothing.

that Bussy, whilst maintaining the fortunes of France at Hydrabad, had gained not only a great name but an enormous fortune, he could not forbear from connecting the one circumstance with the other, nor from secretly including Bussy amongst the self-seekers\* whom he had found so numerous at Pondichery. On the other hand, Bussy, distrusting Lally's capacity from the first, and noticing the dislike which the other could not conceal, bound too by ties of friendship and long service with the de Leyrits and Desvaux and other councillors of Pondichery, gradually and insensibly fell into opposition. Nor were his first proceedings calculated to make matters better. He used every effort in his power to induce Lally to send him back to the Dekkan with increased forces; every day he presented to him letters from the Subadar to the same effect. This was the course best calculated to confirm the suspicions and sharpen the indignation of Lally. A mind constituted as was his, bent eagerly upon one point, could not tolerate a proposition, which so far from tending to aid him, went precisely in the opposite direction, and instead of strengthening, would have weakened, his force. He came therefore to regard the requests of Bussy and Moracin as part of the general plan to thwart him, as sure and certain proofs that they too regarded only their own interests and not the interests of France. So far from giving in to them he the more firmly insisted that Bussy should accompany him. All this time he treated him with outward politeness, but in reality he regarded him as a most ordinary and over-rated man.

But if Lally had this opinion of Bussy, far different was the impression made by the trusted lieutenant of Dupleix on the officers under his command. They were not slow in recognising his ability, his large views, his acquaintance with the country and the true mode of managing the people. To such an extent did they display their confidence in his talents and his devotedness, that on the eve of the expedition to Madras, six of their number,† including the chivalrous d'Estaing, who had already made a reputation, signed a request to the Commander-in-chief, that Bussy, the Company's general, might be placed over their heads, and occupy the position next to de Soupire. Lally was unwilling to comply; he attributed even this request

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\* The Jesuit, Father Laval, had more than once impressed upon Lally, that, in India, the officials worked for something more than the glory of the King.

† These were MM. d'Estaing, Orillon, de la Fare, Verdière, Breteuil, and de Landivisiau.

to the effect of Bussy's money;\* but he could not well refuse, and the order was issued accordingly.

At length, in the beginning of November, Lally collected his forces, amounting to 2,700 European infantry, 300 cavalry, and 5,000 sepoy, and marched upon Madras. These were divided into four brigades, commanded by de Soupire, d'Estaing, Crillon, and Saubinet. Bussy held no actual command, but he was present with the force as Brigadier, with an authority superior to that of all the other officers, de Soupire and Lally excepted. Taking possession of Conjeveram on the 27th, the army marched from that on the 29th, and reached the plain in front of Madras on the 12th December. The strong position of Chingleput, which, two months before, Lally might have taken with little loss, he now, with regret, left in his rear. Retaining that, the English had been, and were still, able to procure abundant supplies from the surrounding country.

The English garrison of Madras consisted of 1,758 Europeans, 2,220 sepoy and 200 horse; there were besides within the walls 150 Europeans who were employed in various ways in the defence. The Governor was Mr. George Pigott, afterwards Lord Pigott, a man of ability and discrimination, and who had the good sense to make over all the arrangements of the defence to the veteran Colonel Lawrence, who found himself within the walls. Under Lawrence were Lieutenant Colonel Draper, the conqueror of Manilla,† Major Calliaud of Trichinopoly renown, Major Brereton, and other good officers. It will thus be seen that in the number of Europeans,—the backbone of an army in India, the French did not possess a very overwhelming advantage over the enemy that they had come to besiege. The defence was confined mainly to Fort St. George, although three fortified posts were left in the Black Town.

Lally, as we have seen, reached the plain in front of Madras on the 12th. The van of his little force was commanded by the chivalrous d'Estaing, and consisted of 300 European infantry, 300 cavalry and two guns, he himself following with the main body. On the 13th the army encamped in the plain, whilst Lally employed the day in reconnoitring the

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\* Lally asserts that to secure the good offices of some of these noblemen Bussy lent or gave or offered to them the following sums:—To Count d'Estaing, 100,000 crowns; to the Chevalier de Crillon, 2,000 louis d'ors. Crillon, however, refused them. Lally adds that Bussy offered him 460,000 livres to be sent back to the Dekkan, and stated that he was ready to advance 240,000 livres for the service of the Company, provided Lally would be his surety. Lally declined both offers.—*Mémoire pour Lally*.

† The same who engaged in a controversy with Junius.

Fort and the Black Town. Having done this to his satisfaction, he detached the Chevalier de Crillon with the regiment of Lally to take possession of the Black Town, an enterprise which succeeded with but little loss on the side of the French, the posts being evacuated as they advanced. The conquest, however, gave rise to great relaxation of discipline, for the town was rich, and the camp-followers, of whom there were ten thousand, would not be restrained, nor had Lally a sufficient number of troops to enforce obedience, in this respect, to his orders. An indiscriminate pillage was consequently the result; the value of the property seized being computed at fifteen millions of francs (£600,000.) To the military chest, however, there resulted from the capture of the town a gain of but 92,000 francs or less than £3,700, being the contributions of an Armenian whom Lally had saved from plunder, and of the Hindoo chief of Arnee.

The town having being occupied, the Lorraine brigade and the brigade of Company's troops were posted on its right near the sea, the brigade of Lally and the sailor brigade establishing themselves in some buildings belonging to the Capuchins on the rising ground on the left of the town. About ten o'clock of the following morning, whilst Lally, accompanied by Bussy and d'Estaing, was engaged in reconnoitring on the left of the Black Town, intimation was brought him that the English were making a strong demonstration against his right,—an intimation quickly confirmed by the firing of small arms. Though separated from the brigades which formed the right by a marshy plain about 200 yards in width and by a little stream, d'Estaing at once started in full haste to join in the combat. He had approached the scene of action, when, noticing some troops dressed in scarlet, he rode up to put himself at their head, believing them to be the volunteers of Bourbon, who wore uniform of that colour. It was not until he found himself a prisoner amongst them that he discovered them to be English. Bussy, who had followed him, returned on noticing his misfortune to the regiment of Lally, whilst the General, accompanied by his aide-de-camp and orderly officer, succeeded in gaining the scene of action. They found that the officers of the regiment of Lorraine had duly noticed the approach of a body of 500 men under Colonel Draper, supported by 150 under Major Brereton, with two guns, but, mistaking them, as d'Estaing afterwards did, for their own men, had made no dispositions to oppose them. They had only become aware of their error when the English guns opened on their left flank. Completely surprised, they had fallen into confusion, and abandoning their guns, had sought refuge under cover of some houses that were near. Had the English then advanced

the guns might have been carried off and the siege ended that very day. But their troops likewise fell into confusion amongst the houses, and their native buglers having run away, a part of the force became separated from the rest. Two officers of the regiment of Lorraine, Captains \*Guillermin and Sécati, noticing this, rallied their men with great spirit, and advanced with fixed bayonets to support their guns. It was now the turn of the English to fall back. Their position was a dangerous one; not only were they in the presence of a superior force, recovered from its surprise, but to regain the fort they had to cross the marshy plain and the small bridge of which we have spoken, and to which the regiment of Lally, burning for action, was nearer than they were. It will thus be seen that the fate of the English depended on the conduct of the officer who commanded that regiment.

There are some critical moments decisive of the fate and fortunes of individuals and nations; moments which offer golden opportunities not to be flinched with, but to be seized at once if success is to be achieved. This was one of them. The regiment of Lally had but to advance, and the fate of Madras would have been sealed. For not only would these 650 men have been slain or captured, but the effect upon their comrades within the walls would, according to the testimony of their commandant, have been decisive.\* It was a great opportunity,—let us see now how the French used it.

We have said that after the capture of d'Estaing, Lally had proceeded to the right of the position, where the action was going on, whilst Bussy galloped back to his former post on the left. Lally arrived at the scene of action after Guillermin and Sécati had rallied their men, and the English in their turn had begun to retreat. He at once directed a movement whereby 80 of the latter were cut off from their main body and made prisoners. On the other side the Chevalier de Crillon, who commanded the Lally brigade, saw the English retreating towards the bridge, in disorder, and pursued by the Lorraine and Indian brigades. The thought at once came into his mind that by occupying the bridge on which that detachment was retreating, he might cut it off to a man.

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\* Colonel Lawrence states in his memoirs that the previous retrograde movements of the English had greatly discouraged his men, and that this sortie had been determined upon, because "it appeared necessary to do something immediately to restore the spirits of the garrison." Had the men composing the sortie-party been killed or taken, it would undoubtedly have tended to the still further discouragement of those remaining within the walls.

As, however, he did not command in that part of the field, Bussy being on the spot, he went up to that officer, and asked his permission to make the movement with his corps. To his intense mortification Bussy refused. In vain did other officers crowd round him; he was obstinate and obdurate.\* So sensible however, was Crillon of the immense value of the opportunity, that he started forward himself with fifty volunteers and gained the bridge. Such a force was not however, sufficiently strong to prevent the passage of the enemy, which soon became an accomplished fact, though with a loss at the bridge itself of several killed and thirty-three prisoners.

Thus was the opportunity suffered to escape, and the remains of the English party succeeded in regaining the fort. Their loss however was heavy. It amounted, by their own statement, to more than 200 men and six officers, 103 of whom were taken prisoners. The loss of the French was, however, even more severe. It is true that in actual killed and wounded they did not lose more than 200 men; but two of their best officers were placed *hors de combat*. One of these, as we have seen, was the gallant d'Estaing, the other the no less daring Saubinet,

\* The conduct of Bussy on this occasion has been hotly contested. The following points, however, are clear. 1st:—that if the bridge had been occupied by the regiment of Lally, the retreat of the English would have been cut off; 2nd, that the regiment of Lally could easily have occupied the bridge; 3rd that Bussy was with that regiment or near it at the time. We have adopted in the text the account given by Lally himself. To this account, Bussy, in his lifetime, demurred, stating, 1st, that he had no command, being a simple volunteer; 2ndly that he was thanked for his conduct by the Pondichery Government; 3rdly that on the field of battle Lally conferred on him the command of the Lorraine Brigade vacant by the capture of d'Estaing. He also added that he remembered on passing by the Lally Brigade, after the capture of d'Estaing, he recommended them to bring up two pieces of field artillery, as the enemy had none, that he then passed on to the Brigade, commanded by the Chevalier de Pöete to whom he said that having neither rank nor command, he had come to fight with him; further that he had never heard of the story until after he had left India.

The statement of Bussy seems, however, inconsistent with the facts that he had rank in the army next to de Soupire, that rank having been conferred upon him before leaving Pondichery; that having that rank, it became his duty to exercise its functions; that the statement of Lally was confirmed, on his trial, by the Chevalier de Crillon, the witness who was best qualified to speak. In the state of feeling between Lally and the Pondichery Council the thanks of the latter are of little weight; whereas the conferring the command of the Regiment on the field of battle may be accounted for on other grounds. Certainly the balance of evidence is against Bussy.

Mr. Orme states that Bussy gave other reasons for his conduct. Bussy does not, however, state them in his memoirs. Mr. Orme gives them. They are, however, so little satisfactory, that were they really Bussy's, they would but confirm our opinion of his conduct on this occasion.

who was mortally wounded. He was an officer in the service of the Company of the Indies, of great and improving talents, ever foremost in danger. The loss of these two able officers far outweighed in importance the loss of the rank and file.

The same day Lally established his head quarters in the Black Town, and waited impatiently for his heavy guns. But before they arrived the expenses of the campaign had begun to exhaust the sums raised by the capture of the town. At this crisis, however, the frigate *La Fidèle* arrived at Pondichery having on board one million of francs (£40,000). She ought to have brought to Pondichery two millions, but, having touched at the Isle of France about the time of the arrival there of d'Aché from Pondichery, that unpatriotic and inefficient officer had appropriated one million for the service of his squadron, sending the frigate on with the remainder. She arrived at her destination on the 21st December, just in time to determine Lally, not merely to content himself with devastating the country round Madras, but to besiege that place in form. The arrival of his heavy guns about the same time enabled him to complete his arrangements. His artillery, then consisted of twenty pieces of 12, 18, and 24-pounders, and of ten mortars, 8 and 12-pounders. These were soon placed in position, and a fresh parallel opened at a distance of 400 yards from the place. He had decided to attack the Fort on the side immediately opposite the position he had taken up, although in appearance it was the strongest. He satisfied himself partly on the ground that though the Fort might be the stronger on that side, the approaches to it could be more easily made; and partly, because, as had been proved on the 14th, the intricacies of the Black Town afforded a means of defence against sorties, such as bade defiance to an enemy.

But Lally soon found how impossible it was to effect anything great with officers the majority of whom were bad, and with an army disorganised and disaffected. The difficulties and obstacles which he had to encounter during the first twenty days of the siege were sufficient to break the spirit of any ordinary man. Very many of the soldiers, instead of working in the trenches, employed themselves in searching for treasure in the deserted houses of the Black Town and in making themselves drunk with the proceeds. Several of the officers, far from checking their men, or doing their duty in the field, were themselves engaged in guarding the contents of the shops which they had appropriated. Multitudes from Pondichery swarmed into the Black Town, many of them forging the General's signature in order to obtain boats wherewith to carry off their plunder.



Even the artillery cattle were employed by some officers in conveying furniture and property to Pondichery. It was impossible for Lally alone to put a stop to this state of things. In fact, the paucity of skilled officers rendered it necessary for him to be always in the trenches. Of five engineer officers who had come out with him from France but two remained; one of these, the senior, was idle and useless; the other had, under Lally, the charge of the trenches. Of six officers of artillery, three were killed in the first three weeks of the siege; of the others, two were with the artillery park, and the third was a boy. The superior officers of the army were engaged with their several brigades. Upon Lally, therefore, devolved the main charge of directing the operations of the siege, and he devoted himself to it with a zeal and energy that could not have been surpassed. For he had, it must be remembered, other matters to attract and engage his attention. The English had not been slow to use the advantages offered to them by the possession of Chingleput. The force that guarded that post issued frequently into the field to attack the French in their flanks and rear, and to disturb their communications with Pondichery; and not only this, but Major Calliaud, sent to Tanjore, succeeded in obtaining from the Rajah, and bringing into the field, 600 men, one half of whom were cavalry. Mahomed Isoof, a partisan, brought 2,000 more. These various parties, hovering about Lally's position, kept him in a continual state of alarm. They might be driven away, but, like wasps, they returned to annoy. What added to Lally's difficulties was the fact that even the powder necessary for carrying on the siege had to be brought from Pondichery, through a country swarming with partisans, who carried their depredations to the very gates of that city. Besides these outer enemies there were within the walls of Madras 200 French deserters. These constantly mounted the ramparts, holding in the one hand a bottle of wine, and in the other a purse, and calling out to the French soldiers to follow their example. Scarcely a day passed but missives from these men were discharged by arrows into the besieging camp, all tempting the soldiers to desert. At length, on the 2nd January, after overcoming innumerable trials and conquering difficulties seemingly insuperable, two batteries, called from the brigades to which they belonged, the Lally and the Lorraine, opened their fire. This they continued almost incessantly for forty-two days, a great portion of the army being at the same time engaged with varying success almost daily with the enemy's partisans, with the troops under Calliaud from Tanjore and under Preston from Chingleput, and with the numerous sorties from the garrison.

At length the crisis approached. The garrison received intimation, early in February, that Admiral Pocock's fleet was on its way from Bombay, and would infallibly arrive off Madras in a few days. On the other hand, a breach had been effected in the walls, and Lally, who knew how much depended upon the promptitude of his proceedings, determined to deliver the assault. At this moment, however, he found all his designs shattered by the backwardness of his officers. Those of the engineers and artillery declared that although the breach was quite practicable, yet that, "having regard to the situation of things, to our force compared with that of the enemy" an assault would cause the destruction of a great many soldiers, and would end in nothing. These officers, not content with writing this to the General, made no secret of their opinion in the camp, intimating that to try an assault would be to march to certain death. But Lally, though disappointed at this opinion, sensible how great was the responsibility of acting on such an occasion against the written advice of his scientific officers, yet feeling persuaded that they were wrong, and that his soldiers would follow him, did not renounce his determination. He waited only for the wane of the moon to deliver the assault, and had intimated to Crillon, charged with the chief attack, that he was to hold himself in readiness to make it on the evening of the 16th February, when, to his intense disappointment, he saw Admiral Pocock's squadron sail into the roadstead on the afternoon of that very day.

The situation of the besieging army was now desperate. For the past twenty days the troops had had no pay, and the officers had been on soldiers' rations; there remained but 20,000 lbs. of powder in the Artillery park, and only a similar supply at Pondichery. For three weeks not a single bomb had been fired, that species of ammunition having been exhausted; the native troops, unpaid, had melted away, and even the European cavalry threatened to go over to the enemy. Pondichery too had but 300 Invalids left to guard it. Under these circumstances, the arrival of the English fleet, at once relieving Madras and threatening Pondichery, made the raising of the siege inevitable.

On the night of the 17th February, this operation took place. Sending all the wounded who could be moved from St. Thomé by sea, and burying his cannon shot, he left in the trenches, from want of cattle to take them away, five pieces of cannon, and in the pagoda used as a hospital, thirty-three wounded incapable of being moved, and a surgeon in charge of them. These he commended in a letter to the care of the Governor of Madras, then, taking with him all his baggage, he retired,

unmolested, but full of rage\* and mortification, by way of St. Thomé to Conjeveram.

Thus failed the great enterprise on which Lally had set his heart,—to which he had devoted every energy of mind and body. It has been said indeed that that failure was owing as much to his own infirmities of temper, to the manner in which he trampled on the cherished feelings of others, as to any other cause. But, after a careful examination of the facts of the case, as shewn in the correspondence between himself and de Leyrit, we cannot resist the conclusion, that great as were those infirmities of temper, violent and excitable as was his manner towards others, those who allowed themselves to be betrayed by that behaviour on his part into a neglect of their duty towards France, were, infinitely more than Lally, the authors of the failure. Lally at least behaved like a soldier; he gave every thought, every exertion to his country. But the Council of Pondichery did the reverse. Mortified and enraged at the rough hand with which Lally had unveiled and exposed abuses, as well as at the style in which he had pointed out to them that their first duty was to their country, they gave him no assistance; the money sent out to them for the purpose of the war, they squandered on themselves. More than that, they took a pleasure, which they scarcely attempted to conceal, in thwarting his designs. To such an extent did they carry their ill-feeling, that they allowed their hatred of the individual so far to conquer the remnants of their patriotism, that the retreat from Madras was the signal for the manifestation in Pondichery of the most indecent joy. Is it credible that men who thus rejoiced over the reverses of the French arms, because those reverses humiliated Lally, would have made the smallest self-sacrifice to attain an opposite result? On them

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\* The rage of Lally was directed against those whose self-seeking and corruption, by hindering and altogether keeping back the supplies of which he stood in need, had contributed to the unfortunate result of his expedition. In a letter to de Leyrit, dated the 14th February, he thus recounted some of the iniquities that were taking place under his eyes, and forcibly expressed his own opinion of the conduct of some of his officers: "Of 1,500 sepoyes," he said, "who are with our army, I calculate that nearly 800 are employed on the road to Pondichery, laden with sugar, pepper, and other goods; as for the coolies they have been employed on the same account ever since we have been here." In concluding the letter he renounced all interference with the civil administration of Pondichery, "for" he added, "I would rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar, than to remain in that Sodom (Pondichery), which the fire of the English in default of the fire of Heaven, will, sooner or later, inevitably destroy."

therefore, mainly, and not on Lally, must rest the responsibility of the failure of the siege.

Meanwhile in another part of the coast reverses had also attended the French arms. We have seen how Lally, immediately after his arrival in Pondichery, had recalled Bussy and Moracin from the Dekkan and the ceded provinces, and how these two, unwillingly obeying, had made over the government of Masulipatam and the ceded provinces to the Marquis de Conflans in the month of August, 1758. The troops left with Conflans consisted of about 500 men, a number which under a commander so experienced as Bussy would have been sufficient to keep the entire country in subjection. But Conflans had neither the ability, the tact, nor the knowledge, of his predecessor. He was ignorant of the country, and of the mode of dealing with its feudal lords. Many of these latter, no longer sensible of a master's hand, and noting the diminution in the number of European troops, determined to strike a blow to rid themselves of the French yoke, not calculating that by so doing they would in all probability exchange it for the English. It is possible, indeed, that looking at the balanced state of both powers in the Carnatic, they deemed it might not be an impracticable policy to play one against the other. However this may have been, it is certain, that three months after the departure of Bussy from the Dekkan, Rajah Anunderaj, ruler of Chicacole and Rajamundry, raising the standard of revolt, took possession of Vizagapatam, plundered the factory, confined the French agent, hoisted English colours, and wrote to Madras for assistance. Threatened as Madras then was by Lally, aid from it was impossible; whereupon the Rajah appealed in despair to Clive. No one knew better than Clive how to seize an opportunity, no one was more acquainted than he with the advantages which the possession of the Circars would infallibly bring in its train. Overruling the advice of his Council, who regarded interference in that quarter as little short of madness, he wrote to the Rajah promising speedy support, and despatched by sea, on the 12th October, Colonel Forde at the head of 500 Europeans, 2,000 sepoy, and eighteen guns. The fact that by the despatch of this force, he left himself in Bengal with little more than 300 Europeans at a time when a hostile feeling had risen in the court of Meer Jaffier, and when Behar was threatened by the united forces of the son of the Emperor of Delhi and by the Nawab of Oudh, testifies in no slight degree to the strong, fearless, and intrepid character of the founder of the British empire in India.

Meanwhile, Conflans was acting in such a manner as to facilitate the plans of the English. Instead of marching rapidly

upon Vizagapatam and crushing the rebellion in its bud, before the rebels could receive assistance from outside, he contented himself with sending repeated applications to Lally for support, whilst he moved leisurely against Rajamundry. He occupied that town, and was still encamped on the northern bank of the river of the same name, when intelligence reached him that an English force had, on the 20th October, landed at Vizagapatam. To him intelligence of that nature ought not to have been very alarming. The troops under his command were the most seasoned and the best disciplined of all who served the French Company in Southern India. They were the men before whom the famed Mahratta cavalry had been scattered, and who, but a short year before, had forced their way through opposing hosts to relieve Bussy at Hyderabad. They had never yet shown their backs to a foe, and they might well have been counted upon, under efficient leadership, to defend the ceded provinces against even a larger force than that which then threatened it. Under these circumstances, and as they were supported by about 4,000 trained sepoys, and by many of the native princes of the country, it would seem that it should have been the policy of Conflans to advance, to give to his men that spirit of self-confidence which a movement to the front always inspires. By the same course he would undoubtedly have encouraged his native allies. It is the more strange that he did not do this, as a rumour had reached him, in which he entirely believed, that Colonel Forde's force was composed of raw troops, whom therefore it would be good policy to attack. He preferred, however, to adopt the course, which, in India, has but rarely proved successful,—of waiting the attack of the enemy in the position he had chosen. He accordingly moved his force to the village of Condore, forty miles north Rajamundry. Near this he was encountered, on the 8th December, by Colonel Forde, enticed out of his strong position, out-manceuvred, and completely defeated,—losing his camp, his guns, and several of his men. He himself, fleeing on horseback, found refuge in Masulipatam that same night.\* Forde, pursuing his victory, occupied Rajamundry with a part of his force on the 10th.

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\* A detailed account of this gallant, and, on the side of the English, skilfully conducted action, is to be found in Colonel Broome's "*History of the Bengal Army*,"—a work, which, whether we regard its clear and vigorous style, the mass of information it has collected and arranged, the professional knowledge by which it is marked, we do not hesitate to pronounce to be the most valuable contribution to Anglo-Indian historical literature of the present century.

His difficulties, however, were not over. The long connexion of the French with Salabut Jung, the intelligence that the principal settlement of the English was being besieged, combined to render the position of Forde dangerous and difficult. To the incapacity of his adversary was it alone due that it was not made fatal. Though virtually abandoned by his native allies, Forde, who thoroughly understood the conditions of Indian warfare, continued to advance towards Conflans, and notwithstanding that the French leader was enabled, by recalling troops from his garrisons, to bring a superior force of Europeans into the field, he actually besieged him in Masulipatam. Rightly judging of the importance of moral force in war, he would not allow himself to be moved from this position, even by the recapture of Rajamundry, nor by the intelligence, that Salabut Jung was marching with 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot, to overwhelm him. Nevertheless, as time advanced, his position became such as would have tried the nerves of the strongest leader. In the beginning of April it even seemed desperate. Before him was Conflans with a superior force, occupying Masulipatam, which he himself was besieging; on his right, at Beizwarra, forty miles distant, was the army of the Subadar, ready to overwhelm him: on his right rear, a French corps of 200 men under M. du Rocher, ready to cut off his communications. Under such circumstances, a weak leader would probably have endeavoured to retreat, though retreat would have been disgraceful and fatal; but Forde, being a strong man, preferred the chance of death in the attempt at assault to such a movement. Not knowing even that the breaches were practicable, but only in the hope that they might be so, he ordered his troops under arms at 10 o'clock on the night of the 7th, and delivered the assault in three divisions at midnight. He met with the success which a daring dashing leader can always look forward to over an unenterprising and hesitating adversary, for, after a fierce struggle, he not only captured the fort, but forced Conflans with his whole army to surrender.

The consequences of this unsurpassed act of cool and resolute daring were most important. Less than a week after, Moracin,\* ordered to Masulipatam by Lally on receiving the first message from Conflans, arrived with 300 troops off the place. Finding it

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\* Moracin was indeed at once ordered to Masulipatam, and had he obeyed, he would have arrived in time to have placed Forde in a position from which even his skill and daring could with difficulty have extricated his force; but, the ally of the French intriguers at Pondichery, he endeavoured for a long time to evade the order, and did actually delay so long, that he only arrived in time to share in the ruin in which the force of Conflans was involved.

occupied by the English, he proceeded to Ganjam. There, however, he effected nothing: indeed the place was abandoned, and his whole party dispersed by the end of the year. But the most important result was the treaty concluded with Salabut Jung. Struck by the unexpected defeat of the French, and annoyed at the time by the pretensions of Nizam Ali, that protégé of Bussy and of Dupleix hastened to conclude with Forde a treaty whereby he renounced the French alliance, agreed never to allow a French contingent in the Dekkan, and ceded to the English a territory yielding an annual revenue of four lakhs of rupees. Before the end of the year, those ceded districts, the possession of which constituted one of the triumphs of the administration of Dupleix, passed entirely into the hands of the English, and thenceforth the fate of French India was sealed.

Meanwhile Lally, retreating from Madras, had taken post at Conjeveram. Thence, leaving his troops under the command of de Soupire, he set out for Arcot to arrange for the provisioning of the army. At Arcot, he received a strange account of the proceedings of de Leyrit. Profiting by the absence of Lally with the army, de Leyrit had summarily, and against the protest of four members of his Council,\* put a stop to an inquiry ordered to be instituted by Lally into the accounts of M. Desvaux, the head of the department of excise at Pondichery, and who had been accused of embezzlement. Other abuses, tending to the individual profit of the servants of the Company,† to the great detriment of the Company itself,—which Lally had ordered to be abolished, had been restored. On the 8th March, therefore, he left Arcot for Pondichery with a view to put a stop to these disorders as well as to make new plans for a campaign.

During his absence, the French army under de Soupire had been followed to Conjeveram by an English force of about equal numbers, under Major Brereton, who had succeeded to the command which the gallant Lawrence had but then resigned. De Soupire's orders restricted him to fight only if attacked, and as he occupied a strong position, the English leader was careful not to risk a defeat by assailing him at a disadvantage. For three weeks, the armies remained in face of one another, when Brereton,

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\* The names of the protesters were MM. Barthélemy, Boileau, La Selle, and Nicholas.

† For instance: the members of the administration were in the habit of issuing treasury bills, instead of cash, in payment of their liabilities; but they purposely issued these in such numbers, that they became greatly depreciated in value, and a bill for 100 francs was purchaseable for 20 francs in cash. The members of the administration, after paying the troops and the subordinate functionaries in these notes, set to work to buy them up for their own profit, thus realising more than eighty per cent.—*Mémoire pour Lally.*

rightly conjecturing, that the surest mode of dislodging the enemy was to threaten his communications, broke up from before Conjeveram, and passing it, moved on Wandewash, and opened ground before it. De Soupire, pressed for money and supplies, marched then to Arcot, twenty miles from Wandewash, and took up a position on the Palaur. This was the opportunity Brereton had wished for. He hastily decamped from Wandewash, marched rapidly on Conjeveram, and stormed it before de Soupire had any idea that it was in danger.

This was the intelligence that reached Lally, whilst, after a stormy altercation with the Council of Pondichery, he was on his way at the head of 350 men to rejoin his army. It was his desire to proceed at once to retake Conjeveram, but the low state of his military chest, the absolute want of all resources, and the bad spirit evinced by many of his officers, would not permit him to attempt any forward movement. He was compelled therefore, to place his army in cantonments on the Palaur, until the arrival of d'Aché, then shortly expected with supplies of money and stores, should place him in a position to resume the offensive. The English army followed his example. Lally himself returned to Pondichery, but he had scarcely arrived there, when the fatigue and excitement to which he had been exposed combined with the disappointment he had suffered to bring on a serious illness. This however, did not prevent him from carrying out an enterprise he had designed against Elmiseram; succeeding in this, the leader of the party, M. Mariol, moved suddenly against Thiagar, a strong fortress about fifteen miles distant. The English guarding this were surprised, and the fort was captured on the 14th July. Amongst the prisoners were forty English soldiers.

But although planning such petty enterprises as these, Lally was unable from the state of his army to undertake anything really great. No doubt his soldiers had to submit to very great hardships, but these they would readily have borne, had they been left alone. The spirit of personal dislike to Lally, however, which prevailed in the Council Chamber of Pondichery, had penetrated to the Franco-Indian section of his forces,—those in the immediate service of the Company of the Indies,—and the example set by these had not been without its effect on the royal troops. Matters, were brought to a very dangerous crisis by a measure which in itself was a matter of the most ordinary detail. It happened, that after the raising of the siege of Madras, the English and French Governments agreed upon an exchange of 500 soldiers on each side. Most of those received by the French, in virtue of this agreement, were the men belonging to the French Company's forces, who had been taken



before Trichinopoly when serving under Astruc, Brennier, Mainville, and Maissin. Some of these had been five years in confinement, well fed and well cared for. To fill up the gaps in the regiment bearing his name, Lally transferred to it 200 of these men. But, by them, the scanty fare, the rigorous discipline, and the hard work of camp-life, were, after their five years of idleness and inaction, scarcely to be borne. They made no secret of their discontent, and even endeavoured to spread it among their comrades. The first result of this baneful influence appeared on the 7th July, when the small French force occupying the stone fort of Covrepauk, well capable of being defended, evacuated it on the first summons of the English army. But, four weeks later, the grand explosion took place. Instigated by the 200 ransomed prisoners, the Regiment de Lally, with the exception of its officers, its sergeants and corporals, and about fifty old soldiers, suddenly mutinied, and marching out of Chittaput, declared that they were going over to the English. On hearing this, their officers instantly went after them, and by threats, entreaties, by the payment of some of their arrears, and the promise of more, persuaded all but sixty to return to their allegiance. These sixty, all belonging to the Trichinopoly prisoners, persisted in going over to the enemy.\* Lally meanwhile, was making every possible exertion to collect provisions and stores. Despairing of every other means, he had despatched one of the Pondichery councillors to Karical with 36,000 francs belonging to himself to purchase rice for the troops. When, however, his hopes were at the lowest, his spirits were cheered by the arrival of the frigate, *La Gracieuse*, conveying the hopeful intelligence, that she was but the herald of the arrival of Count d'Aché's fleet, reinforced by three ships which had joined him at the Isle of France. The frigate also brought instructions to the French commander to exercise a still tighter hand over the financial administration of Pondichery,—instructions which had the ill effect of still more embittering the feeling between himself on the one side, and de Leyrit and the other members of the Council on the other.

At length, on the 10th September, d'Aché arrived. Since leaving the coast on the 3rd September of the previous year, this officer had been to the Isle of France, had there met the three ships under M. d'Eguille, from whom, as we have seen, he had taken, for the service of his own squadron, one million of the two million francs he was bringing out for the colony. The

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\* We have preferred Lally's own account of this mutiny to that given by Orme.

rest of the time d'Aché had employed in re-fitting, re-arming, and re-victualling the ships of his squadron. Having accomplished this, he sailed from the Isle of France on the 17th July, and arriving on the 10th September off Fort St. David, found himself suddenly in sight of the English fleet, which likewise had been strengthened and reinforced.

D'Aché, who possessed at least the merit of physical courage, shewed no inclination to decline the combat which Admiral Pocock at once offered him. He had eleven ships, though but four of them belonged to the French navy, whilst Pocock had nine ships of the Royal navy, two Company's vessels, and a fire-ship.\* About a quarter past 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the action took place, the crews of both fleets standing manfully to their guns and cannonading one another with great fury. For two hours the battle was undecided. By that time several of the ships on both sides were greatly crippled, and some of those of the French leaving the line for the purpose of refitting, the officer who commanded the *Zodiaque*, her captain having been killed, put his helm up to follow them. D'Aché, running to rebuke him, was struck in the thigh by a grape shot and fell senseless. There was no one left to correct the error, and the other ships of the French squadron, following what they believed to be their Admiral's order, hauled out of action, and made sail to rejoin their consorts, the English being too crippled to

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* The English squadron consisted of,				
<i>The Yarmouth</i>	66	Guns.	Capt. Harrison.	} All King's ships.
<i>The Grafton</i>	68	"	" Kempenfelt.	
<i>The Elizabeth</i>	64	"	" Tiddeman.	
<i>The Tiger</i>	60	"	" Brereton.	
<i>The Sunderland</i>	60	"	" Colville.	
<i>The Weymouth</i>	60	"	" Sir W. Baird.	
<i>The Cumberland</i>	66	"	" Somerset.	
<i>The Newcastle</i>	50	"	" Michie.	
<i>The Salisbury</i>	50	"	" Dent.	

and two Company's ships the number of whose guns is not given.

The French had—				
<i>Le Zodiaque</i>	74	Guns	(name unknown, killed.)	} French Royal Navy.
<i>L'Illustre</i>	64	"	M. de Ruis.	
<i>L'Actif</i>	64	"	M. Beauchaire.	
<i>La Fortune</i>	64	"	M. Lobry.	
<i>Le Centaur</i>	74	"	M. Surville.	} Company's Ships.
<i>Le Comte de Provence</i>	74	"	M. La Chaise.	
<i>Le Vengeur</i>	54	"	M. Palliere.	
<i>Le Duc d'Orléans</i>	50	"	M. Surville Jr.	
<i>Le Saint Louis</i>	50	"	M. Johanne.	
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i>	60	"	M. Beuvet.	
<i>Le Minotaure</i>	74	"	M. d'Eguille.	

follow them. On the 16th, d'Aché anchored in the Pondichery roadstead. He had brought with him a seasonable supply of between three and four lakhs of rupees in diamonds and piastres, but he sensibly diminished the pleasure which his arrival had caused by the startling announcement of his intention to return at once to the Isle of France. Knowing well what must result from such a desertion, the English fleet being still on the coast, Lally, unable from sickness to move himself, sent MM. de Leyrit, de Bussy, and de Laudivisiau, accompanied by other councillors, to remonstrate with the admiral. But d'Aché, brave in action, had neither moral courage nor strength of character. He could not dismiss from his mind the idea that he had been beaten in the late action, and that he would infallibly be beaten again. He had done, he believed, his duty, by bringing to Pondichery the supplies of which it stood in need, and he would do no more. It was in vain that the Commissioners, that Lally himself, pointed out to him in writing that the English fleet had suffered more than his, and that his departure would inevitably lead to the fall of Pondichery; in vain did they beg him to stay at least till the movements then going on in the neighbourhood of Wandewash should have been concluded; in vain did the Council send to him a protest signed by every one of its members, fixing upon him the responsibility for the loss of Pondichery, and threatening to make his conduct the subject of a special representation to the Crown. In vain. D'Aché, usually so irresolute and doubting, was firm on this point, and despite their representations, sailed, never to return.\* Meanwhile, the English, reinforced by the arrival of 300 men belonging to the battalion of Colonel Eyre Coote, then being conveyed out in four ships commanded by Rear Admiral Cornish, determined to beat up the French cantonments on the Palaur. With this object, Major Brereton, massing about 2,000 Europeans, made a dash on the 16th September at Tripatore, captured in it thirty men, and then moved quickly on Wandewash. M. Geoghegan, an officer of Irish extraction who commanded there, on learning the first movements of Brereton, hastily collected 1,100 men, and posted them in such a manner as best to meet any attack that might be delivered. On the night of the 29th, Brereton, bringing up his men, made a gallant

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\* He sailed, as he said he would, on the 17th, but the protest was sent after him; and reached him at sea. Upon this, he returned to Pondichery, but after staying there five days, he again set off as stated in the text. Lally mentions, that, the day after his return, the English fleet passed, Pondichery in disorder, giving d'Aché a good opportunity of attacking it, but that he abstained.

attempt to carry the place, and had at first some success. Soon, however, as Geoghegan had anticipated, his troops became entangled in the narrow streets which lay between the town and the fort, and were exposed to a heavy fire from the latter, as well as from the French troops under cover. They being thus checked, Geoghegan determined to turn the repulse into a defeat. At daybreak, therefore, he assaulted the English in the positions they had gained in the night time, and after a fight of two hours' duration, drove them completely out, with a loss of eleven officers and 200 men. The French loss was scarcely less severe in point of numbers; amongst their dead was M. de Mainville, the whilom commander before Trichinopoly. The victory might have had important results, but the illness of Lally, the indiscipline of the army, the absence of d'Aché, not less than the early arrival of Colonel Coote with the remainder of his regiment, combined to render it abortive. After the repulse, the English cantoned themselves in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, there to wait the expected reinforcements.

Meanwhile Lally, hopeless of aid from any other quarter, had felt himself impelled to seek alliances in the quarter in which he had at first laughed them to scorn. Ever since the departure of Bussy from the Dekkan, affairs had taken a turn in that locality most unfavourable to French interests. In the first instance, Nizam Ali, the brother next in order to Salabut Jung, had once more resumed his pretensions, and was again grasping at supreme power. Salabut Jung, faithful, so long as the French possessed the ability to aid him, to his old alliances, had, as we have seen, marched into the ceded provinces to assist them, only on their defeat to transfer the right to those provinces to the English, and to conclude with them a solid treaty. Nizam Ali, having ever shewn himself a hater of the French, and the force of circumstances neutralising more and more the power of Salabut Jung, the importance of endeavouring to attach the third surviving brother, Bussalut Jung, to French interests was not overlooked by Lally. Bussy therefore, who, by the recent orders from Europe, had received a commission as second in command of the army, proposed to Lally to tempt Bussalut by the offer of the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Lally was at first unwilling, as he had already conferred the appointment on the son of Chunda Sahib, but, very desirous not to lose a chance in his then distressed circumstances, he directed Bussy to proceed at once to Wandewash, and to make the best arrangement in his power with Bussalut Jung.

Ever since the siege of Madras, Bussy had remained at Pondichery, suffering from various disorders. On receiving, however,

Lally's instructions, he started for Wandewash, where he arrived the day after the repulse of the English. His orders were to cause himself to be received at Wandewash as second in command of the forces, to remain there only four and twenty hours, then, taking with him all the European cavalry and three companies of infantry, to go to the camp of Bussalut Jung, there to arrange with him the terms of an alliance. But the account of the repulse of the English reached him on arrival, and caused him to deviate somewhat from these instructions. He thought that the English might possibly be disposed to meet him in the open plain, and he hailed the prospect of thus operating against them on his own account. Collecting then all his forces, he marched, the third day after his arrival, on Tripatore, and took it. But as he soon discovered that the English had retired to Conjeveram, he sent back the army to Wandewash, and proceeded with his appointed escort to Arcot. But here, the rains and other causes detained him another week, and when, at last, he did set out for the camp of Bussalut Jung, who all this time had been anxiously awaiting his arrival, it was only to be recalled by the distressing intelligence that the army at Wandewash had mutinied. It was too true. At daybreak on the 17th October, the European portion of the French army, at a given signal, took possession of the field artillery, and leaving their officers and colours, marched six miles in the direction of Madras. Here they halted, and elected officers from amongst their sergeants, in the place of those they had abandoned, one La Joie, Sergeant Major of the regiment of Lorraine, being appointed Commander-in-chief. The new officers, having first made every disposition for the order and defence of the camp, then drew up and despatched a letter to Lally, in which they expressed their willingness to allow him four days for reflexion, and for the payment of the arrears due to them; on the expiration of that time, should these demands not be complied with, they would proceed to extremities.

The fact was, that the soldiers, themselves ten months in arrear, had been deceived by the reports, industriously circulated, as to the amount hoarded by Lally himself, and despatched by him in a frigate to France. It fortunately happened, however, that the Sergeant Major La Joie was himself thoroughly well disposed towards his general, and had only accepted the office with a view to bring the revolt promptly to their duty. His endeavours in this respect were seconded by the prudent conduct of Lally. As soon as the intelligence of the revolt reached him, he assembled the Council and appealed to the patriotism of its members, to assist him in this urgent need by their subscriptions, he himself heading the list with a donation of 20,000 rupees. Many of

those present, including Father Lavaur, M. Boileau, and the Chevalier de Crillon, responded heartily to the call. De Leyrit, not content with holding back himself, affirmed that the public funds could supply nothing, because the diamonds and piastres, brought by d'Aché, had not then been converted into silver. Nevertheless, a sufficient sum to distribute six months' pay was collected, and with this sum the Adjutant General of the army, Viscount de Fumel, was sent to negotiate with the troops. As, however, the revolted soldiers would not listen to this officer, Lally sent Crillon, whose influence over them had always been very great, in his place. After some conversation, the soldiers agreed to accept six months' pay down, and the balance on the 10th November; they demanded at the same time a complete amnesty for the past, and requested that their officers would come and place themselves once again at their head; they added that "they were one and all imbued with sentiments entirely French, and that they were ever ready to fight for their country and for the honour of their King, and to submit to their superiors." Thus did the troops return to their duty. Their revolt, however, had had the effect of dissipating any hopes that might have been formed from the combined action of Bussalut Jung. For this chieftain, already impatient of waiting for Bussy, retreated, on hearing of the revolt, in the direction whence he had come. Bussy indeed followed him, after appeasing the discontent which had already arisen amongst his own troops, but, by the time he arrived in his camp, the turn French affairs had taken had entirely indisposed Bussalut Jung to the alliance. Bussy therefore, contented himself with raising money and troops amongst his former friends, and with these he returned on the 10th December to Arcot, with what effect will be seen.

Meanwhile Lally, on the mutiny being quelled, determined to put in force a project which nothing but the direst necessity could have justified. This was, to divide his force and to send a portion of it to alarm the English for Trichinopoly. It seemed indeed a rash measure to weaken the force with which he would have to encounter, in the then ensuing cold weather, the re-inforced army of the English, and as such it was considered by de Leyrit and others of the Council. But Lally was in very great perplexity. He had not money enough to pay all his troops, and he had a very strong idea, that a certain portion of them,—the Europeans in the service of the Company,—were not worth paying. He conceived, then, that he would facilitate his own movements by sending away troops in whom he had no confidence, and would at the same time alarm the English

for the safety of a city they had held so long, and have at least the satisfaction of confining their garrison within its walls. Taking advantage of a repulse sustained by the English before Devicotta, he despatched Crillon at the head of the battalion of India, and three companies of grenadiers, to Seringham. Crillon carried this island by assault on the 21st November, then leaving the battalion of India to keep the garrison in alarm, he rejoined Lally with his grenadiers.

Whilst Crillon was engaged on this expedition, Lally, recovered from his illness, had proceeded to Wandewash, and had marched thence with his army to Arcot. Here, on the 10th December, he was joined by Bussy, at the head of 350 Europeans and 2,000 native irregulars. The commandant of these last had, however, fortified himself with claims upon the French Government for considerable sums of arrears of pay. These he lost no opportunity of presenting, and did so to such an extent,—that, to use the expression of Lally, he and his followers resembled more a troop of creditors than a troop of auxiliaries. To provide himself with native cavalry indispensable to his campaign, Lally succeeded, after some negotiation, in making an arrangement with Morari Rao for 2,000 horse.\*

The campaign on which the rival nations were now about to enter, promised to decide for a time the possession of the Carnatic. A defeat in the field would be fraught with disaster to either, but more especially to the French, who had not the command of the sea, and whose resources were almost exhausted, whilst it was in the power of the English to fall back upon Bengal, or at all events to await the certain return of their fleet after the monsoon. Under these circumstances, it would have seemed to be the policy of Lally to wait; to avoid an engagement; and to harass the communications of the English, compelling them, if they were determined to fight, to fight at a disadvantage. This at least was the opinion of Bussy. But Lally was scarcely in circumstances to act according to the rules of war. Owing to the absence of many of his men at Seringham, he had been compelled to witness, without being able to prevent it, the capture of Carangoly and Wandewash by the English. This inaction had produced its natural effect on the minds of his men. To follow, too, the other course, it was necessary that he should have supplies and money, and he had neither. It was absolutely indispensable, it appeared to him, that he should act with decision and vigour. No sooner then had he been joined by Crillon from Seringham, on the 10th January, than feigning a retiring movement in the





from these methodical tactics that four days were wasted in the construction of batteries; two more in rectifying its defects; on the seventh day, the English appeared advancing to the relief of the place.

The great blow, well contrived, having thus failed in consequence of the absence of the two qualities essential to its success, there but remained now to Lally the chances of a battle. By the arrival of Bussy, who joined him on the evening of the 20th, he was able, after leaving 150 Europeans and 300 sepoys in the batteries, to bring into the field 1,350 European infantry, about 200 of whom were sailors, and 150 cavalry. He had besides about 1,800 sepoys, and 2,000 Mahratta cavalry; but of the former all but 300 refused to be led into the field, whilst but 60 of the Mahrattas were present, the remainder being engaged in foraging for the army. The force led by Colonel Coote on the other hand, consisted of 1,900 Europeans, of whom 80 only were cavalry, and 3,350 natives.\* On hearing from the Mahratta scouts that the English were approaching, Lally hastened to draw up his men in a single line. His left, thrown forward, resting on a tank, and supported by an intrenchment on the other side of it, formed an obtuse angle with his line, and commanded the ground over which the enemy must pass. This intrenchment was manned by the sailors and armed with a couple of guns. His centre rested on nothing, but about four hundred yards in its rear, were two defiles, protected by a dyke, and guarded by fifty men and two guns. These fifty men were drawn up in front of the head of the defiles, so as to have the appearance of a reserve destined to support the first line. Between the intervals of the regiments, were posted the guns, 16 in number. The cavalry were on the right. Lally himself commanded in the centre, and Bussy on the left.

Meanwhile Coote, who by a series of able manœuvres, had obtained a position which enabled him to force an action, no sooner beheld the disposition made by the French, than he drew up his men in order of battle and advanced. He himself led the first line, consisting of his own regiment, and a battalion of sepoys; the two Company's regiments came next, Colonel Draper's regiment on the left. As he approached the French, to whose position his own was oblique, the guns from the intrenchment near the tank opened upon him, and Lally, thinking he noticed some confusion in the English left, in consequence of this fire, deemed the moment opportune to charge with his cavalry.

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\* The number of the French here given has been adopted from Lally's reports: that of the English has been taken from Orme.

He galloped up, therefore, to the right of the line, and placing himself at the head of his horse, gave the order to charge. Not a man, however, stirred. Attributing this to the ill-feeling of the commanding officer, Lally displaced him on the spot, and ordered the second in command, M. d'Aumont, to follow him. But d'Aumont having likewise refused, Lally placed him under arrest, and addressing himself to the men in a body, ordered them to charge. M. d'Heguerty with the left squadron at once advanced, and Cornet Bonnessay calling out that it would be shameful thus to abandon their general, the others followed. Lally, having thus induced them to move, made a *détour* so as to sweep down on the left flank of the English force. He had already arrived within an hundred yards of it, driving the English horse before him, when Draper, whom the delay caused by the refusal of the French cavalry to charge had warned of the danger, brought up two pieces of cannon loaded with grape, and opened them on the French horse. The fire was so well directed, that about fifteen men in the front line were disabled, and, although had the enemy persisted, the English would not have had time to reload, the effect was to infuse a panic amongst them. They therefore fled, leaving their leader alone. Lally, thus deserted, galloped towards the infantry in the centre, upon which the English guns in the other part of their line had already opened. He found them eager for an advance. Placing himself at their head, he formed them in column and marched against the English line. Regardless of the fire which thinned its ranks as it advanced, the French column charged, and by its superior weight broke that part of the English line which it attacked. The unbroken part of the English line, however, immediately formed up on its flank, and threw the column into disorder. The men on both sides becoming then mingled together, a hand to hand contest ensued, which was yet undecided, when a fatal occurrence on the left of the French line decided the fate of the day.

The extreme left of the French constituted the *point d'appui* of Lally's position. It rested, as we have said, on a tank, in front of which and forming an obtuse angle with his line, was an intrenchment, from which two pieces of cannon played on the advancing English. So long as Lally held this firmly, the occurrences in the other part of the line were of secondary importance, for the English, even if successful, could not follow up an advance, without exposing their flank. But, it happened, unfortunately for him, that whilst his centre was engaged in desperate conflict with the English centre, a shot from the artillery on the enemy's right blew up a tumbril in the intrenchment, killing the Chevalier de Poëte, and placing

eighty men *hors de combat*. Nor was this the extent of the damage it occasioned; for, such was the panic caused by the explosion, that the sailors ran out of the intrenchment, abandoning the guns, and not stopping till they had taken refuge behind the right. Coote, noticing this, ordered Brereton to carry the intrenchment. But, before he could reach it, Bussy, who commanded on the French left, hastily collected some fifty or sixty men of Lally's regiment, and led them into the intrenchment. They reached it just in time to fire a volley at the advancing English, which mortally wounded Brereton, but did not stop his men, who coming on with a rush, carried the post. Whilst the key of the French position was thus carried, the English left, freed from the hostile cavalry, had marched to the aid of its centre and fallen on the right of the Lorraine brigade. This body, attacked in front and on both flanks, and noticing the loss on the left of the position, fell back in disorder, not, however, till it had lost its commandant and many officers, and had covered itself with glory. Bussy, meanwhile, after the loss of the intrenchment, had brought up the Lally brigade to recover it, and if possible to restore the battle. But whilst leading on his men to a bayonet charge, his horse was shot, and he, falling to the ground, was taken prisoner. The brigade, having thus lost its leader, opposed in front by a superior force, whose artillery then played upon it, threatened also on its right flank by the victorious centre and left of the enemy, fell back in its turn, and abandoned the field. At this conjuncture, the cavalry, recovered from its panic, advanced to the front, and interposing itself between the retiring infantry and the advancing English, effectually put a stop to pursuit. The French were thus enabled to rally at a distance of less than a mile from the field of battle, and to carry off also the party they had left before the fort of Wandewash.

Such was the battle of Wandewash,—a battle which, though the numbers on each side were comparatively small, must yet be classed amongst the decisive battles of the world, for it dealt a fatal and decisive blow to French domination in India. It shattered to the ground the mighty fabric which Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix had contributed to erect; it dissipated all the hopes of Lally; it sealed the fate of Pondichery. By it, the superiority in the field, which during that war had rested mainly with the French in the Carnatic, was transferred entirely to the English. It was the proximate cause why Lally, who had himself acted as *besieger before Madras, should, in his turn, suffer the misfortune of being himself besieged in Pondichery.*

The conduct of Lally in this action, the dispositions that he made, the fact of his fighting a battle at all, have been

severely condemned by his enemies. The candid military critic is, however, bound to do him justice on all these points. His plan was the best he could have adopted. Drawing Coote by a skilful manœuvre from the line of the Palaur, he assaulted Wandewash, took the town, and had he been well served, would have taken the fort also. Baffled in this, he determined to accept a battle on ground which he had reconnoitred and chosen. No doubt to deliver a battle, defeat in which must be ruin, is very dangerous policy. But with Lally it was unavoidable. He had not the means of attempting a war of manœuvres. Straitened as were his resources, such a policy must have resulted in a retreat to Pondichery to be followed by a siege there. This result being unavoidable, he was surely right in attempting to ward it off by a direct blow.

Then again, as to his conduct in the action. He, at least, is not to be blamed for the behaviour of his cavalry. Had they followed him, he would, he says, have thrown the left of the English force into disorder so great that an advance of the infantry must have changed it into an overthrow. He is not to be blamed for, he could not have foreseen, the accident in the intrenchment which caused its evacuation, and lost him the battle. His dispositions were good. The intrenchment served as the pivot whereon to move his army; had that been held, he could not have been beaten. Accidents not dissimilar have before this decided the fate of greater battles, without that prejudice and passion have fixed the blame on the commander!

The remainder of the campaign may be told in a few words. The next day Lally fell back to Chittaput, taking with him all his wounded; thence, sending the Mahrattas and native troops to Arcot, he retreated to Gingee, but as at that point the English were nearer than himself to Pondichery, he made a cross-march to Valdaur, fifteen miles from that city. In this position, he was able to cover Pondichery, and to receive supplies from the south. He was fortunate in being able to do so much, for had the English only followed up their victory with vigour, they would have reached Pondichery before Lally, and that place, destitute of provisions and of troops, would probably have surrendered on the first summons. The English leader, however, preferred the slower method of reducing the subordinate places held by the French,—a policy which the absence of d'Aché and the utter abandonment of Pondichery by the mother-country allowed him to carry out unmolested. In pursuance of this resolution, Coote carried Chittaput on the 28th January, and Arcot on the 9th of the following month. Timery, Devicotta, Trinomalee, and Alamparva fell about the same time; Karical surrendered

on the 5th April; on the 15th Lally was constrained to retreat from Valdaur to within the hedge that bounded Pondichery, and on the 20th, Chillumbrum, and a few days later, Cuddalore,—the last important place except Thiagar and Gingee held by the French in the Carnatic—fell into the hands of the English. It is not to be supposed that all these places were lightly given up. Some of them, indeed, Lally would have done well to evacuate, so as to carry with him the garrisons; but Karical, so long in the possession of the French, their second seaport, he made a great effort to preserve.\* But what could he do? He found the enemies he met with inside the walls of Pondichery worse than those he had to combat without; he found self-interest everywhere, patriotism nowhere. The inhabitants refused even to don the soldiers' uniform, though only for the purpose of making a show before the enemy. Sedition, cabals, and intrigues,—everyone striving to cast upon Lally the discredit of the inevitable ruin that awaited them,—everyone thwarting his wishes, and secretly counteracting his orders,—each man still bent on saving for himself what he could out of the wreck,—this was the internal condition of Pondichery,—these the men with respect to whom it might be said that an appeal to patriotism was an appeal to a feeling that, long deadened, had now ceased entirely to exist. "From this time," says Lally, "Pondichery, without money, without ships, and without "even provisions, might be given up for lost." Yet though he could not be blind to the impending result, Lally himself used every effort to avert the catastrophe. He treated with the famous Hyder Ali, then commander of the Mysore armies, for the services of 10,000 men, one-half of them horse, transferring at once to Hyder the fortress of Thiagar, and promising him in case of a favourable issue of the war, to make over to him Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinivelly, and all the places he might conquer in the Carnatic. In pursuance of this agreement, Mukhdoom Ali arrived at Thiagar on the 4th June, and at Pondichery a few days later. The intrigues of the councillors rendered this treaty partially abortive, but this did not prevent Mukhdoom Ali from attacking, on the 18th July, a corps of 180 English infantry, 50 hussars, and nearly 3,000 native troops, inflicting upon them a severe defeat, and forcing the survivors to take refuge in Tiruvadi.† But it was not alone by such attempts at native alliances that Lally endeavoured to turn the tide of misfortune setting in so

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\* The commandant at Karical was M. Renault de St. Germain, the same who had surrendered Chandernagore to Olive. At Karical he made so poor and faint a resistance, that he was brought to trial and sentenced to be cashiered. Lally says he deserved death.

† Wilks. Orme.

strongly against him. Weak as he was in European infantry, he determined to make one bold stroke to rid himself of the besieging enemy. To understand the plan he adopted it will be necessary to state that after the retirement of the French within the bound hedge which forms the limits of Pondichery, the English had taken up a position, their right resting on the Fort of Villenour, and their left at the base of the hill of Perimbé, the space between covering an extent of about a mile and a half. In front of Perimbé they had, moreover, thrown up a redoubt, armed with three pieces of cannon, whilst the centre was covered by a house in a garden, surrounded by a hedge, connected by a tree avenue with the town. The plan which Lally arranged, and which was so skilfully devised as to deserve success,—provided, that whilst his right column should surprise the redoubt in front of Perimbé, and the centre the hedge-bound house, the left, which was stationed on the other side of the river Ariancopan, should cross that river, and fall upon the rear of the enemy, who, it was calculated, would be thrown into the utter confusion by the diversity of the attacks. To guard against mistakes, Lally the day previous accompanied the commander of the left column, M. d'Arambure, over the ground he was to take, indicating the point at which he was to cross the river, and the exact direction he was then to pursue.

But a fatality seemed to attend all the operations of Lally. The surprise indeed was complete,—for having given no intimation of the intended movement to his councillors they were unable to betray him :—the right assault completely succeeded, the redoubt being quickly carried; the centre attack was desperately contested. The French never fought better. Colonel Coote, on his side, seeing the importance of the place, brought up his best troops to defend it. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, the French, though in the regiment of Lally alone they had lost eight sergeants besides several privates, still persisted, hoping to hear every minute the sounds of the assault on the enemy's rear. Just as these hopes were at their highest, d'Arambure and his men appeared, not in the rear of the enemy, but between the assaulting columns and the town! This officer, who on other occasions had behaved so well, would appear to have lost his head; he crossed the river at a far lower point than had been pointed out to him, and brought his men to the attack in exactly the opposite direction to that indicated by Lally. By this false move, he rendered impossible a success which, if attained, would have deferred, if it had not altogether prevented, the catastrophe that was to follow.

The end was now near at hand. On the 16th September, Monson, who had succeeded Coote in the command of the English force, delivered an assault on the Oulgarel post, and compelled the French to quit the defence of the bound hedge, and to retire under the walls of the place. This attack, however, cost the English many men, and Monson was so severely wounded, that Colonel Coote returned to take up his command. Notwithstanding this movement, which shut out all supplies from Pondichery, Lally determined to continue the defence, and prohibited all mention of surrender. Every measure that could be adopted to procure sustenance for the troops was taken; contributions were levied; grain was dug out of places where it had been buried for concealment; taxes were imposed;\* the idle portion of the native inhabitants were turned adrift: no precaution in fact was neglected to prolong the defence of the town till the arrival of d'Aché, whose squadron was even then daily expected.

But on the 24th December, there remained in the magazines but eight days' full rations for the soldiers. It had become necessary to reconsider the position. Under these circumstances, Lally, who for the three weeks preceding had been confined to his bed by sickness, directed the assembly of a mixed council to take into consideration the terms which should be offered to the English. The members of the party opposed to Lally, unwilling to take upon themselves any share in the responsibility of a capitulation, evaded this order. But an event occurred which rendered their evasion of the less consequence. On the 31st, the roadstead of Pondichery was visited by one of those storms not uncommon at that season on the Coromandel coast. The effect of this on the English fleet was most disastrous. Three large ships were driven on shore two miles below Pondichery; three others, having on board 1,100 Europeans, foundered; all the remainder were severely injured. Nor did the siege works escape. All the batteries and redoubts raised by the army were destroyed. Soldiers, unable to carry their muskets, had thrown them away in despair; all the ammunition, except that in store, was rendered useless; every tent had been blown down; so great was the confusion that had a sortie been made by the garrison, not an hundred men could have been collected to resist it. The question of a sortie was indeed mooted in Pondichery, and though such a movement would, owing to the still raging

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\* From the operation of these latter the European inhabitants of the town were specially exempted by the council; de Leyrit presiding.

wind and the inundation caused by the storm, have been attended with great difficulties, it ought certainly, even as a last despairing blow, to have been attempted. But who was there to organise such a movement? Lally lay helpless in his bed; his orders canvassed and cavilled at rather than obeyed. With the enemy at their gates, the citizens of Pondichery thought more of combining to thwart the General they hated, than of effectually opposing the foe, who threatened them with destruction. No sortie, therefore, was made.

Nevertheless, the storm had at least the effect of re-opening the door of hope to Lally and the garrison. If d'Aché, or failing d'Aché, if even five French ships were to arrive, the damaged English fleet could be destroyed. With the destruction of that fleet, deliverance, and with it the command of the seas for at least twelve months, could be obtained.\* It became, therefore, an object with Lally to provide subsistence for his men for another fortnight longer. To effect this, he sent to the Jesuit, Lavour, and informed him of his intention to search his convent for grain, which he had reason to believe was stored there. The reply to this was an agreement on the part of Lavour to subsist the garrison till the 13th of January.

How terribly each day passed, how the expectation of the arrival of d'Aché, eager and stimulating to action at the outset, became gradually more and more faint, till it finally disappeared, can be better imagined than described. The English on their part were not idle. One week after the storm, they had nine ships in the roadstead ready for action, and they had erected new batteries in the place of those that had been destroyed. Further defence was then impossible. The French had but one day's supplies of food remaining. On the 14th January, therefore, Lally summoned a council of war to debate regarding the terms of surrender; whilst de Leyrit, though invited to that council, assembled in opposition the council of Pondichery to draw up articles of capitulation for the inhabitants.

On the following day, the 15th, a deputation from Pondichery was sent to the English camp. The terms proposed by Lally were virtually terms of unconditional surrender, for although he

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\* There is no stronger proof of the incapacity of the Government of Louis XV., than that offered by the idleness of d'Aché at this conjuncture. On the mere rumour that the English Government were debating a plan for an attack upon Bourbon, the Cabinet of Versailles sent orders to d'Aché not to leave that island, or should he have left it, to return to it instantly. Thus, on the strength of a mere rumour, the French Ministry did not hesitate deliberately to sacrifice India. They withheld the fleet from the point threatened by an army and ships of war, to keep it in the quarter that was menaced only by report.



declined to give up the town, as not having authority to do so, and because arrangements between the two Crowns placed Pondichery, as he pretended, out of risk of capture; yet he declined further to defend it, and agreed to yield himself and his troops as prisoners of war, stipulating only for the proper treatment of the inhabitants, the religious houses, and for the safety of the mother and sister of Raja Sahib. In reply to these propositions, Colonel Coote, declining to discuss the question of the agreement between the two Crowns, offered the French commander terms identical with those offered by Admiral Watson to M. Renault at Chandernagore, and by Lally himself to the commandant of Fort St. David. These provided that the garrison and inhabitants should surrender, unconditionally, as prisoners of war. Coote would only promise, in addition, to give the family of Raja Sahib a safe escort to Madras, and to treat the garrison favourably.

On the following morning, the English troops entered the Villenour gate of the town, and in the evening took possession of the citadel. The scene immediately preceding that last act is thus described by the English historian of the war,—himself a contemporary and a member of the Madras Council. “In the “afternoon,” writes Mr. Orme, “the garrison drew up under “arms on the parade before the citadel, the English troops “facing them; Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, which, “exclusive of commissioned officers, invalids, and others who had “hid themselves, amounted to 1,100, all wearing the face of “famine, fatigue, or disease. The grenadiers of Lally and Lorraine, “once the ablest-bodied men in the army, appeared the most “impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every “service; and it was recollected that from their first landing, “throughout all the services of the field, and all the distresses of “the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the “English army. The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none “but banditti could refuse) to this solemn contemplation of the “fate of war, which might have been his own.”

The scenes that followed the surrender were little creditable to the Franco-Indian officials of Pondichery. When Lally, directed by the victorious General to proceed under an escort of English soldiers to Madras, was leaving the town in a palanquin, he was insulted by a mob of some eighty of the principal adherents of de Leyrit, two of them members of his Council. These ruffians, who had openly avowed their wish to despatch him, were only prevented from executing their design by the presence of the escort. But when two minutes later, Dubois, the intendant of the French General, and who had in possession some most

valuable documents, proving the corruption that had reigned within the town, attempted to follow his chief, he was assailed with the most furious menaces. Dubois, who, though almost seventy years old, and nearly blind, was a man of spirit, turned round to reply to these invectives, drawing his sword as he did so. He was immediately attacked by one Defer, and run through the body. His papers were at once secured by the conspirators. Well might the French historian,\* relating this incident,—this crossing of the two French swords on the threshold of the city that had been lost to France by French dissensions,—forcibly describe it as “a fit image and striking *résumé*” of the history of the last three years of the French in India.”

We may be pardoned if for a few short sentences we leave the direct thread of our history to follow Lally to his last end. Sent from Madras to England, he found on arrival there, that the hatred and fury with which he had been regarded in India had followed him to France. Allowed by the English Government to proceed to Paris on his parole, he attempted to bring home against de Leyrit and his councillors the charges with which he had threatened them in India. This movement on his part had the effect of uniting against him all the different parties criminated by his statement. Bussy and d’Aché, de Leyrit and Moracin, Father Lavour and the Councillors,—all made common cause against him. So great was the effect of the converging assertions of these different partisans, that even the Duc de Choiseul, one of the most powerful noblemen in France, advised Lally to seek safety in flight. But he, conscious of innocence, preferred to meet all the charges against him before the tribunals of his country. The proceedings were yet languishing, when, in 1763, Father Lavour died. This intriguing monk, to make sure of his own position, had written two memoirs of the events that had happened at Pondichery, the one favourable, the other inveterately hostile, to Lally. His papers, however, having fallen into the hands of the promoters of the accusation against the General, the favourable memoir was suppressed, and the other given to the world.† Strange as it may seem in the present day, this memoir was actually received by the Parlement of Paris as evidence against Lally, and was mainly decisive of his fate. Refused all legal aid by his judges, he was, after three years of lingering agony,—fit sequel to his struggles in India,—convicted, by a majority, of having betrayed the interests

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\* M. Xavier Raymond.

† Voltaire. Orme.

of the King and of the Company, and sentenced to be beheaded. A request, made by Marshal de Sonbise "in the name of the Army" for commutation of the sentence, was coldly refused, and on the 9th of May, 1766, transferred from his prison to a dung-cart, gagged and guarded, Lally was led forth to the scaffold,—a striking example of the fate which, in the France of Louis XV., awaited those, who, though they had given all their energies to their country,\* though their faults were faults natural to humanity, had the misfortune to be unsuccessful. Revolutionary France annulled the sentence which the France of the Bourbons passed upon Lally, and restored to him his place in the annals of his country. Whilst there are few who do not regret a fate so untimely and so undeserved, and recognise the justice of the reversal of the sentence pronounced upon him, none care to inquire after those whose combined incapacity, corruption, and malevolence forged the bolt by which he was struck down. No memoir records the last hours of the palsied de Leyrit, or of the irresolute, mindless d'Aché. Of Bussy,—Bussy who promised so well, whose performances up to a certain point were so splendid,—yet, who deserted Dupleix in his misfortunes, and who joined in the cabal against Lally,—of Bussy it is only known that after living luxuriously† on the enormous wealth he had acquired in India,—he returned twenty years later, at the head of a fine army to the Carnatic, there to lose his reputation and to die! The very Company which had connived at his fate,—which had shown itself on every occasion timorous, narrow-minded, and unjust,—which had ruined and persecuted to death the most illustrious of the proconsuls it had sent out to India,—the Company did not long survive the execution of Lally. It died in 1769!

The fall of Pondichery was the natural precursor of the capture of the other places, yet remaining to the French in Southern India. On the 4th February, Thiagar surrendered to Major Preston, and on the 13th, Mahé to Major Munro. Gingee

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\* "No one," wrote Colonel Coote after the capture, "has a higher opinion of Lally than myself. He has fought against obstacles which I believed invincible, and he has conquered them. There is not another man in all India, who could have kept on foot for the same length of time an army without pay, and receiving no assistance from any quarter."

Another English officer wrote at the time from Madras.—"It is a convincing proof of his abilities, the managing so long and vigorous a defence in a place, where he was held in universal detestation."

† Not only Bussy, but de Leyrit and all the Councillors of Pondichery took home with them large fortunes. Even that arch-intriguer, the Jesuit Laval, carried off with him 1,25,000 francs, besides diamonds and bills of exchange to a large amount. Yet to such an extent did he carry his duplicity, that he pretended poverty, and actually petitioned to the Government for a small pension for his subsistence.—*Voltaire, Orme.*

presented greater difficulties than either of those places to an attacking force, but on the 5th April, the garrison, seeing the helplessness of its condition, surrendered on favourable terms to Captain Stephen Smith. Of the French troops in the service of the Company, 300 who were on detached duty at the time of the siege, under MM Alain and Hugel, took service with Hyder Ali; 100 were embodied in the English army,\* in which, however, they showed themselves as mutinously disposed as when commanded by their own countrymen; the remainder became prisoners of war.

We have now brought to a conclusion the history of that stirring episode, adorned with so many brilliant names, and boasting of some of the most original and striking achievements ever performed on Eastern soil. Beginning with small means, then suddenly astonishing the world by its dazzling promise, the venture of the French in India was destined to end, thus early, in humiliation and failure. It was the sad fate of France, in this, the most unfortunate of her wars, to be disgraced on the Continent, and to lose simultaneously her possessions in the East and in the West. First, in endeavouring to save Canada, she lost the best chance she ever had of conquering Southern India, for it cannot be doubted, but that the troops, the ships, and the money, which the French Government diverted at the last moment from Lally's expedition, would have sufficed to render him victorious everywhere on the Coromandel coast, might possibly even have enabled him to carry out his meditated designs upon Bengal. The diversion, whilst it caused the failure of the blow struck at English India, did not save Canada. After Canada had fallen sound policy would have dictated the strengthening of Lally's hands in the Carnatic, but the troops and the money which might still have enabled him to carry out his original designs, were frittered upon the armies of the nominees of Madame de Pompadour,—the Soubises, the Richelieus, the Contades, and the Broglies, with their legions of opera dancers and hairdressers.† To keep up those costly armies,—which nevertheless were barely able to make head against a Lieutenant of the King of Prussia,—and their more costly contingents, French India was left without money sufficient to carry on a campaign, without reinforcements, without even the few ships that might have sufficed to save her. However much, then, the candid Frenchman of the present day

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\* Amongst these was Claud Martine, afterwards Major-General in the service of the Nawab of Oudh, and founder of the Martinière.

† The reader is referred to Carlyle's graphic description of the followers of the armies of Soubise and Richelieu, given in his "*Frederick the Great*."

may lament the corruption that was rampant amongst the officials of Pondichery,—however he may mourn over the want of unanimity in her Council, and the intrigues of her Councillors,—however much he may condemn the absence of patriotic devotion that contributed to her fall,—he will still be forced to lay the chief blame at the door of France, on the shoulders of the sensual monarch under whose rule the resources of the kingdom were so lavishly wasted and misdirected. Whilst English India received plentiful supplies of men, and ships in abundance, and thought herself hardly used, because, in the last year of the war, she did not also receive her annual supply of money, French India, after the arrival of Lally's troops, received from the mother-country scarcely more than two millions of francs ! There could be but one result to such a mode of supporting a colony, and that result appeared on the 16th January, 1761.

We do not hesitate thus to fix the date of the final failure to establish a French Empire in India, because, up to the moment of the actual capitulation, it was always possible that the fall of Pondichery might be delayed, and a chance afforded to the French of again asserting their supremacy. United counsels and energetic action so late even as the 1st January, 1761, might have caused the annihilation of the besieging army; the arrival of d'Aché up to the 6th would have forced the English to raise the siege, and might even have ensured the destruction of their fleet. But the events of the 16th January made French supremacy in the Carnatic for ever impossible. It is true that the Peace of Paris restored to France, in 1763, Pondichery and her other dependencies in Southern India; but they were restored dismantled and defenceless, with their trade annihilated, with their influence gone, with the curse of defeat and failure stamped upon their habitations; they were restored at a time, when England, using well the precious moments, had rooted herself firmly in the soil. The difference in the power and position of the rival settlements was shown clearly in 1778, when on the breaking out of war between France and England, Pondichery was at once invested and captured by a British army.\* It is true, indeed, that during that war, the French made a desperate effort to profit by the misfortunes of England in America, by sending out 8,000 men under Bussy and a fleet under Suffren to assist Hyder Ali, then alone almost a match for the few English in Madras. But whilst, on sea,

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\* Pondichery was restored to France by the Peace of 1763, captured again in 1793, restored by the Peace of Amiens, captured again in 1803, and finally restored in 1814 and 1815.

the splendid achievements of the greatest of French admirals covered with a halo of glory this last effort on the part of France to expel the English from the Carnatic, on land the campaign was productive of little but disaster. Thenceforth the attempt was renounced, and partisans and adventurers represented France at the courts of native princes, and endeavoured, though in vain, to accomplish by their means the result, which, at the period we have described, had been indeed possible, but which, after the 16th January, 1761, was for ever illusory and hopeless.

But was there not, it may be asked, something due to the different characters of the rival nations, that contributed to a result so disastrous to France? Much, very much, in our opinion. England, doubtless, in the greater wealth of her East India Company, in the greater influence of its Directors with the Government, and in its free Parliamentary system, possessed advantages which were denied to France. We believe that the fact that the Directors of the East India Company were often members of Parliament, and as such possessed considerable influence with the Ministry of the day, tended not a little to that prompt action of the latter, to that despatch of royal fleets to defend the Company's possessions, which acted so favourably for English interests. Under the despotic system of France such action was rare; the Company was, except in rare instances, left to defend its possessions with its own ships alone. Whilst England, working in unison with its East India Company, saw clearly that imperial interests required her to use imperial means to defend the settlements of the Company, the France of Louis XV., throughout the epoch of which we have written, but once raised herself to the height of regarding India from an imperial point of view, and then, as we have seen, from her own want of a resolute and decided policy, with the very worst success. But, though this circumstance mainly caused the fall of French India, there were other circumstances dependent on the character of the agents on the spot, that contributed much to the same result. We confess that before we had studied the public documents which form the basis of these articles, we could not understand how it was that characters so brilliant, so energetic, so enterprising, as Dupleix, La Bourdonnais, Bussy, and Lally, should have failed, opposed as they were by men, who, with the exception of Clive, must be regarded as inferior to them in capacity. But the solution of the question becomes after examination easy. Those four French names shine out as bright lights from among a crowd of flickering satellites. It is they, or rather,—for he stands out far above the others,—it is Dupleix, who

reflects the lustre of his great name upon the struggles of his countrymen for Empire in the East. He did it all. He was unsupported except by Bussy. He it was who caused the fame of the French nation to resound in the palaces of Delhi, who carved out a policy which his rivals seized and followed. He did not succeed, because he was not properly supported at home, because he was alone amongst his countrymen in India. Those contests for the possession of Trichinopoly showed that, even under the most favourable circumstances, his soldiers would not win battles. He could do everything but imbue them with his own spirit. He was in fact alone,—in everything supreme, except as a soldier in the field.

If we examine, on the other hand, the conduct of the English, we shall see numberless instances of the dogged character of the nation. Not counting Clive, who was but for a short time on the scene, there was not a man in the English settlements equal in genius to Dupleix. But again, there were many, very many among them, far superior to any of the subordinates of Dupleix, Bussy alone excepted. The daring of Lawrence, the dogged pertinacity of Saunders and his council, the vigour and ability of Forde, of Calliaud, of Joseph Smith, of Dalton, and of many others, stand out in striking contrast to the feebleness, the incapacity, the indecision, of the Laws, the d'Anteuils, the Brenniers, the Maissons, and others whom Dupleix was forced to employ. Never was England better served than during that struggle. Never was there more apparent, alike amongst her civil and military agents, that patriotic devotion to duty, which ought to be the highest aim of every servant of his country. In the French settlement this feeling burned far less brightly. The efforts of the greatest amongst her leaders were marred and thwarted by the bickerings and jealousies of subordinates. We see La Bourdonnais sacrificing the best interests of France to his jealousy of Dupleix; Godeheu, owing to the same feeling, undoing the brilliant work of his predecessor; Maissin refusing to annihilate the English at Trichinopoly; de Leyrit and his council thwarting Lally; the very councillors scrambling for illegal gains, and dabbling in speculation; those energies which should have been united against a common enemy employed to ruin one another. Under such circumstances, the result could not have been long deferred: sooner or later it was inevitable. But for one man the stake for which the two countries played would never have been so great. It was Dupleix who made French India, it was France who lost it. If, in the present day, there exist amongst her citizens regrets for the loss of an Empire so vast, so powerful, so important, inhabited by a people who were civilised when we were naked

savages, and who possess so many claims to the sympathy and attachment of every intelligent European, it will be impossible for France herself,—however much she may condemn the action of her Government of those days, and may lament the infatuation and misconduct of her countrymen,—to suppress a glow of pride at the recollection, that it was a child of her soil who dared first to aspire to that great dominion, and that by means of the impulse which he gave, though followed out by his rivals, the inhabitants of Hindostan have become permanently united to their long parted kinsmen,—the members of the great family of Europe.

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BENGAL MILITARY ORPHAN SOCIETY (*Continued.*)ART. II.—1. *Unpublished Records of the Military Orphan Society.*2. *Calcutta Gazettes.*

WE resume the history of the Military Orphan Society at the point at which we left it.\* The two schools had been separated in 1790: the wards of the "Upper" portion brought over to Kidderpore; those of the "Lower" left at Howrah. The immediate pressure arising from overcrowding was for the time relieved; but much more had to be done before all should be brought into a healthy state. Perplexity still sat at the committee table of the Managers; and now, too, on both sides of the Hooghly. But we shall for the present confine ourselves to the task of chronicling the difficulties and doings of the Management on the southern bank.

Kidderpore House was at first rented for Rs. 450 a month, and was occupied on these terms for some eight years. In 1798 the whole estate being offered for sale,† the Society purchased it for Rs. 75,000. But the possession of even such a property, the opportunities which the large funds at their disposal afforded them of carrying out the grand work of giving to their wards—and through their wards to hundreds of homes in India—the benefits of a really sound, high-toned education, seem never to have appeared to the minds of the Managers of that day as involving a great and solemn duty and responsibility. It is painful to trace, in the voluminous records and elaborate minutes of the Society that old bias we have already deplored, the low standard of *mind-moulding*, and marriage as the ulterior aim, the one object, of life. It prompts every measure proposed

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\* No. LXXXVII. page 182.

† The Estate was advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 4th, 1798, as "the property of Richard Barwell, Esquire; the capital "large upper-roomed house of Kidderpore, at present rented by the Managers of the Orphan Society, with all the out-houses and grounds thereunto "belonging, containing 275 biggahs, 10 cottahs more or less."

by the Managers; it runs through all their deliberations; it is the burden of all their minutes. Project after project was brought forward, which, as we look back on them from a distance of above seventy years, would be simply ludicrous, were they not discreditable to the Managers who proposed them, and degrading to the character of the Society of the operations of which the School formed a part. In all, the ulterior object was avowedly the same—to bring the wards before the public, and so to expedite their marrying. Happily all these miserable make-shifts fell to the ground; and the Society was spared the indignity involved in them.

Not that it is to be inferred from this that the system adopted in the Military Orphan School was worse than that which prevailed in other educational establishments then existing in Calcutta. On the contrary, the Managers seem really to have been in advance of the current system of that day! Anything more lamentable, more hollow in its principles, more disastrous in its consequences, than the plan then adopted in the other schools of Calcutta it is impossible to conceive. One has only to turn to publications of that period,—say for instance, “Indian Recreations,” by the Rev. W. Tennant, a Calcutta Chaplain, whose first chapter, dated 1793, gives a full account of the system, the object, and the consequences of the then prevailing education of young ladies in Calcutta,—to arrive at the very consolatory conclusion that the Managers of the Military Orphan School, defective as we feel their views were, really desired to take higher ground, and to aim at a higher standard than seemed to satisfy the projectors of the private educational speculations which disgraced Calcutta seventy or eighty years ago. One proof of this may be seen in the fact that married officers, not only at stations “in the Provinces,” but at the Presidency, were so eager to have their daughters admitted at Kidderpore House for education, that the Managers were more than once obliged to fix a limit to the number of such admissions, lest they should not have room for the orphans.

Yet it does seem deplorable that all the Managers should have been so long alienated from their English homes, and have lost so much of their English feeling, as not to remember that marriage is not the *summum bonum* of life, the *ultimatum* of existence; that some of the brightest characters among their own country-women were unmarried ladies; that a mind highly principled, well-informed was, whether in a married or single state, an acquisition and an ornament in any position of life.

One proposal, indeed, was made during this period, which, as being remarkable in character, and interesting from the quarter

from which it came, deserves to be mentioned. It was like a ray of light trying to find its way into that Board-room; and only shut out because it passed through a distorting medium. In 1793, David Ochterkony, then a Subaltern at Cawnpore, sent up to the Managers a proposition, which, while it undoubtedly touched the weak point in the school system, savoured over much of that pride of country which had already begun to characterise our Trans-Atlantic cousins, was too American to be acceptable, and therefore was rejected. He, himself a *Boston boy*, proposed "that all the orphans of the Upper School should be sent to America for education!" and required "that his proposition should be laid before the Commander-in-chief for his opinion"!! He was clearly right so far, that what was wanted was *education* to fit the wards to fill with credit and advantage their proper place in the domestic circle: but America in 1793 was scarcely the school which English gentlemen would be likely to select for the orphans of their brother officers. So the Managers sent back an answer, which if somewhat curt was also very decisive, "that such a plan was highly objectionable in its principle, and impracticable in execution."

Nor was it the female wards alone who were a cause of anxiety to the Managers. A provision for the boys seems to have been scarcely more easy. Although the *Calcutta Gazette* teemed with advertisements,\* which appear as if they ought to have removed all difficulty in finding provision for the boys, it was really no very easy matter to give them an eligible start in life. Many fields looked invitingly open. There was the Pilot Service; there were many ventures of private enterprise, in which young hands would be required; there was a call for hands in the Printing-presses which were being established; there were Medical men wanting apprentices. Still boys of the Upper School remained on the Managers' hands; because the Managers charitably thought that, especially where the lads were entire orphans, their duties had scarcely been performed when they had kept them till the prescribed age, and that they could then throw off all further responsibility with the payment of the *final grant*; they did not consider themselves justified in letting a boy be sent adrift into the wide world to steer his own course as he best could without taking steps to ensure his future well-being. To their honour be it recorded

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\* Such advertisements as the following are to be frequently met with in the pages of the *Calcutta Gazette*; "Wanted apprentices for a genteel, business;"—"for a promising enterprise;"—"for a thriving concern;" &c. &c.

that, however defective and unwise their system in the female department was, they did labour most conscientiously to provide suitably for their orphan boys. The orphans of the Lower School were far more readily disposed of; the "drums and fives" alone carrying off a large number; in seven years, from 1794 to 1800 inclusive, above 200 boys were posted to different Regiments. But there were great difficulties in the way of providing for the orphans of the officers. The Pilot Service was unfortunately unpopular. It was said that the pilots were so severe, absolutely cruel to the boys, that half of them deserted, and several altogether absconded. Then the Printing-presses could only take a limited number; and considering the terms on which the Managers for their own protection bound down the masters, only the best boys in character and in ability had a chance; for the "indentures and penalty bond" presented a formidable obstacle: the masters were loath to encumber themselves with apprentices who might prove incapable, and who were not *returnable*. The same with the other private concerns. The same, too, with Medical men; there was then no Sub-Medical department to receive apprentices into the Government service, and on Government risk. If a Medical man at one of the hospitals, or in private practice, wanted an assistant, the boy was articulated to him individually, as in England; and the risk was so great that few doctors cared to incur it. Some indeed did,\* and we find *ci devant* wards of the Society connected with private medical establishments in Calcutta, and some also in time at the head of them. Then there were other openings: an iron foundry was established by a Mr. James Bruce in 1795; a building establishment also struggled into existence about this time; and now and again a commander of a British Merchantman would venture to relieve the Society of an apprentice for five years. Thus, in one way and another, wards occasionally got a start in life. Still, as a rule, the supply greatly exceeded the demand.

Many plans were suggested to meet this increasing difficulty. One, for instance, was to convert the grounds of Kidderpore House into a large cochineal plantation, and to train the boys to pick and preserve the insects for sale! But this and other plans equally impracticable were proposed, discussed, and condemned.

One proposition which was made at the close of the century is deserving of special mention, whether, as some thought, for

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\* One of the wards was apprenticed to Dr. Gilchrist then residing at Russapugla, better known as the author of the "Oriental Linguist," and other Hindustanee books.

"the effrontery and audacity," others for "the far-seeing wisdom," which dictated it.

It came from a man named *John Adie*—whether kindred in blood or only in spirit with the *Joseph Adie* who gained an unenviable notoriety a few years ago in England in connection with the Bank of England and the Post Office, we cannot say. This at least they seem to have had in common, a readiness to tell men "something to their advantage" *for a consideration*. But let the motives have been what they might, it is impossible not to admire the appreciation of local capabilities which his plan evinced. It was a project that would have embraced a far wider range than the Kidderpore compound; and would have appropriated a far more promising tract than the Sunderbun jungles; it was nothing less than the occupation of a tract that in healthiness gives the lie to the general character for disease of neighbouring Bengal; that in fertility has, with little exaggeration, been compared to the valley of the Nile; that in exuberant productiveness, might have been far more fitly than Ireland the subject of Sydney Smith's humorous remark that "you had only to tickle it with a hoe, and it would laugh into luxuriance." Unhappy Mr. Adie must have marred his own prospects by the egotism of his application, and the mercenariness of his terms; or he may have been unknown;\* or may be he was too well known!

However, he shall state his plan in his own glowing language, though the construction be somewhat confused, and defiant of rules of grammar.

"The district of Tirhoot being rich land, fit for the cultivation of indigo and sugar-cane, and the water being excellent for distilling, and for raising bright colours on cotton cloth, the situation adjacent to Patua, where articles of various produce and manufacture are bought and sold with facility, also all materials for building are in great abundance, and workmen of every description at low wages, renders the situation highly favourable for the purpose of ensuring success." His own qualifications are thus modestly recited:—"With a perfect knowledge of the art of making indigo, printing of chintz, and distilling of rum, and some knowledge in chemistry as well as mechanics, and the various concerns I have had in business, gives me some hopes of obtaining that trust and confidence so essentially necessary towards ensuring success." His proposal

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\* His name appears several years in the list, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of "unknown persons for whom un-claimed letters were laying at the Post Office."

was simply this—that the Society advance the sum of Rs. 15,000 without interest, for which sum he would engage to build the necessary works for manufacturing indigo, sugar, distilling, and printing of chintz; also making furniture, candles, gold and silver work, with engraving; and instruct twenty boys at a time, and furnish them with bed and board and washing, and as they became qualified to gain a livelihood, others should be admitted to keep up the number of twenty. Then, as security to the Society, the whole of the premises, utensils, and goods manufactured, were to be considered the property of the Society until the said sum of Rs. 15,000 should be repaid. He only stipulated that, in addition to the twenty wards of the Society, he should be at liberty to take six other boys as apprentices, for whom he could obtain premiums. Yet in the face of all this assurance of Mr. John Adie,—though he again and again declared himself confident of the utility of such an undertaking, and conscious of his own abilities to carry it out, amounting in his own mind to “a moral certainty of success,”—the Managers of that day had so little turn for developing the resources of the country, and the capabilities of their wards, that they passed a cold, unsympathising, unappreciative resolution, (February, 1795) “that Mr. Adie be informed that the Management are not inclined to risk the children, or the money, in their charge upon such a speculative plan.”

The enterprising John Adie, having failed in his attempt on Tirhoot, appears to have turned his attention to Oude; where he died in the early part of the year 1804. Under the head of “Administrations,” his name appears in the *Calcutta Gazette*, for July of that year, as “late an Indigo Planter in the province of Oude.”

Thus it was once possible that Tirhoot, or a large slice of it, might have become a training ground for the orphans of the Bengal Army, and perhaps a territorial appanage of the Military Orphan Society. But the project was scornfully rejected. And the tract has since proved one of the most remunerative fields for private enterprise—one of the richest mines of private wealth.

From Tirhoot to the Society's Printing-press the transition seems abrupt: but the adoption of the latter project, which, like so many others for the good of the Institution, emanated from Major Kirkpatrick, followed in point of time close on the rejection of the former. In 1796, the subject first came before the Managers as a plan for providing some permanent employment for the boys of the Upper School who had been apprenticed to printers. Undoubtedly the prospects of these boys were of the gloomiest; though they were apprenticed to Press managers, and many of

them completed their time with great credit, there was nothing before the mass of them but to be compositors or printers' devils all their lives. The primary object, therefore, in establishing this press was to provide permanent remunerative occupation for those boys who had served their time, and were thrown on the world : a secondary object also was to raise out of Press profits a fund for the payment of marriage portions to the female wards, without trenching on the general funds of the Society ; there being at present no fixed sum, each female ward on her marriage receiving such sum as the circumstances of the case seemed to call for, and the funds of the Society admitted. It was thought that by connecting together the two objects, an additional motive to industry would be supplied, and a generous, not to say chivalrous, feeling would be called into play ; the young man working at the press all the more readily from the consciousness that his industry was helping to provide a marriage portion perhaps for his own sister, at any rate for those orphaned like himself.

It was a bright vision which at once burst upon the minds of the Managers ! With "cheapness and expedition" for its motto, the Orphan Press would command all the private printing of "the settlement." Books from the pens of Indian authors, now sent to England to be printed, because of the prohibitory rates charged by the Calcutta Publishers, would pour in : the Commander-in-Chief, as the head of the army and the orphan's greatest friend, and all the Government Departments on the mere ground of economy, would send all their work to be executed there ; the combined motives of pity and of policy would carry all before them. To help it on, a weekly newspaper, called "the Old Soldier," was to be published, to be the sole recognised medium of all official communications of Government. So the Military Orphan Press was already in idea a great institution of the country, and a perfect mine of wealth to the Society. This was in 1796.

Men who can trace more than half a century's working of the Orphan Press can see how much of reality there was in the idea,—though it was for some years to be nothing more. Why, it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was that the working it out would involve an amount of energy, and application, and labour, which the climate of Bengal is certainly not now, whatever it might then have been, famous for producing. Or, perhaps the secret lay in the withdrawal from India about this time of the man who had been the originator of this plan, as he had been the founder and mainly the supporter of the Society, William Kirkpatrick, who retired to spend the last years of his active life in lettered ease and

enjoyment.\* However, whatever the cause may have been, the grand project, which the Managers were preparing to announce with a flourish of trumpets in 1796, and which was to prove a pagoda tree to the Society, was allowed to lie long in abeyance. No more was heard of it for seven years. During this time, Madras had been displaying rare activity. An Orphan Society had been formed and a Press established, which was in a most thriving condition. It was not till the year 1803 that the Bengal Managers again revived the subject. Their appreciative powers no doubt quickened by the success at Madras, they began to wonder why their own project had come to an abortive birth, and the "Old Soldier" had existed only in embryo, and had died before it even saw the light. They now took up the work in earnest. The sanction of Lord Cornwallis, who was Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General, was obtained in his double capacity; and promises of support were given: but it was clearly defined that engagements and contracts existing with other presses could not be interfered with; that when those contracts and engagements had been worked out, the Orphan Press should have every opportunity of proving its claims to public support by its efficiency. So types were bought; a house conveniently situated at Kidderpore, then known as "Castle Wray,"† was rented, pending the erection of one for the purpose on the estate; a public circular was issued, substantially similar to the former one, only substituting "the Orphan" for the "Old Soldier", as the name of the proposed weekly newspaper; and omitting all allusion to the Press-fund as providing the marriage portions of the wards. Although the connection would seem to have been in reality kept up; for we find that in the same year (1803) the marriage portion for wards in India was fixed at Rs. 1,000; and in the year after raised to Rs. 2,000; and, in the following year the same consideration was extended to female wards marrying in England; who had previously only received on marrying the pittance of £60, the sum

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\* He was for some time an active member of the London Committee of the Society; and eventually retired to the west of England, and in his quiet retreat near Exeter, prepared for the press his *Journal of an Embassy to Nepâl in 1792*; having been the first Englishman who either officially or privately gained access within the closely barred portals of that kingdom. He also translated, as already mentioned, the *Intercepted Letters of Sultan Tippoo*, which were printed by Government in 1811.

† This house, so called from having been occupied for many years, if not built, by an old Bengal Officer, *General Wray*, stood in the large compound, now better known as the *Leil Kotee* compound; having received this latter name from being for some years at a more recent period an indigo and general dyeing ground.



originally fixed as a *final grant*, which was given to those marrying (as to those starting in life), under the, in their case, most inappropriate title of "apprentice fee."

The Press was at once eagerly resorted to by would-be authors. Two very useful works were soon announced. The first was "the Pay Regulations of the various Military Establishments under the Presidency of Fort William: arranged by Captain William Sheppey Green, Deputy Military Auditor-General," the second, which came out soon after, was "a Digest of the Orders and Regulations of Government for the Guidance and Control of the several Departments under the Military Board: by Lieutenant G. H. Fagan, Head Assistant, Military Board."

In 1806, the plan was started for printing "the Army List and Directory," which made its appearance in the following year.

But authors of another class also came forward, eager to avail themselves of the new opportunity of giving their lucubrations to the public, as something that they hoped would be far more attractive, if not more profitable, than "Pay Regulations," and "Digests of Orders." There had lived and died at one of the Up-country stations a young officer who had left behind piles of poetical effusions, which only his illness and death prevented his sending to the new Press for publication. This duty now devolved on a brother officer and friend, who, it would seem, was a very ardent admirer of his departed friend's powers. He pleaded hard, that "——— was "an excellent classical scholar, and with a chaste, pleasing, and "harmonious muse, possessed a fertile poetical genius corrected "by sound judgment." But he pleaded in vain; the Managers in the same hard, matter-of-fact, unsympathising spirit with which they had ignominiously rejected John Adie's tempting offer of Tirhoot, replied that, "from the specimens of the poetry "sent, they were of opinion that neither credit to the author, "nor profit to the Orphan Press, could be derived from the "undertaking." Soon after, another application, and from one of their body, came to them in their collective character as Printers and Publishers, that they should publish an Opera of his composing, called "the Orphan;" all profits arising from the sale going to the Orphan Society. But despite the author's position, and the benevolence of his motives,—who himself said of the probable success of the work that, "it was not so much "that the thing was worth four rupees, (the proposed price), "but that those for whose benefit it was intended (to use the "French phrase) deserved well of their country,"—the ungracious, but perhaps judicious, reply was that, "the Managers begged "leave to decline having any concern with the publication."

Such was the origin of the Military Orphan Press. For a few years, however, it had a hard struggle for existence. There were some members of the Management who had always looked on it with more or less disfavour, and one day, in October, 1808, finding themselves in a majority at a small meeting of the Managers, they passed a resolution declaring that the whole undertaking was unwise, that it entailed actual loss, that it was never likely to succeed; in short, that it was a *failure*; and ordered that it should be immediately broken up, and the types sold. Happily the Deputy Governor, on learning what had transpired, at once interfered, and summoned a special meeting, which was a full one, and summarily cancelled the resolutions of the former one; and so the Press was saved. Another attempt a few months after was made to throw it over; but happily with no better success. The Press survived, to realise in the course of time nearly all the bright dreams of its originators. Of its success it is only necessary to say that, before its connection with the Society had ceased on its transfer to Government in 1863, just half a century after its formation, it had contributed, under the head of "Press profits," above *twelve lakhs of rupees* to the income of the Society.

But the close of the last century was a time of far more weighty anxieties to the Managers of the Orphan Fund than those to which we have hitherto chiefly referred, the making provision for the wards in India. It was becoming evident that a financial crisis was at hand. The yearly expenditure was frequently in excess of the receipts. The sum which during the first few years had been accumulated and funded was being frequently drawn upon; and though the funded capital did in the first fifteen years amount to some three lakhs, that sum represented donations, deposits on account of children, &c., &c., as well as the regular subscriptions; and it became clear that with a subscription list of about Rs. 75,000, and the yearly expenditure often considerably more, the very existence of the Society was becoming critical. The fact was, during the first years of the Society donations had poured in freely, and subscriptions at their normal rate flowed in regularly quarter by quarter, while only few orphans came on the list, and the out-goings were comparatively small. But each year saw the number of orphans increasing, and consequently the expenses swelling, while the subscriptions remained nearly the same. A few years more of this progressive inverse proportion of expenditure over receipts, and the fund would of necessity collapse. The question was now being often and anxiously asked, *what can be done to save it?* Experience had already taught the Managers that the Society had been established on an over-liberal

basis, and that, moreover, great laxness had crept in in its working. None of the higher grades were obliged to subscribe; and it was naturally from among them, the old Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels, that large families of orphans were being brought on the Fund. Moreover, children born before their parents had begun to subscribe, and after they had withdrawn, were admitted without question: the one principle being to carry commiseration and help to the utmost without giving a thought to consequences. Then, again, officers going to England, as they did without pay, were exempt from subscription; and medical men, when appointed to civil stations, claimed to be exempt, but demanded that their privileges and rights should remain intact. Some officers were even allowed to leave their children at the Kidderpore School for education during absence in England, without having made any provision for paying the monthly expenses. Such an accumulation of irregularities were surely enough to bring the Fund to the verge of insolvency. And it became a grave question how such a result was to be avoided, and how provision even for the orphans already on the list was to be guaranteed.

A few trifling retrenchments were made in the school itself; among others, junior teachers were dispensed with, and some of the best informed of the senior wards received a small monthly sum for teaching the lower classes. It was also resolved that, as under the new rules then recently introduced (April, 1796), officers might draw *full pay*\* while absent on leave in England, they should be compelled to subscribe at the full rate during such absence: and that an officer about to go to England on furlough, and intending to leave behind any children at the School, should deposit Rs. 5,000,† to meet the probable expense of each child while absent. Another rule, undoubtedly a most just one, but which raised a perfect storm of opposition and abuse, was passed at this time, that no child born before the father had become a subscriber, or after he had ceased to subscribe, should be admissible to the benefits of the fund. These were the only steps the Managers were empowered to take on their own authority. As regards the other two questions,

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\* A rather deceptive expression; for this was in reality only *pay proper*, in fact the present scale of furlough pay: but even that was a gain, as previously officers *forfeited all pay* while absent on furlough!

† This amount was, in 1805, reduced to Rs. 3,750 being the amount necessary to produce (at 8 per cent.), Rs. 25 a month as the then estimated monthly cost of each child. But in 1811, when the cost of each child had risen to Rs. 39, and the rate of interest from Government fell to 6 per cent. the sum was raised to Rs. 7,800.

the subscription of Surgeons when at civil stations, and the subscription of the senior grades, they were obliged to seek the aid of Government

But before following out the result\* of their appeal on these two points, it will not be uninteresting to notice one among other indirect modes by which the Managers sought at this time to recruit their finances. They applied to Government to give to the Society the profits arising out of one of the Government Lotteries! Not that Lotteries were looked upon in those days, or at a much later period, as so strange a mode of raising money as would now be the case. They were then very common; and seemed to admit the most varied application. They practically combined all the advantages (?) of the Joint Stock Co. system, the Fancy Fair, and the Public Loan, of the present day. Not only were Indigo-factories, houses, lands, &c., &c., disposed of by Lottery,\* or even estates in England thrown into the Calcutta market by this means;† but even for charitable objects they were commonly resorted to as a means of raising funds; thus a considerable portion of the money collected for St. John's Church, for the erection of the Masonic Hall,‡ and for supporting the Free School,§ were the proceeds of Lotteries; and now and then a "Philanthropic Lottery" would be opened for the support of some destitute family;|| sometimes two distinct and very different objects would be included in the same Lottery; as "a Madras Male Asylum and Bridge Lottery,"¶ or again, "a Madras Male Asylum and Roads Lottery\*\* where one moiety of the profits would go to the charity, and the other to the erection of a public bridge, or the repair of a public road. Sometimes the charitable portion was ambiguously inserted, as in the case of one announced at Madras, in which "the whole net proceeds" were to be "appropriated to the repair of the roads in the vicinity of Madras, and to other *charitable purposes* (?) for the public benefit;"†† or the charitable part of the project altogether disappeared, as in one called "the Bombay Public Works Lottery."‡‡ And it will probably be in the memory of some of our older Calcutta residents that the two broadest

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\* *Calcutta Gazette, passim.*

† *Ibid*, August 20th, 1789; June 30th, 1791 &c., &c.

‡ *Ibid*, June 7th 1792.

§ *Ibid*, October 2nd 1794.

|| *Ibid*, November 12, 1795.

¶ *Ibid*, February 4th, 1796.

\*\* *Ibid*, July 4th, 1799.

†† *Ibid*, September 6th, 1798.

‡‡ *Ibid*, March 9th, 1797.

streets of Calcutta, Wellesley Street and Wellington Street, connecting in a direct line the palaces of Chowringhee with the purlieus of Chitpore, were formed from the profits of a succession of Government Lotteries.

The mode of giving a charitable application to such a system of gambling was rather original. 10 per cent. on all the prizes drawn was paid over to the charity; and thus considerable sums were raised; for instance in "the Masonic Hall Lottery" four lakhs were given in prizes, and thus no less than Rs. 40,000 must have been gained towards the erection of the Masonic Hall; in "the Free School Lottery," though only two lakhs were assigned in prizes, Rs. 20,000 would have been collected in support of the charity. It must be admitted, assuming that money was the only object, that the Lottery system had a great advantage over the more modern one of the Fancy Fair, for it was more successful in the sums raised; and in a benevolent point of view there was quite as much Christian charity in taking a share in a "Philanthropic Lottery" with the chance of gaining a lakh of rupees, as in buying a ticket for a "Charity Ball" with the sole idea of an evening's amusement!

But, to the application of the Managers of the Military Orphan Society, that the benefits of one Lottery might be assigned to that Fund, a refusal was received; Government declining on the ground that, if the Society were based on sound principles, it must be self-supporting, and could in no sense be regarded as a public charity. Government, however, as we shall presently see, was soon to meet a claim, the strength and justice of which was irresistible, which was to extract from the Treasury a far larger sum than could have been realised out of half a score of their Lotteries.

The first two points on which the Managers found themselves compelled to seek the interference of Government, were, first, the refusal of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons, (if single men,) when at civil stations, to subscribe to the Fund; and secondly, the exemption of Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels from subscription, though claiming for their families full benefits by virtue of having subscribed in the lower grades. On the first point they found ready and prompt help. They had for years been carrying on a war with the recusant *medicos*, but with no satisfactory result. In despair they went up to Government in the course of 1798, and at the end of that year an order was issued (dated 21st December, 1798\* compelling "all such Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons,

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\* *Calcutta Gazette*, December 27th, 1798.

"without any option," to contribute to the Fund, "notwithstanding the temporary service of any of them in the Civil Department;" and with a view to removing all difficulty in the way of collecting such subscriptions, the civil officers in charge of the Treasuries "were required to make the authorised stoppages."

Thus easily was the first point settled: but the second was far more complicated. Government had long before been appealed to to include Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels within the compulsory enactment of 1786; but they declined, on the ground that the Institution was a voluntary Society, and that in its formation by the army this exemption of the higher grades was a fundamental rule, which the army alone should alter, and in which they felt disinclined to interfere authoritatively. The evil lay here. It was naturally from these higher grades that the greater number of orphans came. Occasionally the death of a Lieutenant-Colonel or a Colonel would throw four, or five, or even more, children on the Fund, to which he had probably subscribed only a few years as a Major. And this evil was increasing year by year. Nor did there seem any reasonable hope of remedy; these officers rejoicing in their exemption, however unfair to the rest, and the Government declining to enforce subscription from them. Matters were in this state, when a great change in the condition of the Company's Army became necessary; and in its train came at length the unlooked for remedy.

The tale to be intelligible must be a rather long one; but we think it is worth telling. Some years before the period of which we are now treating, the political condition of India had been such as to fill England with anxiety for her Eastern possessions. Besides the native States, Hindoo and Mahometan, who regarded with ill-disguised suspicion the increasing power of the body of traders that had so signally avenged the atrocities of the Black-Hole, there was France, who avowedly and openly sympathised with America in her struggle against her mother-country, growing into a dangerous neighbour at Pondichery. The Company's Army was then very small, and the Europeans a mere fractional part of that small force; so that it became clear that if the Company were to hold their own, they must be largely supplemented by European troops. At the request of the Court of Directors, four Royal Regiments were sent out in 1770.\* The then impending danger was for the time averted: but, once introduced into India, the time never seemed to arrive when these Royal Regiments could be safely dispensed

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\* Auber's India. Vol. II., p. 58.

with. For though the next ten years saw a great change in the position of France—though her dream of an Eastern Empire had passed away with the men from whom it emanated, La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, Bussy, Lally—she was still no unconcerned or inactive spectator of the passing events in the East. If she might not become herself a rival power to England in India, she still hoped to effect the expulsion of the English by a combination among the native States. With this view she had contrived to insinuate into every Court, Mahometan or Hindoo, one or more able officers, under the pretext of disciplining troops, but really with a view to carrying on intrigues in furtherance of her designs against the English. The incongruous and equivocal title assumed by the son of the Mysore usurper, "Citizen Tippoo," the presence of French officers in the Court of Scindiah, and Holkar, and the Peishwah, each with his contingent of French-trained troops; the strong French contingent in the service of even the Nizam, who professed to be a staunch ally of the English; each and all indicated French influence and intrigue, and sometimes also represented French bayonets; and thus called for the continued presence of English troops. Hence the four Royal Regiments were pronounced to be indispensable, and were only recalled to be from time to time relieved. In 1788, it was enacted by Parliament, in the face of earnest remonstrances and strong protests on the part of the Court of Directors, who petitioned to be allowed to raise the four European Regiments for themselves, that four Royal Regiments should be permanently maintained in India at the expense of the Company.\*

Now, under the Company's Charter their Army was barely recognised. In England a Company's Officer's rank was utterly ignored; and in India practically it was little more than nominal. A Colonel, the highest rank in the Company's Army, was only equal to a Captain in a Royal Regiment, and then at the bottom of the grade; and so in each rank; a Captain in the Company's service coming below every Ensign in the Royal Army! The impolicy on public grounds, setting aside the personal injustice, of this systematic supercession was palpable.

But it is with the personal question we have to deal. So long as the presence of Royal Regiments in India was believed to be only a temporary arrangement, this injustice was submitted to, though with no very good grace. But no sooner was it announced as intended to be permanent, than the officers of the Company's Army rose up as one man in protest against

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\* Auber's India Vol. II., 64. These four Royal Regiments were for the whole of India; their original distribution being two in Madras, one in Bengal, and one in Bombay.

such gross injustice.\* Civilian Historians designate this as "the Mutiny" of the English officers; but military men are disposed to describe it by a much milder term. So good was their cause, and so powerful the advocacy brought to bear on their petition to the King by means of their London Committee, that in 1796 they obtained a recognition and readjustment of rank, and some mitigation of the wrongs to which they had been exposed.

Is it asked, what has all this to do with the Military Orphan Society? A few words will show.

The Company's Army, as previously constituted, (say in 1786) † contained only twenty-four officers above the rank of Major, consisting of ten Colonels and fourteen Lieutenant-Colonels. Under the new Order of 1796‡ to place the two armies somewhat more on a level on the score of rank, there were ten Generals, twenty Colonels, and thirty-four Lieutenant-Colonels. So instead of only twenty-four officers, out of a full strength of some 700 of all ranks, being exempt from subscription to the Fund, here were now *sixty-four*! while the increase in officers of the lower grades was barely 150. Moreover, this accession of forty, to the grades in which they would be exempted, would take place *at once*; whereas the addition of the 150 more subscribing members would necessarily be a work of time. If then the dead weight of twenty-four on the previous strength so seriously affected the Fund, how could it do otherwise than sink, and that speedily, under the additional pressure thus applied to it? This called forth from the Management one more and stronger appeal to Government to interfere, to enforce subscription from all ranks, as the constitution of the Army had undergone such a change. Now § Government acknowledged the force of the appeal. But even now did not make the order which they passed absolute. On all officers who should be subsequently promoted, it was to be compulsory; while it remained optional with those who had already been promoted to the favoured grades: and a large majority took advantage of the option. But events soon proved that this partial order of Government did not suffice. The new century opened with

\* See the collection of protests from every station and every arm of the Service, preserved in a rare work called "Original Papers, elucidatory of the Claims preferred by the Officers of the Honourable Company's Army in India;" a copy of which may be found in the Public Library (Metcalf Hall.)

† See a General Order published in the, *Calcutta Gazette*, June 8th, 1786.

‡ *Ibid.*, April 30th, 1796, and corrected in G. O. November 26th, 1798.

§ This order was passed in August, 1797.



war against the Mahrattas, as the old one had closed with that against Tippoo, and the capture of Seringapatam : and the Mahratta war, with its battles of Assaye, Allyghur, Delhi, Laswaree, and Deeg, each with its list of casualties among officers in the higher ranks almost unparalleled, threatened to lay the last straw on the camel's back, in the form of *thirty-two* children of officers in the exempted grades thrown on the Fund in the two years 1803 and 1804, besides a large number of orphans in the lower grades. Lord Lake now as Commander-in-Chief came to the rescue, urged the claims of the Society on Government; and from April 8th, 1807, subscription in every grade has been obligatory,\* indeed forming a clause in every officer's Covenant of service.

But there were other claims, weightier and more direct, involving far greater sums, to which Government had to listen at this period. The amalgamation of the two schools at Levett's house, in 1784, had proved to be productive of very injurious consequences to the Orphan Fund. The two schools thus brought together, both under the same management, came to be regarded as parts of the same institution; so much as that even the accounts of the two, though so perfectly independent, had been mixed up together.

It is the financial injury thus caused to the Society, which chiefly concerns us: yet it is not uninteresting to note how the junction worked unfavourably in other ways. It conveyed a wrong impression of the constitution of the Society; it gave it an eleemosynary character, which as regards neither school was true. The Government had, under a sense of duty, undertaken the charge of the orphans of their soldiers; those orphans were no longer an object of charity. Far less should the orphans of the Officers have been presented in that light. Although at the commencement, donations had, as we have seen, been made with liberal hand, to enable the Society to receive at once the large number of children already orphaned, and thrown mainly on public sympathy and support; still the very object of the Society had been to put a stop to a system which was felt to be as unseemly, in the case of the children of English gentlemen, as it was precarious; the fundamental principle of the institution was that thenceforth the orphan of every Bengal officer was to receive for maintenance and education that which had become a right by virtue of the parent's subscription. It is evident, however, that this independent principle had been allowed to be lost sight of, mainly

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\* A Lieutenant-Colonel's subscription being Rs. 12; a Colonel's Rs. 15; and a General's, Rs. 18.

no doubt, from the connection with the other school. Otherwise, we should never have heard of applications for participation in the profits of a government Lottery; still less should we have seen the amateurs of the Calcutta Dramatic Society more than once bestowing the proceeds of a public performance to help on the funds of this institution.\* Such an appeal, especially as set forth with a lavish overlaying of sentiment in the prologues, could not fail to be galling to the feelings of every high-minded English officer; and, as regarded the orphans of the soldiers, Government ought not to have allowed it. Yet so it was.

But, in a financial point of view, the consequences to the Orphan Society were from the first most serious. The difference between the rupees three a month granted by Government for each child, and the amount which the clothing, feeding, and educating of that child actually cost the Society, had, in the first six years—that is, between 1783 and 1789—amounted to no less a sum than Rs. 71,000!! And even after the Government allowance had been raised to Rs. 5 a month for each child, the Society was by no means safe: because, while any sum which in any one month might have fallen short of this maximum was always carried to the credit of Government, whenever (as was far more frequently the case) the maximum was exceeded, the difference was made up, not by Government, but from the funds of the Society! So that, as one of the Managers wrote in 1794, “for years the children of the European Soldiery had “been maintained largely by encroachments on the funds belonging to the children of the officers.”

But, in addition to the serious loss which was being thus incurred every year, there was another injury caused by the amalgamation which was still longer overlooked. Of the purchase money for Levett's house at Howrah, amounting to Rs. 65,000, Rs. 40,000 had been advanced by Government for the accommodation of the Lower School, the remaining Rs. 25,000, and nearly twice as much more for repairs and enlargement of the premises, had come out of the Orphan Fund. All pecuniary interest in those premises had of course ceased to the Society from the day when their Orphans moved over to Kidderpore; but they continued to lie out of all that money, and it brought to them neither benefit of occupancy, nor interest. Nor was it till the year 1804, that their claim to repayment or compensation, though repeatedly made, was at all recognised. 1804 seems to have been a year of conscientious refunds: for then we find

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\* See *Calcutta Gazette*, February 16th, 1783; February 26th, 1784 &c., &c.,

Government not only acknowledging this debt, so far as the original purchase money was concerned, though refusing to include in the claim the sums expended on the premises, but also authorizing the payment of interest from the date of the separation of the Schools, which had accumulated to Rs. 33,990. They, moreover, admitted another claim, which was to the payment of half the sum which had been lost by the failure of the Bengal Bank, amounting to nearly Rs. 5,000 more.

But there remained still another and even a greater wrong to be righted. This too had grown out of the amalgamation. Under the fatally false impression that it was all one institution, it had become customary at all the stations in the Provinces, to pay the Government allowance for soldiers' children, not from the Government Treasury, but from the Fund contributions of the officers: thus setting payments to soldiers' children against officers' subscription, under the impression that it was all one common Fund. It was not till the beginning of the century, that the Managers began to be aware to what an extent they were losers by this arrangement. The nature and the amount of this loss will be best appreciated by the statement made by the Military Auditor-General, in 1808, to Lord Minto, then Governor-General, who insisted upon a searching investigation of the Society's claim, and a full report thereon.

"The arrangement," (he says)\* "was, I imagine, adopted as a matter of convenience of the Pay Department, and tacitly permitted by the managers of the Society, who were not, I suppose, aware of the very serious loss with which that arrangement was attended on the fund of the officers' children. This, however, is only part of the loss which has attended the past confusion of the accounts of the Orphan Society; for besides the advances at out stations, it appears that a considerable part of the expenses of the Lower School at Howrah, have been provided for by cash advance from the stock of the Officers' Fund, whereby not only great loss of interest has been sustained; but also a loss by discount on the sale of Paper, which has been occasionally disposed of to provide for the wants of the Lower School. This strange mixture of the accounts of the Officers' Fund with those of the Lower School, has been practised for many years; indeed, I believe, from the earliest period of the Institution; and your Lordship will be able to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the losses to which the Officers' Fund has been subject by advances made from its stock for the expenses of the Lower School in the course of 36 years, when it is stated

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\* Extract from letter of Military Auditor-General to Governor-General dated May 27th, 1808.

“ that the balance now actually due by the Honorable Company to the Managers, on account of the expenses of the Lower School, *for two years*,—1805 and 1806—is Sicca Rs. 44,208-6-6, “ and besides this, it was found that above Rs. 63,000 had, “ up to December, 1804, become due to the Fund on account of “ advances made to the Howrah School.”

The result of this representation was, that the accounts of the two schools were separated and adjusted, by a large payment being made to the Society: and from that time the accounts and all proceedings of the Government Lower School have been kept distinct from those of the Military Orphan Society.

And now it seemed as if a brighter day were dawning. There were signs of improvement everywhere. The original uncalculating liberality of the Society, and the laxness and irregularity of its administration, were brought under restraint and control; all accounts with Government adjusted; all arrears paid up; and henceforth the accounts of the two schools kept perfectly separate; subscription from all grades made compulsory; and officers on furlough in England required to pay. And the effect of these changes was soon perceptible.

One gratifying sign of financial improvement is worthy of note. In 1795, an application had come from the most progressive of the station committees, that at Cawnpore, to the Management, urging them, to consider “ the pittance of a “ widow’s pension from Lord Clive’s Fund, especially to those who “ were under the necessity of passing their widowhood in this “ country,” and “ to extend the benefits of this Fund to the widows.” But those were gloomy days for the Society, and their reply was that, “ such an arrangement formed no part of “ the Society’s plan, and the funds would not admit of their “ undertaking it.” When, however, another appeal was made in 1809 on behalf of the Widows’ Fund, which had in the meantime been established (in 1805), although the Orphan Society found, on consulting the Advocate-General, that they could not legally transfer any of their surplus to any other object than that for which it was subscribed without obtaining the consent of the whole army, they felt themselves to be in a position to set apart one lakh of rupees, the interest of which was to be given half-yearly in aid of the Widows’ Fund.

Another sign, too, was the building of the Boys’ School. In 1808, Government began to contemplate the removal of the Lower School from Howrah, and agreed to purchase some sixty boggahs of the southern portion of the Kidderpore Estate, (for which they were to give only Rs. 11,000) for the purpose of erecting on it a suitable range of buildings. But this plan was abandoned in the following year; and the space which the

Government had intended to purchase was thus replaced at the disposal of the Society; and as Kidderpore House was at that time dangerously overcrowded, there being seventy-seven girls, and nearly as many boys, it was resolved to make use of this available ground, and erect on it a range of buildings capable of accommodating 100 boys, with the necessary complement of masters. This was at once begun, the building was completed (at a cost of Rs. 56,000) and taken possession of by the boys of the Upper School in 1810. And the Boys' and Girls' Schools separated, after having been together in Kidderpore House for just twenty years.

About this time, too, the Managers had the comfort of finding greater facilities in providing for their boys. Several obtained situations in Government offices in Calcutta; some were apprenticed to the Government of Prince of Wales Island; and others found employment in Amboyna and Java.

And now an additional source of income, to an amount then little anticipated, was to be opened out for them. Up to this time access to the southern and western suburbs, of Alipore, Kidderpore, and Garden Reach, was over the two very ungainly and unsafe bridges, then commonly known as *Jeerat's* and *Serman's* bridges. But in 1810, Government resolved to replace these by two more creditable productions of the Public Works Department, though they were still to be wooden structures: and, in order to extend the contemplated improvements in this region, they applied to the Military Orphan Society to allow a road to be made across their property, parallel to the nullah, connecting these new bridges on the Southern bank; for up to this time the grounds of Kidderpore House had sloped down to the water's edge.\* This new road was constructed in 1812; and it was then proposed by one of the Managers to let out for native tenements and a bazaar the space lying between the road and the nullah, which could be no longer used by the inmates of Kidderpore House. Out of this arose the "Kidderpore Bazaar."

All these improvements date from the first and second decade of the present century. The Society was then established on a firm basis. It had passed through an anxious youth; it may be said to have "come of age" in 1804; it had a hard struggle into mature manhood during the next fifteen years.

Here we leave it for the present, to resume its history in a future number.

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\* This right was once very warmly but unsuccessfully contested (in March, 1813), by the then Collector of the 24 Pargunnahs, W. Thackeray, who was no other than the father of the brilliant author of "Vanity Fair."

## ART. III.—RADHAKANT DEB.

THE death of Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., which melancholy event took place at Brindabun on the 19th April, 1867, has evoked the public sorrow of the Hindu community. The position occupied by him was one of great influence, and his demise, albeit in the fulness of years, as well as of honours, is regarded by his countrymen as a national calamity. At a public meeting of his friends and admirers, held at the Hall of the British Indian Association on the 14th May last, representatives of different classes bore their weighty testimony to his pre-eminent merits. The following resolution passed at the meeting, shows the estimation in which he was held :—

“ That this meeting desires to record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of the Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., who, as a pioneer in the cause of native education, as an active supporter of all public movements for the general well-being of the people, and as a zealous worker for the promotion of Sanscrit literature for upwards of half a century, rendered services which eminently entitle his memory to the grateful respect of the Indian Public.”

It is evident that Rajah Sir Radhakant was essentially a representative man, and exercised no inconsiderable influence on the affairs of orthodox Hindus. The life lived by him was truly honourable and laudable. It was a life of unselfish devotion to literature, and to what he esteemed the interests of his country. The memory of such a man belongs not to any particular class or community of men, but is the heritage of the civilized world. A short notice of his career may not, therefore, be unacceptable to our readers, specially as it was contemporaneous with the commencement and progress of several important changes in this country.

Radhakant Deb was born at his uncle's house at Simlah, Calcutta, on the 1st Choitro, in the Saká 1705, corresponding with 10th March, 1783, A. D. He was the son of Rajah Goopeemohun Deb and the grand-son of Moonshee, afterwards Maharajah, Nobokrishna Deb, the native Persian Secretary to Lord Clive. He received his elementary English

education at Mr. Cumming's Calcutta Academy. He also acquired a very respectable knowledge of Sanscrit and Persian under the private tuition of pandits and moulvies. Though not a gifted man, yet he was endowed with a keen intellect and a retentive memory, which enabled him to master those branches of learning to which he devoted himself. He greatly improved his knowledge by after-study and wide intercourse with scholars. Though born in affluent circumstances, and boasting of a distinguished filiation, he refused the rôle of a Rajah, and rebelled against the system, which, in this country specially, consigns and condemns the cadets of opulent families to a life of inaction and self-indulgence. Surrounded by temptations which usually prove irresistible to men born in affluence, he did not allow them to conquer him, but consecrated his energies, his time, and his resources to the cultivation of literature, and to the great work of disseminating knowledge. Influenced by the ambition to benefit his fellow-beings, he felt he could best gratify that ambition by reviving Sanscrit learning, and assisting in the diffusion of English education.

When Rajah Radhakant commenced his career, his countrymen had but just commenced to shake off their quasi-religious prejudices against English education, and to manifest an eagerness to receive its benefits when communicated in accordance with those principles of reason, discretion, and good faith, which the Government promulgated.

The *Mohabidyalia* or Hindu College had been established. This institution had made some progress under the auspices of the native Directors and European Secretary. Among the Directors, was Gopeemohun Deb. Him Radhakant succeeded in the Direction. Throughout his connection with the College, he strove to promote its interests. On his retirement from the Committee of Management, the late Honourable Mr. Bethune, as its President, forwarded him the following extract from the proceedings thereof, dated the 29th June, 1850 :—"Resolved that this meeting cannot allow "Rajah Radhakant Deb, to retire from an active share in the "management of the Hindu College, without placing on record "their sense of the services which the Rajah had rendered to "the cause of education in India during the long period of "thirty-four years, which has elapsed, since his first connection "with the establishment of the Bidyalia in Calcutta; and they "desire to express their hope, that, he may be long spared in "good health and vigorous old age to witness the good effects "of the spread of that enlightened spirit of intelligence, which "he has been so instrumental in encouraging."

On the formation of the Calcutta School Book Society, Bajah Radhakant came forward to render his best assistance in the preparation and compilation of suitable books, adapted to the understandings of those for whom they were intended.

On the 1st September, 1818, the School Society was established for the purpose of "assisting and improving existing institutions, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents by superior instruction before becoming teachers and instructors." The Society was placed under the Control of a Managing Committee, composed of twenty-four members, of whom, sixteen were Europeans and eight Natives. The following gentlemen were its first office-bearers:—Sir Anthony Buller, President, J. H. Harrington and J. P. Larkins, Vice-Presidents, J. Baretti, Treasurer, S. Lagrundge, Collector, David Hare, European Secretary, and Radhakant Deb, native Secretary. To ensure the due fulfilment of the object of the Society, the Committee divided themselves into three Sub-committees for the distinct prosecution of the three principal plans:—one for the establishment and support of a limited number of regular schools; another for the aiding and improving the indigenous schools or *patsalahs* of the country; and the third for the education of a select number of pupils in English and in some higher branches of tuition. At the end of the first year, the donations amounted to about ten thousand rupees. The resources thus munificently supplied, enabled the Society to commence its operations in right earnest. It established two regular, or, as they were termed, "nominal" schools, rather to improve by serving as models, than to supersede the existing institutions of the country. They were designed to educate children of parents unable or unwilling to pay for their instruction. At that time education was not so much appreciated as now, and the Society was perfectly right in giving gratuitous instruction. Though we readily admit that, as a rule, education must be paid for, because it would be otherwise but little prized, yet where there is no demand for it, a demand must be created. This consummation was brought about by the Calcutta School Society's schools. Both the Tuntuneah and the Chapatollah schools were attended with remarkable success. The former was situated on the Cornwallis Street, nearly opposite the temple of *Kalli*, and consisted of a Bengallee and English department; the latter was held in the house at College Square, now owned by Baboo Hara Lall Mitter, and which was entirely an English school. The two schools were amalgamated at the end of 1834. The amalgamated school is known as David Hare's school.



Radhakant Deb discharged for some time the duties of the office of Honorary Native Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, and took a most lively interest in the schools and auxiliary *patsalaks* established by David Hare. He greatly improved those *patsalaks* by introducing order and system into them, by bringing them under an energetic and efficient supervision, and by testing their progress by periodical examinations which were held in his own house at Shobabazar.

In 1820, Rajah Radhakant published the first Bengallee *Nitikathā*, and also a Spelling Book, both founded on the European model. He zealously seconded the efforts of David Hare for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives, assisting him in improving and multiplying schools and *patsalaks*, and introducing him into the *penetralia* of Hindu society, and thus proved a most valuable co-adjutor of that apostle of education.

On the question of Female Education, which in his time was a vexed question, Radhakant took a temperate line advocating *senana*, but not school—instruction for females of respectable classes. This fact, however, clearly proves that he was deeply impressed with the evils of allowing women to be brought up in ignorance and idleness. He rendered valuable assistance to the late Gouramohana Vidyānāth, the Pandit of the School Society, in the preparation and publication of a pamphlet, called the *Strī-Sikṣā Vidhaya*, on the importance of female education, and its accordance with the dictates of the *Śāstras*. The late Honourable Mr. Bethune addressed him a complimentary letter, for being the first Hindu in modern time who advocated female education.

But the fame of Radhakant Deb must rest mainly on the voluminous Sanskrit Lexicon called, *Sabdhakalpadrūpa*. This laborious literary undertaking absorbed the best portion of his life, and will remain a monument of his profound scholarship. As a repertory of Sanskrit literature, it is an invaluable book for reference. The comprehensiveness of its range, and the excellence of its arrangements, are calculated to afford great facilities to the study of Sanskrit literature. It therefore constitutes his chief claim on the homage of the literary republic. This work has elicited the applause of those best able to judge of its merits. The learned Societies of Europe were the first to recognise them. The Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Kaiserliche Academy of Vienna, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the Oriental Societies of Germany and America, the Asiatic Society of Paris, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities, forwarded him diplomas

of honorary or corresponding membership. Even the crowned heads of Europe were not slow in appreciating his literary performance, and in honouring him for it. The late Czar Nicholas of Russia and the King Frederick VII. of Denmark sent him medals, and Her Majesty the Queen of England conferred on him a splendid gold medal, bearing on one side the head of Her Majesty, and on the reverse the words—"From Her Majesty Queen Victoria to Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor." It was accompanied with the following letter from the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India :—

" India Office, 28th July, 1859.

" SIR,

" I have laid before the Queen your letter with the copy  
" of the *Saddhakalpadrama*, forwarded by you for presentation  
" to Her Majesty, and I am commanded to acquaint you that Her  
" Majesty has received the work very graciously, and fully  
" appreciating the spirit of loyalty in which you have transmitted  
" it, has directed me to forward to you the accompanying  
" medal.

" I have the honor to be,

" Sir,

" Your Most Obedient and Humble Servant,

" CHARLES WOOD."

In 1835, Radhakant Deb and Dwarkanath Tagore were appointed by the Government to be Justices of Peace and Honorary Magistrates of the Town of Calcutta. The post was then really one of honour, inasmuch as it was confined to a chosen few, instead of being conferred, as now, upon the whole horde of Browns and Boses, Robinsons and Ramchunders.

On the 10th July, 1837, the Governor-General in Council in consideration of his high social, ancestral, and personal claims invested Radhakant Deb with a *khilat*, or robe of honour, jewels, a sword and shield, and conferred on him the title of Rajah and Bahadoor. The late Sir William Hay Macnaughten, then Secretary to the Government of India, thus announced to him the conferral of the distinction.—"That the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to confer this honour on you in consideration of the dignity of your ancestors, the high character for probity and learning you bear among your countrymen, and the laudable anxiety you have ever displayed to render your services useful to the public. The title of Rajah and Bahadoor, which his Lordship in Council has been pleased to confer upon you, will accordingly be notified in the *Official Gazette*, and will be accompanied by the usual marks of distinction."

Towards the middle of 1848, the hitherto unchequered life of Radhakant Deb met with a rude shock. An aggravated affray having occurred in Monohurpore, a village situated in the sub-division of Serampore, a false charge of aiding and abetting in it was preferred at the instigation of Bykantsnath Moonshee against Rajah Radhakant. He was arrested in consequence of it, and was incarcerated in a room standing upon the compound of the dwelling house of the Joint Magistrate. Though the offence was bailable, and bail was forthcoming, yet it was refused. But the Nizamut Adawlut, on application being made to it, ordered the Rajah to be enlarged on bail. The Joint Magistrate believing a *prima facie* case had been made out against the Rajah, sent it up for trial to the Sessions Court. Mr. Robert Torrens was appointed Special Sessions Judge to try the case. After a searching and protracted investigation, he dismissed the case as false, and ordered the Rajah to be discharged. The acquittal of the Rajah was a source of great satisfaction to those who were intimately acquainted with him. Sir Herbert Maddock, K.T., the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, in a letter dated 14th January, 1849, thus writes to him: "I wish you would call upon me to-morrow or the next day. "You have had my sympathy in your late misfortune, and I "wish to congratulate you on the honourable acquittal which you "have received."

On the institution of the order of the Star of India, Rajah Radhakant was the only Bengalee gentleman who was invested with the K.C.S. I-ship. The venerable knight did not, however, live long to enjoy this well-merited distinction.

In politics, Radhakant Deb was an undoubted reformer. Though he had no strong political views or fine abstract theories of government, yet he was a zealous advocate of the political as well as the mental elevation of his countrymen. He had taken a lead in several public movements among the native community for the promotion of their political welfare, before he identified himself with the present advanced political party of Bengal.

When the grand demonstration against the Resumption of Lakbraj lands was made, he took an active part in it. It was in the shape of a monster meeting, which was held in the Town Hall for the purpose of protesting against that measure. The meeting was attended by eight thousand people, the bulk of whom, denied all standing-room in the Hall, assembled outside it in the *maidan*. He was a leading member of the Landholders' Association, which continued its useful labours on behalf of the zemindars of Bengal for several years, till it was replaced by the Bengal British Indian Association, which was established

on a more catholic basis, having for its object the promotion of the interests of the ryots as well as those of the zemindars. In 1851, the latter body was in its turn superseded by the establishment of the British Indian Association, of which Rajah Radhakant Deb was elected the President. He retained the office of President of the British Indian Association till his death, and used to declare that he was more proud of that office than of his title of Rajah Bahadoor, inasmuch as it indicated the chiefship of a body which was a power in the State, and was destined to achieve immense good to the country. Though latterly his age and retiring habits incapacitated him from taking an active part in the deliberations of the British Indian Association, yet his interest in them never waned. Whenever there was any public movement in connection with the Association, he used to come out from his retirement and join in the same. There were often questions in which he was not at one with the leading members of the Association, but in such cases he subordinated his convictions to those of the latter, and allowed them to have their own way rather than create a schism. Thus he led a party which he did not strictly represent, but in this respect he was not in a worse predicament than his great prototypes of England, Gladstone and Disraeli, who respectively lead the Liberals and the Conservatives. He represented, in fact, family influence and personal prestige rather than strong political convictions.

In religion, the views of the Rajah Radhakant Deb may be best described by saying he was a consistent and orthodox Hindu. Like several other enlightened men of other enlightened times, he clung to the creed in which he had been cradled. But it was a creed not calculated to make human nature richer and higher, but poorer and smaller than it is originally constituted. He did not out-grow the prejudices of the nursery.

The superstitious element which had been mild in his father, Rajah Gopeemohun, and torpid in his uncle, Rajah Rajkissen, assumed in him an aggressive development. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that his attachment to the antiquated customs and usages of his country, was as devoted as his advocacy of educational measures was zealous. In him, the argument had a strong hold that what has lasted a long time, must be right, and was intended to last. The reverence for existing usages which is strong in human nature was stronger in Radhakant Deb. His belief in the wisdom of his ancestors was unlimited. Thus impressed, he proved during the latter end of his life an anachronism. He witnessed the beginning of a new age. More than half a century had passed, since he was the pet of his grand-father, Maharajah Nobokrishna. A new world

had come into being. The places he frequented, the schools and colleges he visited, the public meetings he attended, were filled with men, compared with whom, the contemporaries of Nobokrishna and Gopeemohun might be denominated barbarous, men of new ideas and new feelings, men who had been trained in our educational institutions, and whose character had been moulded by English education, by intercourse with Englishmen, by wealth, by commerce, and by trade. Was it possible that the Bengal of Moonshee Nobokrishna could be revived in the midst of the intellectual civilization and Europeanization of the present age? But this impossibility does not seem to have occurred to Radhakant Deb. He could not accept or realize the revolution that was going on around him. He was surprised and grieved to find customs and institutions, which had been consecrated by immemorial usage, subjected to a strict scrutiny, and Hinduism itself summoned to the bar of reason. He was scandalised to see liberties in thought and action assumed in broad day-light, which would have been condemned by his father and grandfather as pestilential heterodoxy.

Though naturally a humane man, his humanity was cramped by a mistaken prejudice for the institution of *Suttee*. When Lord William Bentinck passed his celebrated edict for the abolition of that revolting rite, Radhakant Deb moved the *Dhurma Shobha* to petition Her Majesty's Government at Home for the repeal of the same. Rammohun Roy was in England when the petition reached its destination, and had the gratification to see its prayer rejected. When the *Lex Loci* was passed by the Legislature of India, Radhakant Deb not only failed to appreciate the great principle affirmed and recognised by it, but denounced it as an infringement of the rights of the Hindus. Great was his astonishment, greater still his indignation, when on examining the provisions of the law, he found that native Christian converts, always his *bete noir*, were entitled to succeed to their inheritance when their fathers died intestate. He went up to Her Majesty's Government for its abrogation. Happily for the interests of humanity, the petition shared the same fate as the *Suttee* petition. Again, in 1856, the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement submitted to the Legislative Council a well-reasoned petition for the enactment of a law for the suppression of the evils of polygamy, Radhakant Deb thought it proper to head a counter-movement, and get up a counter-petition. When he took action in these matters, he no doubt believed that he was acting according to the dictates of his own conscience, but was in reality exercising a retrogressive influence on society.

At the first blush of the matter, it seems hard and scarcely fair, that Radhakant Deb should be judged as we have judged him. There are those who are dazed by the glamour of greatness, and are unable to find any errors associated with it. They regard such errors but as accidents. We believe, however, that the most faithful painter is he who represents the imperfections, as well as the perfections of his subject. What we have said, we have said in the interests of truth and principle.

We freely admit that Radhakant Deb acted according to the light that was in him. We are, moreover, inclined to believe that he excelled the system of religion in which he had been brought up, as so many of the votaries of better and purer systems fall short of them. He was a man of intense earnestness, of strong convictions, and of undoubting faith, but he lacked breadth of views and latitudinarianism of principle. He also lacked that bold spirit and penetrating genius, which inspired a Ramanund and Ram-mohun Roy, and which lifted them out of the mass of men, whose belief is regulated by the geography of their country, and the prejudices of their nursery. We conceive that narrow and superstitious views and dogmas are often incompatible with a progressive civilization, and we have seen how the views and dogmas of Radhakant Deb marred his usefulness and interfered with the formation of a healthy public opinion. As the Coryphæus of Hinduism, his position was necessarily that of a patron of error. The circle in which he moved, and of which he was the centre, strove to ostracise enlightened men, and to strangle reformatory measures. His religious drill-sergeant Baboo Abinash Gangoolly, exceeded his chief in the severity of his persecution of heterodoxy, and compelled him to war with heretics against his better judgment.

But in justice to Radhakant Deb, we are bound to declare in favour of the active religion of his life. The suavity of his disposition, and the nobility of his heart, endeared him to all with whom he was brought into intimate and familiar contact. His purse was always open to the calls of distress. He was not only a literary man, but a patron of literature. He delighted to assist that class of pandits who are seldom in easy circumstances, and whose normal condition may be described to be one of impecuniosity. One of the last acts of his active life, was a graceful donation to a foreign scholar. Dr. S. Schutz of Germany having applied through Dr. Roer to Radhakant Deb for the sum of £40 to £50 in order to enable him to keep his Sanskrit library, the Rajah cheerfully forwarded him

bank notes for rupees four hundred. The acknowledgment of the recipient is dated Bidefield, October, the 21st, 1857, and thus concludes:—"May Heaven protect you and grant you health and happiness; may the great Author of the world give me an opportunity of proving that I am not unworthy of your kindness."

The biography of Rajah Radhakant Deb may be summed up in the words—"He went on cultivating and disseminating knowledge." Among the opulent and highly-placed Hindu gentlemen of Bengal, he was one of the first to set the example of a life devoted to study. The very plan of his life was quite different from that of those surrounding him. He had no personal prospects to promote, no officials to Kowtow, and no *sahēblogues* to conciliate. In striving and wrestling in the fight of life, he did not seek a foremost place, but a foremost place was accorded to him. Though Hindu society has entered into a new phase for which new leaders are required, yet we shall be glad to see it under the pilotage of men, endowed with his earnestness of purpose and singleness of heart, and deep conscientiousness, but saturated by the enlightened spirit of the present age.

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ART. IV.—*Notes of a Trip abroad, with details of a six days walk in Switzerland, in May, 1866.* By an Old Bengalee.

WHEN a man on the shady side of fifty finds himself for the first time desirous of rushing into print, he should have something like a good excuse to the public and to himself. The excuse of the writer of these notes, who is known to his friends under the designation of Colonel Samivel, is, that having, also for the first time, enjoyed the pleasure of a brief holiday in Switzerland, and been enabled quite by accident to make what, he hopes, will be deemed good use of his chance, after having felt the want of knowing a little of the country before starting, he is induced to think that even the few hints he can now give, may be found interesting and useful to intending tourists, to the extent at least of pointing out how a small section of that grand country can be travelled over, to good, if not to the best, advantage. And if this hope is realized by a few tourists, with even a small portion of the pleasure derived by himself from first making and now recording his six days' walk, he trusts the requisite excuse will be deemed fairly given.

During the last thirty-six years Colonel Samivel has travelled much, often amongst those Himalayan mountains which in elevation greatly exceed Mont Blanc, and certainly cannot fall short of that or any mountain in Europe for grandeur or sublime desolation. But the little he saw of Switzerland satisfied him, that a man must be difficult to please who is not charmed with what he can see and do there. And if the Alps do lack the grandly majestic backing of mountains rising to an elevation of 28,000 feet, with many varying from 22,000 feet up to that limit, they have the great charm and comfort of civilization in the valleys close at hand, with a happy and prosperous people, smiling villages, orchards, and vineyards, and good creature comforts nearly everywhere available, which are so much wanted and missed in the Himalayas.

Indeed, the only point of decided lack of interest in the Alps, is in the almost total absence of animal life, which



appears very remarkable. Such a tour as Colonel Samivel describes could not, he says, be made in the Himalayas at any season of the year, without the traveller seeing many varieties of pheasants, deer, black and probably red bears, wild goats and sheep, including the huge *ovis ammon*, and perhaps the wild yak and wild horse among the highest limits of his journey; nor could he well fail, if a sportsman, to have many chances of a good shot without even leaving his road or path. But in the Alps, our Colonel records, hardly one wild animal is to be met, and only a very few small birds. There are marmots on the higher ranges, and a stray fox may be seen (he did see one at Grindelwald, also a brace of grouse), but there is a very disadvantageous comparison in this respect between the Alps and the Himalayas, and it formed the only drawback in his estimation to the full enjoyment of travel in the Alps.\*

Colonel Samivel left London on the 1st May, had a very rough passage from Dover to Calais, and nearly all the passengers suffered to an extent that made him think how dear travelling must be to them, when it must be approached and left through such a dismal portal as even two hours of the misery he witnessed! But warm soup, and a good lunch at Calais soon brightened up even the most disconsolate of his fellow-passengers, and all their troubles were forgotten before the next morning.

Calais Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne and its wonderful Church of St. Ursula, also the fine old Roman archway leading to the now being modernized and repaired townhall, both deserving more notice than they usually receive, Ems, with its beauties of nature, and moral deformity in the shape of a gorgeous "Coursal" or gaming-house, and Wiesbaden, where nature is almost as lavish of her beauties, while the drawback is even more gorgeous and ruin-insisting,—too often ruin entailing no doubt,—all these are well known, and in their way deservedly admired. Our author would, however, say a word in favour of Bonn, where the flowers were so beautiful, and the nightingales were singing day and night in such numbers, and with such a glorious variety of harmony, that he could have lingered there for weeks, instead of for the brief two days happily enjoyed with a kind friend.

From Wiesbaden Colonel S. went to Heidelberg, with its grand old castle and fine collection of relics, pictures, ice, and the beautiful panorama of river, town, and opposite hill-side spread

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\* Colonel Samivel was unfortunate. The Austrian, Bavarian and Noric ranges abound in chamois and other game. *Ed. C. E.*

out in full view, most enjoyable, and worth a longer visit than he could afford.

Thence to Lucerne, with its beautiful blue lake in front, and Righi and Pilatus to left and right, all very enticing, though doubtless more so in fine weather than during the rain and gloom he encountered. But the trip down the lake to Flüelen on a stormy day, brought out the grand masses of mountain which shut in the lake, in perhaps their greatest beauty, and he states that he rarely enjoyed anything more than this day's steamer travel, with the short walk to quaint Altorf where Tell is said to have shot his famed arrow, but which travellers are now beginning to look upon as quite an old woman's story.

From Lucerne he proceeded by steamer to Alpnach Gisted (about one hour); and thence by diligence to Brienz, passing the small lakes Sarnen and Lungen, and over the Brünig, was a beautiful trip, somewhat marred by high wind and snow on the Brünig, the snow turning to heavy rain as he neared Brienz, and spoiling much of the pleasure of the steamer run to Interlaken.

From Interlaken, where the walnut trees are of great size, flowers pretty, and the view of the Jungfrau most glorious from the hotel windows, he took a drive with a friend to see Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald. The scenery up the Lauterbrunnen glen is very grand. The famed Staubbach water-fall, 925 feet in height, rather disappointed our traveller, and it certainly looks better from a little distance than from close under, where the volume of water appears smaller than it really is, but from a distance, the apparent ascending of part, while the main body is falling, caused, by the foamy particles falling slower than the body of water, is curious and interesting. Returning a few miles down the Lauterbrunnen glen, he turned eastward up the Grindelwald glen, which though less grand and wild was very fine, numerous large cherry and apple trees being in full flower along the lower parts of the valley, as indeed everywhere during the merry month of May in Switzerland, and many of the trees much larger than they are accustomed to in England. He reached Grindelwald after  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours of leisurely carriage travel and loitering about, and the fine cultivated valley with the grand Eiger mountain rising up snow-clad boldly on the south side, its glacier descending quite to the valley, was indeed a fine sight. The glacier is about one mile from the village, and Colonel S. was soon induced by his guide to walk across and see it. A feeder of the black Lütschine River comes from the mouth of the glacier, an arched opening of blue ice, about sixty feet wide and twelve feet high, dripping clear water under the warm sun-shine. On one side men were busily

employed quarrying out the clear blue ice, looking exactly like a marble quarry, for dispatch, to the Paris Exhibition of 1867 ! He had passed many long narrow carts, drawn by one horse or bullock, laden with the ice, thinly covered with coarse cloth or blankets, and it had struck him that the waste in transit must be every great.

A guide soon induced Colonel S. to think that a walk over the grand Scheideck pass, to Reisenbach near Meyringen, would be easy and agreeable, and his description so reminded me of pleasant wanderings in the snow in former days, that he at once decided on making the trip next day.

The friend with whom Colonel Samivel had till then travelled returned in the carriage to Interlaken, and he himself to sleep at the Hotel du Glacier, and make an early start next morning. He had no change of clothes, nor any suitable boots for walking, but he believed there could be no great difficulties before him. He had the pleasure of seeing three fine avalanches fall from the upper part of the grand Eiger mass, while sitting at dinner in the hotel, and he went early to bed in hopes of a fine morning and early start. We propose now to make some extracts from Colonel Samivel's journal, allowing him to speak in the first person.

17th May.—I was up at 3-15 A. M., and ready by 3-30, the morning very fine, a cookoo calling and a small bird singing merrily, even at this early hour, while the cold grey masses of snow across the valley appeared very grand.

After waiting a long while for the guide, I sent a man to his house, fearing he might have changed his mind, and that I should lose my walk. He came about 4 A.M., looking very unhappy, and said that his wife had been taken dangerously ill during the night, and was yet so. He had not been in bed, as was evident from his looks, but his elder brother who was one of the best guides in the province would accompany me on the terms settled, *viz.*, twelve francs, including drink-money, and everything, with option to me to give more or not. I liked the appearance of the new guide, and though his speaking only French and German was a difficulty, considering that I knew no German and only the little French learned at school nearly forty years before, I agreed to start: some bread, hard boiled eggs, and a flask of brandy had been made ready overnight, and we started at 4-10 A.M. I would here say that for travellers who wish to be conveniently near the snow and glaciers, and to tramp a little upon them without trouble or inconvenience, I have seen no place more likely to suit, for a few days' visit, than Grindelwald, which in many respects

is a most inviting spot: and the hotel accommodation is good.

I had not provided myself with a compass, so can only say that our route over the grand Scheideck was in a tolerably north-east direction, while the bearings of peaks or ranges noted by me must be taken as guess work. A compass is I think essentially necessary for pleasure, and may prove so for safety in snow travelling, and as I had formerly always used one, I should have been provided in this instance, but that my walk was quite unexpected. Our route lay up the valley, gradually ascending, the sunrise lighting up peak after peak to the south until all was one blaze of light, and the guide assured me that a more perfect day for our trip could not have been found. At 5-25 A.M., we were opposite the upper glacier, a quantity of confusedly heaped together blue ice, with some grand overhanging masses of snow here and there, that would descend in fine avalanches, perhaps during the day, certainly in a few days, under the warm sun-shine now likely to prevail.

At 6 A. M., we reached the first snow on the west slope of the grand Scheideck, with some grand precipices of the north face of the Wetterhorn, just across a narrow valley to our right, rising perpendicularly, or often overhanging, to an elevation of, I think, fully 2,000 feet; and beyond, the pure snow of the main peak glistened under the sun-shine as if studded with millions of diamonds. The snow we walked over was almost equally brilliant, and on putting a small diamond ring into it, the stone appeared to twinkle and blaze just the same, certainly not more brilliantly. The occasional rills of water we passed were coated with pure ice from last night's frost, and the snow was crisp and firm, seldom giving way under the foot. This firmness in the early morning is a great comfort, and any one who knows the difference between walking over a firm surface or sinking in thigh-deep if a few hours later, will appreciate the advantage of early rising for snow travel. Occasional bird tracks in the snow, some of rather large size, were the only signs of life we saw, though a few deserted huts, now half-buried in the snow, showed how different would be the scene as summer advanced, and the herds of cattle were moved up to the young herbage, when all below in the valley would be parched up.

At one part of the easy ascent we had a fine view of the main peak of the grand Eiger mountain, 12,240 feet, behind the smaller peak seen from Grindelwald: and away, to our left was the fine mass of the Faulhorn, with its two hotels seemingly half-buried in snow, how different to what they

would be in a few weeks when full of eager and happy tourists!

The whole ascent to the summit of the grand Scheideck was easy, over broad masses of snow, a few pine trees here and there; and at 7.15 A.M., we sat down to breakfast on the snow-covered roof of the stable of the hotel, now deserted and heavily drifted round with snow. The view around was very grand, including all seen from Grindelwald and some fine distant masses of snow to the north-east, while close across to our right, the steep rocky precipices of the Wetterhorn rose grandly up.

After resting half an hour, my only drawback being cold feet from having now and then sunk knee-deep in the snow, we started for Reisenbach, over fine snow beds, with patches of pine forest as we descended, the trees beautifully fringed with icicles and long moss. By degrees we came upon bare patches of ground, covered with small, blue, and white crocuses, which with other pretty flowers, the deep blue gentian included, seem to spring up immediately the snow disappears.

My guide was intelligent and obliging, and I was very agreeably surprised to find how much I could understand his French, after persuading him to speak slowly and clearly. In fact I never after had any trouble, and as we talked nearly the whole day (and afterwards during our six days' trip). I must have learned more French at school, and in a little subsequent very desultory reading, than I ever had an idea of, which may be a comfort to other travellers, who at first think, as I really did, that speaking or understanding French was out of the question.

At 9-10 A.M., we left the snow, save occasional patches here and there, and I halted to rest at a small chalet, with a fine snow and precipice view, all across to right, including the peaked crags Engelshorner, and the grand Wetterhorn heavily snow-clad above and below, with a belt as it were of huge crags along the middle height.

I had a good glass with me, and could see some immense overhanging masses of snow that must soon topple over. In fact I waited long in hopes of seeing a good avalanche, and I had just noted "none will oblige us," and risen to move onwards, when a grand mass came thundering down, the finely pulverized snow rising again in a high mist-like cloud, and then all settling gradually and silently. It was a fine sight, and though avalanches have long ago lost the charm of novelty for me, I know nothing in nature more calculated to excite a keen and most pleasurable sense of awe mingled with

admiration, nor anything I would more gladly witness again and again; in which opinion I believe most Alpine travellers will agree.

At 10-15, we passed for about 500 feet over the débris of a huge avalanche, which, when it first fell, must have blocked up the valley. Now it was a dirty mass of stone, gravel, and broken and uprooted trees, but conveying powerfully to the mind the idea of what vast masses of snow must accumulate during winter on the steep mountain sides, and the devastation they must cause when the inevitable toppling over is brought about by the return of spring and warmth.

These débris were only a few hundred yards above the Rosenläui Hotel, pleasantly situated in a narrow valley with the fine Engels horn peaks eastward, and the glacier coming down just opposite between the Wellhorn and Rosenhorn masses of snow. I did not visit the glacier, being anxious to keep tryste with my friend, who had promised to meet me at Reisenbach at 1 P.M., or to send out a searching party, if, as he rather expected, I should be lost in the snow! But the glacier may easily be visited during a day's walk across from Grindelwald, or, if time and money admit, a few days might be very pleasantly passed at the Rosenläui Hotel, which seems large and comfortable. It had been opened a few days before for the season, and I enjoyed a good cup of coffee, as the guide pleaded headache and wanted one.

From Rosenläui the descent is moderate through fine pine forest and along the banks of a stream, with varying and grand views of the snow and peaks across to right.

At noon we passed a fine water-fall, the Seileebach, coming over some fine cliffs across the ravine to the left. This is nearly or quite as good as the Staubbach at Lauterbrunnen, but it ceases occasionally in summer.

A bad road and steep descent brought us to the Reisenbach fall at 12-20, when a turn in the road opens out a fine view of the main fall, about 100 yards to the left. This is not so high as the Staubbach, but it has a much larger volume of water coming over a grand amphitheatre of rock, and is altogether a much finer object. From a knoll below, the escape is seen through a fine rocky gorge, and, with the sun behind to left as I had it, a beautiful rainbow is visible spanning the gorge. There are several lower falls of less height and grandeur in the downward course of the water, till it meets the Meyringen valley, and, on the opposite hills to right, north-east, at about three miles' distance, two other fine falls are visible from the knoll.

I reached the Reisenbach Hotel after a further short but steep descent at 12-45, much pleased with my trip, and little, if at all tired, though I had made it without any preliminary walking exercise. Indeed, the grand Scheideck is, for a pass, singularly easy. Most ladies could walk it, with only the precaution of an early start to avoid the inconvenience of sinking deep into the snow, and there is very much of grand and beautiful scenery to repay the attempt. I was rather early in the season, and indeed the first to pass from Grindelwald, but two young women had crossed with a guide from Meyringen a few days before, and as they started late in the morning they had to tramp waist-deep, crinolines and all, through a long distance of heavy and soft snow. In the season the pass can be and is ridden over easily, but then most of the snow I had the pleasure of seeing, and probably all I had the pleasure of walking over, would disappear in a few weeks, and whether for grandeur of scenery, beauty of forest-foliage, or avoidance of the summer heat of the vallies, (and they are hot almost beyond walking endurance even in the end of May), I cannot too strongly urge the advantage of spring over summer travelling in Switzerland. Nay, I am persuaded that all who see the country only during summer or autumn, have but a poor and incomplete idea of its wonderful beauties earlier in the year, and any one who has tried and enjoyed summer travel will, I am sure, if he only faces a little hotel discomfort in May (when painting and preparations are in vogue), admit the great additional enjoyment to be derived from an earlier ramble.

My friend had not arrived at Reisenbach, and to this chance I probably owed the "six days' walk" hereafter to be described. My guide, named Furor of Grindelwald, had during the latter part of our walk told me—as perhaps he would have told any one—that he found I walked well and gave him no trouble, and that if I liked he would take me a longer round over finer scenery, and with the least possible trouble and expense. I was so delighted with the morning's walk, that his proposal rather pleased me, but I was unable to speak French sufficiently to arrange preliminaries, and therefore I said it could not be thought of, unless we had some one who spoke English to settle everything.

"Oh! the landlord at Reisenbach spoke English well and knew him also." When, therefore, I found my friend had not reached the hotel, I ordered a bottle of wine, and after a glass all round to break the ice, I propounded the guide's offer to the landlord. He at once produced a fine relief map of the country, and in half an hour we settled pleasantly that the guide was

to meet me at Sion on the evening of 21st May, and accompany me to Brieg, the glaciers of the Rhone, over the Grimsel pass to Reisenbach, thence, to Kanderstig, over the Gemmi pass, and down to Loik. There we were to part, I for Sion, and the guide back to Grindelwald. His pay was to be six francs a day, all expenses included, and as it would take him two days to reach Sion, and two more to return home from Loik, while our walk would occupy five days, I was to pay in all fifty-four francs for nine days.

No drink-money nor any extra was to be demanded, and I might extend the trip for a few days longer if I wished, paying six francs for each additional day. All this was clearly understood, and I gave the guide a paper specifying it, telling him that if alive and well on the 21st May, I certainly would meet him at Sion; and so for the present we parted.

It being nearly 2 P.M., and the last steamer leaving Brienz for Interlaken at 4½ P. M., I started to walk the nine miles; but when about half way I met my friend in a carriage with some ladies, and turned back with them to the hotel. Thence I accompanied the ladies to the upper Reisenbach falls, which were greatly admired, and we drove back to Interlaken through Brienz and along the west bank of the lake, rather too long a drive with a slow pair of horses, arriving at 8½ P.M. for dinner, which all had fondly hoped for at 6 P.M.

On the 18th May, we left Interlaken by the steamer down the beautiful lake of Thun, scenery at first wild, with snow-clad mountains chiefly along the south side, but gradually becoming softer and very pretty.

The steamer touched at Spiez on the south bank, a very lovely spot (which I was afterwards to see again, though at the time I did not know it), and at Oberhausen on the right bank, a lovely spot with neat houses, vineyards, and wood in the background, and some pretty chalets and a fine residence further on. We reached Thun in 1¼ hours of pleasant and fast steaming over the deep blue lake, and thought we had seen few prettier spots. Off by railway through fine English-looking scenery, very soothing to the feelings after the wild scenery of Lake Lucerne, the Brunig Pass, and my recent snow walk. We passed through Berne, a quaint and very interesting city, nearly surrounded by the river Aare which flows in a deep channel far below the houses. We had only time to walk down the main street, and admire its grotesque fountains and statues, fine houses with balconies cushioned with red cloth, and to take a hurried dinner, when inexorable time called us to the train for a rush through Freyburg, Lausanne, and all the fine country intervening, to Geneva.



The day was very fine, but this was far too hurried a run for pleasure, and the little I saw of Berne with a bare glimpse at Freyburg and one of its long spider web-like suspension bridges, made me regret very much not having arranged for at least one day at each place. Indeed, among the many pretty and pleasant spots in Switzerland, I think Thun, Berne, and Freyburg, likely to be very enjoyable halting places, where mountain scenery and travel are not particularly desired; but there is much also to be said for Lucerne, Brienz, Imhoff, Interlaken, and indeed many places in beautiful Switzerland, and he must be difficult to please who cannot suit his taste at one or other of them.

The first view of the lake of Geneva, after emerging from a tunnel near Lausanne, is very fine, a grand sheet of deep blue water at the foot of a vine-clad slope to the left, and beyond and across it some fine snow-clad mountains. Further on, a fine but distant snow view opens out to the south-east, but generally the banks are low and uninteresting, after the lakes of Lucerne and Brienz, and it would be desirable, where a choice of routes exists, to see these after instead of before Geneva. We had a grand view of Mont Blanc, lighted up in sunshine long after the country all round was in twilight, and this somewhat repaid us for having rattled so fast through so much fine country during a long day's travel.

Geneva appears a fine city, the houses lofty and good in the main streets, which are very broad and cleanly with a fine broad bridge of eight segmental iron arches over the Rhone, as it leaves the lake and several other bridges lower down. But I saw too little of the place to attempt any description, and, after providing myself with a pocket compass, I said good-bye to my friend, and started at 2 P. M. on the 20th May in the steamer for Bouveret at the head of the lake. The day was very fine, and the steamer crowded, as were also others, to a degree I thought only Thames' steamers could exhibit. Most of the passengers, however, left at the first or second stopping places, for their Sunday afternoon's outing, and there were but few remaining when we reached Bouveret at 7-35 P.M. after a most enjoyable afternoon's trip. The steamer kept along the south-east side of the lake until 5-13 P.M. touching at various places, the banks generally low and studded with neat chalets, houses, villages, and extensive vineyards, all indicating a large and thriving population.

The mountains in the distance, chiefly on the west side, were capped with fast vanishing snow, and the general view, with the deep blue water, and occasionally broad latine sail-boats

creeping along, was very pleasing. At 5-13 p.m., the steamer crossed in a slant to Ouchy below Lausanne, and I judged the lake to be about eight miles wide here—time of crossing forty minutes. Lausanne is finely situated on a gently sloping hill-side, protected to the north by its crest; the cathedral, with open fretted tower and gilded spire, is a fine object, and the houses and environs appear very neat. From Lausanne the lake turns a little south of east, and we steamed along the north bank, with a fine view of the east end of the lake shut in by snow-clad mountains; while, looking back, the lake appeared quite a sea, with dim mountains far away to the west. Two lines of railway, from Berne on the higher and from Bouveret on the lower level, spanned here and there by fine viaducts, are visible for some distance. We passed Cuil or Cully, a quaint place with some gigantic poplar trees and Vevay, a very pretty and quiet-looking town; then crossed, having a distant view of Chillon, which, however interesting from a nearer point, or from the land-side, certainly is most barn-looking and disenchanting of one's boyish Byronic ideas when seen from a distance; and landed, as I have said, at Bouveret at 7-35 p.m., the sun setting tamely over the low distant hills, but leaving a rich orange tint on their summits.

I lost a little temper and one franc at the railway office in exchange for my ticket to Martigny, and this instance with one other to be mentioned hereafter, was the only occasion where I met with incivility during my trip. Indeed, I gladly do the people the justice to say, that I experienced much civility and often kindness during my wanderings; and I think no traveller need anticipate otherwise, if his wants are not too exacting, and if he practises the indispensable courtesy of touching or taking off his hat when entering a shop or addressing people, without which he will often be coldly looked upon, and perhaps curtly answered. I left Bouveret by railway at 8 p.m.; the line passes up the valley of the Rhone (not often seen) varying in breadth and richness, but with frequent villages, orchards, &c., and fine hills with forest, crag, and snow on either side. At St. Maurice, the third station, the Lausanne and Villeneuve line comes in, the Bouveret line passes through a fine tunnel to reach St. Maurice, and immediately opposite, to the west, is a grand mass of precipice and some wild scenery, which I regretted not having time and day-light to enjoy. In advance we passed two more stations, some grand scenery, and two or three good water-falls, reaching Martigny at 9-35 p.m., where I found comfortable accommodation in the Bellevue Hotel close to the station.

21st May.—I rose early, glorious weather and air crisp and keen. Martigny is in an open valley on the left bank of the Rhone, surrounded by mountains. The town is about half a mile from the station, at foot of the ascent leading south-west to Chamounix, easy so far as visible, but soon shut out by a rocky snow-clad mass. Above the town to the east is a fine snow-clad mountain, a little snow also to the west, but all rapidly disappearing under the now warm sunshine. Between the town and the river is an old castle, on a rock low down on the craggy hill-side, and the view from its summit eastwards is very fine—mountains, valley, and river.

After breakfast I walked to see the famed gorge, du Trient, and the Pisswache water-fall, under the guidance of an intelligent lad, the son of my landlord. The high road to Bouveret runs along parallel with the railway, and the gorge and water-fall are most easily reached by going back to or halting at the Vernayez station, about three miles short of Martigny. I however enjoyed a pleasant walk, passing the gorge to the water-fall, about three quarters a mile. The fall is a good volume of water about 120 feet high, backed by a pine-clad ridge, but to my taste not very much worth seeing. There are steps and rough stages at different points of view, and, in fact, all sorts of arrangements for extracting half francs from tourists, who during the season must do everything, here and elsewhere, under guidance. The season, however, had barely opened, and I found my way up the unfinished steps, on to a rickety stage (all being put in order), and if provided with well-nailed boots and a macintosh, should probably have tried to pass behind the water-fall, on a ledge of rock about half way up, which I understood was to be made passable this year. But in returning the guide waylaid me, as he brought up, perhaps, the first party of tourists, and I had to pay my half franc or rather the half of that—as I pleaded no guidance and stages not ready—for the “road-makers.”

The view up the fall from near the level of the rocky basin below is fine, and the volume of water as seen thence, appears much larger than from the road about 200 yards distant, in fact I think all water-falls should be seen from a near point of view, though, where much lost in spray, as at the Staubbach, that may not always show them at their best.

I now walked back to the gorge du Trient, through which the small river Trient comes down to join the Rhone. The entrance is through the keeper's house, where a fee of one franc must be paid; and, considering the expense of constructing and keeping up the foot-path or gallery, this charge is

moderate. The gorge is a grand and rather winding passage from a few feet to, perhaps, about 100 feet in width, between two huge masses of rock from 600 to 1,000 feet in height, very steep and fairly describable as perpendicular where not overhanging. It is said to be three quarters of a mile in length, though I judged it much less, say half a mile, and for most of the length the sun has never shone into this dark chasm, or upon the opaque blue water of the river. A few ferns and grasses, with here and there a young tree, contrive to flourish in the crevices or upon ledges of the rock, and the river rushes below, varying in width from about forty feet to sixty feet, where the gorge is narrowest. At one part there is a good sized half dome-shaped cavern, which is called the church. The pathway is a wooden stage, from two to five feet wide, supported by iron wire stays from stout iron bars or props let into the sides of the rock, with a substantial railing of good three feet in height along the outer edge, so that accidents can hardly occur by any possibility, and it crosses from side to side of the gorge, according as the rock affords the best facilities for its construction, nearly level the whole distance, and generally about twenty to thirty feet above the river. At the upper end, the steep rocky sides cease, and the river is seen for a short distance coming down a fine rocky ravine, which I fancied would be pleasant to explore with an idle day at command. The general direction of the gorge is about south-west, and its gloomy grandeur cannot, I think, fail to excite most pleasurable sensations of mingled awe and delight, in any traveller who has the good fortune (for such I consider it) to visit this remarkable spot. I left it with regret and walked leisurely back to the old castle near Martigny, where I enjoyed the fine view this eminence gives. Thence I returned through the town, crossing the Dranze River by a heavy covered wooden bridge, to the hotel. In passing I observed a large collection of fine mules—all saddled and bridled—and on enquiry I was told they were being examined by Government officials, preparatory to opening the season for travellers. All the mules were in excellent condition, many of them over fourteen hands in height, and the examination appeared to be very carefully made. No animal is passed unless really good and serviceable, and none are allowed to be hired out to travellers without a certificate. In fact, all possible care appears to be taken to prevent accidents to travellers, and I could not help wishing that some such arrangements were possible at our English watering places, where the unfortunate hacks are too often neither pleasant to look at, nor safe to ride.

I was told that about 200 mules were employed for the Martigny and Chamounix traffic, and this gives an idea of the great number of tourists during the season, some of whom at any rate must walk rather than pay the high charges demanded for a mule—I think twelve francs a day.

I left Martigny by railway at 8-10 p.m., very much pleased with my day's excursion. The line continues up the valley of the Rhone, which varies much in width and soil; often marshy where widest, but with many thriving villages and much good cultivation. The hills on either side are well wooded, often torn by avalanches, especially on the south side which I chiefly looked at, and in parts cultivated some distance up the sides. Large villages, occasionally high up, and the whole scene reminded me of many similar valleys I had traversed in the Himalayas. After stopping at four stations the train reached Sion at 4 p.m., and I proceeded to the Hotel Lion d'or, about three quarters of a mile from the station, my appointed rendezvous with the guide. The day was a *fête* day, and there were many church goers and holiday makers, both at Martigny and Sion, and the frequent sound of church-bells from early morning was very pleasing. The bells have a silvery note much softer than our English bells, and their ringers have, or, at least I thought they had, a pleasing variety of chimes unknown in our land. The railway ends for the present at Sion, though it has been partly constructed in advance towards Brieg. The unfinished and weed-grown works in continuation up the valley of the Rhone, looked sadly indicative of want of funds, which however will, no doubt, be forthcoming in time, as the link between Sion and Brieg, is alone wanting to complete railway communication between France and Italy by way of the Simplon, or at least to the north base of the Simplon.

My guide had not arrived, so I walked out to look at the town, a good sized but not apparently very cleanly one, capital of the Canton Valais. The main street runs nearly north and south, snow-capped hills visible in the distance at either end, the lower hills to north terraced for vineyards, many pretty flowers were in profusion in the gardens—roses in full bloom, the hedges white with may—birds were singing in the orchards as I got to the outskirts north, and all indeed was very beautiful. A small river, the Sionne, doubtless heavy in floods, runs covered over under the main street, and there is a fine ridge of rock north of the town, crowned by an old ruined castle at one end, and by another, now a seminary for priests, at the lower or south end. This ridge, though very picturesque to look at, must render the town very hot in

summer, and indeed the advanced state of vegetation tells plainly that it must be so. I walked about two miles along the Loik road for the chance of meeting the guide; the road very dusty, and trees and hedges sadly powdered by it, and I then turned back along the unfinished railway close on the right bank of the Rhone (here a good sized stream of an opaque green colour, rushing smoothly but swiftly westwards), to the station again; looked at the four arched wooden bridge over the river, with its crucifix over the centre, and at a small roadside chapel near, with a large but gaudy altar-picture of the Virgin, and then back to Lion d'or, through some of the by-streets of the town, after a very pleasant ramble.

No guide up to 6-30 P.M., so I went out to see the rest of the town, but in passing the cathedral I heard a loud voice, went inside the porch, and for half an hour or more listened to an eloquent extempore sermon in French, the preacher very fluent and gracefully energetic, but dwelling solely, as it appeared to me, on the merits and all-powerful intercession of the Virgin. The congregation was large and very attentive, but I was surprised how frequently people were coming in, up to even the close of the sermon, until I discovered that a fine anthem, with much beautiful singing and organ music, was to succeed it. The careless laughing manner in which parties of young women came in, one dipping her fingers into the Holy Water, and its essence being conveyed to the others by touching the finger tips, rather astonished me, but I suppose it is the custom, and gone through as such. On leaving the cathedral, my impression was that the Roman Catholic system of religion has a very stronghold upon the feelings of its votaries; and that, with much of detail a Protestant cannot admire, it can neither be superseded nor substantially improved and simplified by any human agency. The cathedral is very elaborately ornamented, with several fine altars and modern stained glass-windows. Some of the paintings appear good, but the general effect here, as in every Roman Catholic church I have seen, is to my taste far too gaudy for the solemnity of God's House, and a happy medium between the Roman Catholic and Protestant styles of internal adornment, would probably be an improvement on both systems, though like most "happy mediums" hardly likely to be attained! On returning to the hotel soon after 8 P.M., I was glad to find the guide had arrived, after two long days' walk from Reisenbach where he had remained. Our preliminaries were soon arranged, one change of linen, with a hair-brush, comb, and tooth-brush, and a mackintosh coat, put up

for me in a small hand-bag, which the guide would carry in addition to his own light bag, were to suffice for my wants ; and the guide left with a promise of calling me at 4 A.M. My other luggage was left in charge of the kindly hostess, and I went early to bed in hopes of sound rest for the morrow's long walk, though like most much wished for things it did not come, and some people in the next house kept me long awake, merry-making, as it seemed to me, nearly all night.

I may premise by saying that very much of my route could be ridden or driven over, and in fact substantially the whole of it a few weeks later in the season, so that neither my time of travelling daily nor my limits need concern those who prefer a conveyance or horseback to their own walking powers. But I hope and believe there are many, who, apart from economical considerations, have more pleasure in walking than in being carried, and as my short tour will be found, for the time allowed, fully as much as an ordinarily good pedestrian can accomplish without overdiscomfort or fatigue, I note some particulars for the information of this class, under the belief that they will be found both useful and fairly accurate. I make no deduction from the walking time for brief stoppages to write notes or admire the scenery, and allowing for these, I think our pace along the level or down hill would average nearly four miles an hour (as we always walked fast), and nearly three miles an hour up hill.

First day, 22nd May.—From Sion to Brieg, up the valley of the Rhone, started at 4 A.M., arrived 6-30 P.M.

Walked	...	...	6 hours 20 minutes.
Rode ...	...	..	3 „ 30 „
Halted	...	...	4 „ 40 „

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Total ... 14 hours 30 mins.

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The guide called me in good time, and we were fairly off at 4 A.M.—the morning very fine and cool. After a slight ascent to clear Sion, we descended gradually to the valley by a good but dusty road : low hills and rocks to the left, higher and wooded hills across the river to the right, but always a fine snow view in advance and looking back, until the sun rose in our front and obscured every thing nearly. The valley often marshy, frogs croaking. At 5-45 A.M., we passed a wooden bridge, leading to the old castle, and white church of Granget on the other side. About Granget, and in advance up the valley, many small isolated plateaux were visible, evidently the remains of an elevated terrace long ago

cut through by the Rhone. Passed many vineyards, and some villages and orchards. Few people to be seen, but an occasional timber cart, drawn by bullocks or horses, creaked slowly past in the direction of Sion. At 6-15, on looking back, the castles on the Sion rock appeared finely prominent.

The frequency of stone and brushwood groins in the Rhone bed, all the way up to Oberwald where the valley commences, is remarkable. The labour in forming them, and in frequent renewals after floods, must be very great, and they give a painful idea of the insecurity to property, and often life, endured by the dwellers in this fine valley. Masses of stonework, that seem likely to withstand any pressure, are swept away like chaff during the occasional heavy floods of summer, caused by excessive melting of the snow in the hills, and, probably, aided by heavy rains, and the poor villagers must too often find all their labour of no avail, and Sisyphus-like find themselves compelled, for dear life and subsistence, to renew their toilsome efforts again and again. The whole system of the Rhone embankment and regulation is directed and aided by the State authorities, and it appeared to me as complete and well-managed as could be. But when the two facts are contrasted, of *first*, the people wishing to rescue and retain as much as possible of the valley-land for cultivation, and *second*, the mighty mass of flood-waters occasionally poured down by the river, which must have space for their headlong career, it is obvious that all human efforts must at times be useless, and so, in fact, they do periodically prove to the great injury of the people and their prospects.

I may here mention that I elsewhere noticed, as in the Lautenbrunnen Valley, high up on the Grimsel, and very low down in the deep and seemingly barren glen of the Schwarzenbach, and in other places the most disproportionate amount of labour bestowed in reclaiming by stone and timber groins, walls, &c., very small spots of land. And these efforts speak loudly in favour of the patient and hopeful industry of the Swiss, which, indeed, is everywhere apparent, and without which they could not successfully support a large and prosperous community, under often very adverse natural conditions of soil and locality.

At 7 A.M., we reached Sierre, a small place with some tolerably good houses and two or more hotels. Halted for breakfast, and the landlord of the hotel appeared very unhappy, when I said in answer to his question for news, that war seemed inevitable; indeed everywhere the dislike to and dread of, war appeared excessive, and how it can have been brought about with such a general aversion on the part of the people, is melancholy to



reflect on. Many times I was told by landlords and others that war would nearly or quite ruin them, merely, I suppose, by stopping the influx of tourists' gold; and when to these minor misfortunes are added the extra taxation, the contributions, and the personal sufferings of thousands of poor honest people in the actual theatres of war, let kings and emperors reflect how great is their responsibility for entering upon war: and, what is perhaps more to the purpose, let us hope that the increasing good sense and intelligence of their subjects, will soon, under God's blessing, render war more and more difficult, until in time, I trust not long hence, it shall become impossible.

I started again at 8-5 A.M. after a good breakfast. How is it that *everywhere* abroad, the bread, butter, and coffee are so much better than are ordinarily procurable *anywhere* in England? Let adulterations and the want of the best parts of a paternal Government answer the question; and may the day come when some improvement on these points may be found possible in England, "the home of the free," but certainly not of the well-fed in these respects! At 8-25, the road crossed to left bank of the Rhone over an old three arched-wooden bridge, in much peril from the river which here winds about in a broad shingly bed. A large flock of sheep and goats was browsing along the banks, herded by two or three lads, just as I have so often seen in India.

The road then passed up over low-wooded knolls, fir trees, and barbery bushes, till, at 9-45, I sat down for a pipe opposite to the Lock Gorge, wild and deep, due north across the river, which was now a small rapid stream in a broad shingly bed. The village of Loik is large, about half a mile further east on a knoll above the right bank of river, and the road from the Gemmi Pass comes out here, two grand masses of rock being visible at the summit up the gorge.

A large collection of black huts, with their neat white church, seen far up the hill to east of the gorge, is Veldwald, and it looked exactly like a village in the Kumaon hills, as did many others seen during my walk, with only the essential difference of the neat church being as yet wanting in Kumaon.

I started again at 10-5, the sun very powerful, and in a few minutes passed a covered wooden bridge, one arch about 100 feet span leading to Loik. Grand masses of snow-capped precipices, part of the Gemmi, in the distance to north-west. At 10-30, passed the village of Susten, a good hotel affording a welcome glass of beer. The road gently ascends the valley, which becomes more open, Indian corn lately planted showing how hot the climate must be in summer to ripen such a crop.

At 11-45, we reached Tourtemagne, and I decided on dining at the Hotel de la Poste at 2 P.M., as though not tired, my feet were very hot and swollen from the misfortune of having only a pair of rather tight side-spring boots. Indeed, I may say that with a thick pair of walking boots, large enough to carry two pairs of stockings (as it is the concussion of the foot, and its want of room in long walking, that tires one far more than distance), I could, throughout my trip, have easily walked ten miles a day more, and with less discomfort or fatigue than I actually experienced, albeit that was not much except from the, at times, painful tightness of my boots.

I got a room at the hotel with a good tub of cold water, and, after splashing from head to foot, I felt quite refreshed, and lay down for a nap until dinner should be ready. I was just dropping off to sleep when the guide came in to say there was a return "carriage" to Brieg, and as he thought I might be tired by too long a walk at first, had he not better secure it for a small sum. I said no, that I had come to walk and to ride, and was not afraid of knocking up. Still he pressed me, said the driver only asked seven francs and would probably take five, and at last for the chance of an hour's sleep I said he might engage the carriage for three francs (hoping the driver would refuse), but that he was not to let me know the result until dinner was ready. I then addressed myself to sleep again, but alas! the guide came back in triumph to say the driver had refused to take three francs, had started off, and then returned and accepted the offer. This last interruption put an end to my hopes of sleep, so I got up in despair, and sauntered about till dinner was ready. After dinner, I went to see a water-fall about ten minutes' walk from the hotel, a good volume of water coming over an amphitheatre of rock about eighty feet high, fine enough in its way, but with no background from below, which is the only point of view. A rainbow was visible over the surface of the basin below, as

\* we stood with the afternoon sun to our backs.

At 3 P.M., I was ready to start, and the "carriage" was brought out; a simple long narrow wagon with a seat slung across, and a board in front for the driver, the horse a wretched animal, the contrast between my vehicle and a huge four-horsed carriage, in which a party of travellers was just starting from the door, was ridiculous, and had I seen mine beforehand, I certainly would not have taken instead of paid three francs to be driven in it. However, the guide seemed pleased, and I afterwards fancied he wanted the lift after his long two days' walk over to Sion, so I mounted with him, and we jogged on at a better pace than I gave the old horse credit for, something between

a trot and a limp. The distance from Sion to Tourtemagne is twenty miles or more, and thence to Brieg a good fifteen miles, and as the afternoon was very hot, and the road very dusty, I was afterwards very glad to have taken the "carriage," especially considering what it led me to think of and manage: the valley on to Brieg was much as before described, varying from marsh to good cultivated land, with occasionally a little birch wood. We passed many villages, and not a few neat white-washed churches, the latter usually, if not always, of stone, while the village houses are of wood-massive, and often very picturesque. At 5 p.m., we reached Visp, a quaint old place, and crossed its river, coming to join the Rhone by a covered wooden bridge. Zermatt is a good day's march up the Visp Valley, due south, and some fine masses of snow were visible in that direction. The Fleighthorn, a fine cone of snow, with some other masses near it, was visible all day after the sun mounted a little, and seeming to bar our progress eastwards.

We reached Brieg at 6-30 p.m., passing through a fine and long avenue of poplars, and by a good sized college or school; all else looked poor. An hotel high up across the river to the north, seen just before we reached Brieg, called the Hotel of the Bel-Alps, and close to the grand Aletch glacier, must be a glorious place in summer.

I found good accommodation at the Hotel d'Angleterre, and though not much tired I felt sun and dust worn. Moreover, as I had, upon looking at the map at Geneva, feared the distances laid down for our fine marches would be too much for me, and so had decided on taking an extra day for an intermediate halt or short march—whereas now at the end of the first day, and with the long "carriage" lift I began to feel confident my walking powers would hold out—it occurred to me what a great pity it would be to pass Brieg at the foot of the Simplon, without seeing anything of that fine mountain, and the grand carriage road over it. I therefore determined to utilize my spare day by going up the Simplon, or as far as I found conveniently manageable. The guide made no objections, and I at once went to bed, having really had little or no sleep the last night, with the intention of getting well-rested, and having a good day at the Simplon. The diligence leaves Brieg daily at 5 a.m. for Duomo d'Ossolo on the Italian side, some forty-two miles of carriage drive to the Italian railways, but I preferred walking, and so would not make any enquiries about diligence' seats and fares.

Second day, 23rd May.—From Brieg, up the Simplon, and back to Brieg.

Started at 5-10 A.M.    Returned at 6-12 P.M.

Walking                    ...                    ...    11 hours 35 minutes.

Halting                    ...                    ...    1    "    27    "

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Total 13 hours 2 mins.

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The guide had over-slept himself, and did not call me until after 4 A.M. Then my morning cup of coffee was not ready, and we did not start until 5-10 A.M. The morning very fine, though with a few clouds about. Much honey is produced in the Swiss valleys, and it is usually placed on the hotel tables to form with bread, butter, and coffee the plain and very good breakfast everywhere charged  $1\frac{1}{2}$  francs. The honey at Brieg was, I think, the finest I ever tasted.

Many of the old women in the Swiss valleys are so like those in the Kumaon province in India, both in dress and features, that at a little distance I could have often fancied myself in the far away Indian hills. Is there a tendency in mountain air and habits to produce the same characteristics in countries so far apart? I find this note in my book, and give it here, for what it is worth, before turning over the page. The children, too, in Kumaon and Switzerland, especially the girls, are often very handsome, but in both countries they soon appear to grow old, under the heavy field-labour that falls to their lot, and the large dung heaps, festering with flies, close to the village houses, is another, and an unpleasant feature common to both countries! Many more could, I dare say, be found, though not I hope "polyandry."

The carriage road over the Simplon necessarily winds much to overcome the ascent of about 4,032 feet between Brieg and the summit, which is about 192 feet of ascent per mile for a total length of about twenty-one miles, or less than four feet ascent on the average of every 100 feet in length of road. This proportion is, I think, exceeded in some parts, and I judged the steepest to be about eight feet in 100 for some short distances, but the whole is a splendid road, easily ascended or descended by carriages, about thirty feet wide, and with stout upright stones let in on the outer edge at intervals of eight to ten feet, instead of a continuous parapet wall. These stones appear but slight protection against jibbing or frightened horses, and there are, of course, numerous spots where the fall of a carriage over the road-side, would be inevitable death to passengers and horses; but practically the protection seems efficient, or, in an important road, so carefully kept up as this is, it would certainly be made so. The line has been skilfully marked out, and its construction

is a noble and enduring monument to the great Napoleon and his engineers. Would that every principal act of the great emperor had been equally beneficial to mankind!

We passed through Brieg, and struck up a short cut by the line of the telegraph posts through fields and up the bare hill-side, then among fir trees and juniper bushes, the ascent moderate but at parts steep, and at 6 A.M., halted on a knoll to enjoy the view northwards. Brieg was far below, the Rhone beyond it like a tiny cord of glass, the base of the hill beyond studded with chalets and villages, then crags, and, above all, the grand snow mass of the Bel-Alps, with the glen of the Aletch glacier east of it. Sundry other "horns" were in view, nearly every snow peak having a name ending in "horn," but I did not note their names. Across a deep ravine to west, in which flows the Saltine River to join the Rhone at Brieg, was a steep pine-clad hill, and above it the bare crags of the "Grand Powy," with south-west over its shoulder, a portion of the snow-clad Fletchhorn visible. Many snowy peaks were to be seen far away eastward, also north-westward; and the whole view, if enjoyed on such a fine day as we had, cannot, I think, fail to repay any traveller for an hour's walk up from Brieg. After a few minutes halt we proceeded, and soon came into the old road, which, coarsely paved, winding, and steep, had been the main road until the completion of the present one. It is now deserted, passable enough for foot travellers, but with some ugly precipices below here and there; and at 6.40 we came upon the carriage road near to Refuge No. 2. There are six refuges on the line for the shelter of travellers during bad weather, and very welcome they must be during a winter snow storm! We proceeded along the road, refusing a tempting short cut down a glen to our right, because told that it was impossible, though I may here say that we took it in returning, coming out close to No. 2 Refuge, as will be seen, without any difficulty; and the great saving in distance was so obvious, as we could see the road in the distance opposite that I would have taken it in going but for the overruling of my guide. At 7.45, we passed a good wooden bridge of about fifty feet span, seventy or eighty feet above a torrent coming down the steep hill-side, some fine masses of avalanche snow higher up in the torrent's bed, and close above the bridge was the dirt-covered remains of what had been a grand avalanche not many weeks ago, now rapidly melting and disclosing broken trees, rocks, &c., that had been borne down by it. Many flocks of fine goats were being herded on the hill-side, all with long hair, black head, and fore quarters, body, hind quarters,

and all four legs white. I noticed one fine Ibex—looking animal in a flock, but could not understand the guide whether it was a cross or not. These goats with their sweet tinkling bells are very pleasing objects, but they are far from pleasant when on the hill-side above you, and but for the guide's caution I might have been severely hurt by some large stones rolled down by one flock, browsing, as they seem to delight in doing, on a loose rocky slope, the remains of a landslide.

Beyond the bridge we took a short but saving cut of ten minutes, and thenceforward continued along the carriage road. At 8-10, the remains of a late avalanche, cut away to clear the road, were standing like a wall of ice some ten or eleven feet above the edge. And at 8-30, we halted for breakfast, which the guide had brought in his wallet—bread for myself, raw bacon in addition for the guide, and a bottle of good vin ordinaire, costing 7d., for us both. Our halt was in the bed of a torrent, just above a stone bridge about thirty feet span, and the view down the torrent, its water falling rapidly in a tangled mass of pine trees and rock, with snow patches here and there, was very fine. Upwards the view was still finer, and the spot, as seen by us, would have delighted an artist in quest of really fine subjects for his brush.

My breakfast was soon discussed, but the guide had a longer job with his bacon, and doubtless a better appetite, so I left him at 8-45, and sauntered on, leaving him, as I believed, the guide book to carry. This was an English version of Baedeker's "Switzerland," and no traveller should begrudge paying seven francs for it, as the descriptions are very good, and the discriminations between good and dear, and good and cheap hotels, throughout the country, are so impartial, that I believe many times seven francs could be saved, with additional comfort too, by following Baedeker's recommendations in this respect. Well, I walked on, passing No. 4 Refuge at 9-12, several remains of avalanches, and, at 9-40, under a short tunnel through an overhanging mass of rock, with fine icicles hanging from its sides, and some beautiful ice crustings over old sticks and grasses, like the purest of diamonds, and in most fantastic shapes. There is an ugly precipice above and below the road near here. On the guide's rejoining me, I asked for the Guide Book, and to my dismay found that he had it not. I at once started him back to the breakfast spot, where I knew we had looked at it, and shouted after him to mind and ask any traveller he should meet if they had seen the book. The words were hardly uttered when two lads turned the corner in view, and in asking them they at once produced the book. They were Italians and

spoke very little French or German, but we made out that they would have left the book at the hospice. I gave them half a franc, which seemed quite to please them and they passed on, but they afterwards waited for us, having quarrelled about the division of the half franc, one wanting nearly all, and I hope our equal division was the means of restoring harmony between them.

At 10 A.M., we passed No. 5 Refuge, much snow above and below the road in advance, and, a little further on, through a deep snow cutting, with a short tunnel heavily snow-covered, ice under foot and hanging in heavy icicles from the roof—all very fine. A dismounted diligence on sleigh slide, and several common sleighs packed at the road side or above, recently in use, showed how troublesome the passage must be in winter and stormy weather. A heavy snow cutting, and two more tunnels in advance, brought us to the last Refuge, No. 6, at 10-22 A.M., a great snow bed above and below the road. We here passed a drove of Italian pigs, black and lean, with enormous pendent ears covering nearly the whole face, and at another place I saw a man and woman halting for their meagre breakfast of bread, with a solitary pig which the woman was treating to occasional pieces of bread, just as a pet dog is ordinarily treated, and on quite as familiar terms.

From No. 6 Refuge there is a fine view across to north of the fine Aletsch glacier, and many snow peaks, the grand Jungfrau included.

At 10-38, we reached the hospice, close on left of the road, a large four-storied and very substantially built stone house, with a good flight of steps leading to the first story, as in winter the snow accumulates, I was told, to this level. The hospice is situated in a flat or bowl of some extent, shut in by rock and snow on all sides, and it was founded by Napoleon, though not completed until 1825, in substitution for the old and smaller hospice which stands seemingly deserted some distance further on and below the road. Several fine large St. Bernard dogs of a sandy brown colour with white necks, came frisking good humouredly round us, with a welcome all but spoken, and I was much pleased to see them. A pleasant-spoken, gentlemanly, young monk invited me in French to enter the hospice and dine, and he was the only person, besides two monks working in a small garden, the cook in their large hospitable-looking kitchen, one lady looking from a window, and one attendant at dinner, whom I saw of the whole establishment.

I thanked the monk, and said I would gladly dine at one o'clock after seeing a little of the Italian side of the road, and then, leaving the guide at the hospice I strolled on. The road

goes level and west for about a mile, and then turns down south. I ascended a small rock to the left, one of the few spots not covered with snow, and found some low juniper bushes coming into bud, some short coarse grass, and a pretty crocus-like flower with white petals and yellow inside, also two or three small pink and blue flowers just out. A black ant and a black and yellow striped caterpillar were frisking about in the warm sunshine, and I marvelled how they could have existed during the long winter only just clearing up! How indeed, save by the wonderful power of God, some of whose mighty and almost minutest works were here at the same time displayed. Indeed, I cannot say how often during my trip the thought occurred to me, that Switzerland appeared one vast cathedral in honour of the Deity; and I can think of nothing more likely to awaken, or increase a sense of His almighty power, than a contemplation of His works in this country, where there is so much of varied grandeur to excite a man's best feelings. I felt supremely happy lounging on the rock, with the most intensely blue sky over head, and snow all round, some heavy overhanging masses near the summit to the south-west, amid the most profound silence, though one or two small birds were flitting about, and it was with reluctance I got up to see a little more of the Italian side of the Simplon. I went on, however, passed above the old hospice, a massive square chapel-looking building, but of five stories besides the attics in slated roofs, with a small bell-turret at one end. Not a sign of life about it, but a pretty little oasis of green turf which showed in front of the entrance door, fringed with snow, was very pleasant to look at.

It seemed to me as though I could easily have walked on to Duomo d'Ossolo, and but for the guide left at the hospice, and scant time for the rest of my trip, I should probably have tried it, returning next day by the diligence. I, however, turned back at 12-15, from where the road goes south-east, down a deep glen, snow, rock, and now fir trees below, on all sides. Vast masses of snow visible in the far south-east, and a brawling little torrent rushing away south, probably to join the Lago Maggiore as a large stream. One solitary hut was visible below the road where I turned, which was at the 381st telegraph post from No. 1, at Brieg. The diligence passed me, a huge lumbering carriage with guard and driver, five horses—three in front—and no passengers that I could observe. It takes  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hours from Brieg to the hospice, and as I had walked up in  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours, my pace must have been good, and the short cut at first a very saving one.



I returned to the hospice soon after 1 P.M., and was again welcomed by the courteous monk, who showed me into the fine reception room hung round with engravings, chiefly illustrative of Napoleon's reign, with a good oil portrait of Napoleon. There was a most comfortably furnished suite of rooms for visitors, with engraved portraits of our Queen and Prince Albert, and, on the whole, I was much pleased with the neatness and extent of the hospice. The monks' apartments are on either side of wide galleries, running lengthwise and crosswise, all numbered, and my conductor's apartments, two rooms with a piano and small select library in one, which he kindly showed me, were very comfortable. After a very good dinner—although I was told it was a fast day—and sundry refreshing glasses of good white wine, I was shown the library—a large room well-stocked with manuscripts, theological and historical books, and some stuffed birds and other curiosities: also the chapel, a fine and handsomely ornamented room, where I put a modest contribution into the alms box, by way of acknowledgment for my dinner and the kindness experienced, as no payment is taken for meals. And at 1-50 P.M., I bade adieu to the good monk, whom I hope some day to meet again, and started for Brieg.

The sun was very powerful, and water was pouring down over the covered tunnels, and in every little hollow, where, as I ascended, all was silent and cold. At 2-37 P.M., I turned down to the left, not far from Refuge No. 5, for the short cut noticed in the morning, a deep ravine leading to the glen of the Saltine, and reached the bottom at 3-12, many crocusses in flower, and bulbs spring up on the moist bare spots. Our path now lay along the right bank of the stream, the hills on both sides very rotten, and somewhat dangerous from loose stones. We passed over, and saw on the other side many remains of heavy avalanches, now however rapidly melting, with torn and twisted trees, masses of rock, and débris of soil and gravel, indicating their huge power in falling. The stream twice passed for some distance under large snow-beds, and, on the whole, this was a charming though not very smooth short cut. At one place we saw a little niche cut in the rock, with a poor image of a monk carrying a child in his arms (seemingly the child had a red coat on!) and little branches of fir trees, and bunches of moss, let into holes drilled round the edge; doubtless a shrine of much repute and comfort to simple villagers and goatherds. The lower part of the glen was well wooded, chiefly with pine trees, some of enormous size, and the mouldering

dust of some giants of the forest that had flourished for ages, and probably taken many years to decay, seemed to speak eloquently of the incessant process of vigour and destruction, pervading all nature, in this beautiful but constantly changing world. At 4-40, we crossed a small stream coming down from the east, and after a toilsome and rough ascent, the sun very hot, we came out upon the main road just on the opposite side of the wild ravine we had mounted from in the morning. The main glen below has some grandly desolate rock and cliff, the river diving into a gorge that seemed as narrow and high as that of Trient, and perhaps it is if one could traverse it, which however seems impossible. We at once left the road again by the morning's short cut, and, at 6-12 P.M., reached the hotel at Brieg, after a good day's work, and to me one of the most pleasant in my life. I believe no traveller can fail to be pleased with a walk up and down the Simplon, whether wholly by the main road, or by the short cuts we took, which I should recommend, and the earlier in the season the better he will be pleased, as later on nearly all the snow I saw and traversed will have disappeared, leaving only the less interesting hill-sides to look at, with, however, occasional fine views of the distant snow peaks.

My walking to-day must have been a long one, but I enjoyed it too much to feel any great fatigue, taking, however, the precaution of going early to bed for the long walk in prospect on the morrow.

Third day, 24th May.—From Brieg to the glaciers of the Rhone. Started 4-42 A.M. Arrived at 7-15 A.M.

Walking	...	...	10 hours 35 minutes.
Driving	...	...	0    "    10    "
Halting	...	...	3    "    48    "

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Total ... 14 hours 3 mins.

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I was called at 4 A.M., breakfasted, and started up the valley of the Rhone at 4-42 A.M., weather again gloriously fine. In about three-quarters of a mile the road crossed to the right bank of the river by a three arched wooden bridge, a grand snow view looking back towards the Simplon. There had been frost during the night, and the air was very crisp up the valley through the fields and fine walnut trees. At 5-32, we crossed the Aletch river, coming from the Aletch glacier, an opaque sea-green little torrent, by an old stone bridge of about fifty feet span. Birds were singing merrily, and all seemed joyous. At 6-5 passed the village of Rinoo, looking into its church, and seeing the usual too gaudy decorations. Beyond the

village on the left hand side or north of the road (our progress to-day being north-east), was a grand upburst of clay slate, nearly perpendicular and many hundred feet in height, extending far to the north-east, but gradually diminishing in height. Huge masses have fallen into the valley, and one of the largest was a large triangular band of quartz, perhaps forty feet each side, the parent mass of which was very evident at the top of the slate cliff. The valley of the Rhone is narrow here, but the hill on the opposite side shows no similar stratification.

At 6-30, we passed Virs, a good sized village with some neat inns, where the guide procured some hard boiled eggs for our breakfast. Guides for the Eggishorn and Aletsch glacier are to be found here. In advance, a continuous but gentle ascent, good road, the valley much narrowed, and in fact only wide enough for river and road, but the sunny slope of hill on right bank often cultivated and studded with neat-looking chalets; the left bank all in gloom, crag, and forest, at times fine pine trees with small graceful birches. We crossed to the left bank of the river at 7-20 by a good wooden bridge of about fifty feet span, to avoid a landslippy hill-side; and at 7-47, we re-crossed to the right bank by a narrow bridge about 100 feet above the river, over a vertical gorge of rock with the river foaming below—a fine view. Then up a zigzag road to some elevation above the river, many good patches of cultivation and happy-looking villages on both sides. A worthy Bible colporteur here joined us, and kept company for a few miles. He had, I think, been more than twenty years employed, said his business was extending, and showed me a kind letter from an English lady which he was very proud of. I abstain from giving the writer's name, but if—as I fear is very improbable—she ever reads this brief notice of her kindly interest in the good work, I hope it will not be distasteful to her.

At 9-2, when the road descended to the valley again, we crossed the Fensch river (or some such name), a stream from the Fenschhorner, and halted for breakfast at Viesch after a good 4½ hours' walk, enjoyed some bread and cheese and eggs, with good vin ordinaire, and started again at 10 A.M. Apple and cherry trees in full bloom up a zigzag road, fine view of the Eggishorn to north, an hotel some way below its summit, and of the Fensch glacier to east. The road passed well above the river, affording glances of it now and then as it rushed through a deep rocky and pine-clad gorge with fine scenery; snow peaks often visible on looking back, and up the occasional lateral valleys, as indeed has been the case all the

way from Sion. At 11-15, the river again opened out, with the remains of a grand avalanche coming down to it on the south or left bank, and, further on, a high ruined face of the mountain. The hills on both sides slope rather steep down to the river, and are well cultivated for some distance up, then pine forest and crags to the summits.

At 11-40, we passed Seltzingen, a neat village, the sun very powerful but fortunately tempered by a cool breeze. Fine snow masses in advance, and as I looked at them I noted—"but I hope "to be nearer to them this evening," and then plodded on under the hot sun. We passed several fine villages, looking much like Kumaon villages with their low black huddled wooden houses, save only with the exception of the neat stone-built white-washed churches, with their high pitched slated roofs and usually a small thin spire. The common houses are low and almost flat-roofed, but on closer inspection many of them are large and neat, with small paned and white edged glass windows, some evidently belonging to men well off in this world's goods, and their superiority to a Kumaon village becomes apparent! The cultivation seems all by hand and spade; and, extensive as it is in the Swiss valleys, it conveys a very favourable idea of the constant hard work endured by the people. Much use is made of manure, the collecting and arranging of which seems the daily task of many a pretty girl, and, indeed, it is almost repulsive to see them thus employed. Much transplanting goes on at this season, and watering the young plants, but with great diligence there seems a want of neatness, such as lines for the planting. Setting sticks appear unknown, and it was painful almost to see girls and women, on whom very much of the work seems to fall, scraping out holes for the plants, and punching them in with the hands: very sore must be many a hand at the end of a day's work, or at least I thought so.

There were many remains of avalanches, chiefly on the side of the valley facing north, some of huge size, and the devastation left in their tracks speaks loudly as to the danger too often involved by them to life and cultivation. The valley changed much in character as we ascended it,—herbage much poorer, and cultivation backward.

We reached Münster, a large village or town with a church and several chapels, at 1-30 p.m., and I halted for dinner, pretty well used up for the time being by heat and length of road together! However, I soon got my remedy, plenty of water for a good splash all over, and after drinking a bumper of good white wine, I turned into bed for a nap until dinner

time. I dined poorly at the Hotel Croix d'or, but the people were kindly and willing, and my bill of only twenty-two pence for cutlets, a quart of wine, and a good wash, was indeed very moderate.

Nearly eight hours' steady walking in the forenoon had so broken the neck of this long days' march, that I indulged in a good rest at Münster, and it was 4-20 P.M. before we started again. The weather had changed and become cloudy, almost cold too, and a light drizzling rain began to set in. A man passing with a smart pony in his light wagon, gave us a ten minutes' lift for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles into Oberwald, for the moderate charge of twopence, and as the guide made the bargain I afterwards suspected he was not sorry for the short ride. The valley at Oberwald, which we reached at 5-50 P.M., is open but poor. Untervasser ("under water") village is a little to the south, and in advance eastwards the valley is a wide-spread mass of shingle, with some patches of alder and fir wood, shut in by hills.

My guide now began to think that the weather was too threatening to admit of reaching the glaciers of the Rhone, or for taking the Grimsel pass on the morrow, and he proposed our remaining for the night at Oberwald. This I steadily refused, having always made it a rule not to be deterred by any threatening appearances, or anything short of downright bad weather, and frequently in my wanderings elsewhere having found the rule answer well. I, therefore, said I had no time for halting, that I did not know what real difficulties there might be ahead, in event of bad weather, but that I was not afraid of them, and it rested with the guide to say whether we should go on, or he be paid then and there for past services, and I retrace my steps towards Sion. Under these circumstances he decided to go on, and I was very glad of it, for the Grimsel and Gemmi passes seemed at one time very likely to evade me. People at Münster had tried to persuade me to remain on account of the weather, but the guide then told me that it was not an unusual thing to endeavour to secure a traveller's custom for the night, so tourists who have arranged their plans should not be persuaded to alter them for slight or assumed difficulties.

After deciding to go on, and ratifying it with a moderate sup of brandy, of which we daily consumed about half a pint, or less, in occasional small sups from my flask, we proceeded up a good zigzag carriage road, just being finished through a pine forest, patches of snow on both sides a little way up; and further on, we turned north up a grandly wild

ravine or glen, huge rocks and a few pine trees with much snow, and the Rhone usually far below us. The good new road was often heavily blocked by snow, and in advance was a wild snow-covered steep. At 7 P.M., we crossed to the left bank of the river by a good stone bridge, a fine but not deep gorge below it, and on the upside, just above the surface of the water at the foot of a snow-bed, was a little snow table fringed with icicles exactly like a toilet-table cover. At 7-10, we re-crossed the river, now a small rivulet, by a small wooden bridge, the upper course of the stream nearly all under snow beds, with some grand ones lower down in the glen, and five minutes' more walking over heavy snow brought us to the Hotel du Glacier du Rhone at 7-15 P.M. The rain we had in the valley turned to rather heavy snow as we ascended, and I was glad to find myself at the hotel rather than waiting at Oberwald for a fine day, and to have got into something like snow-clad mountains! Much of what I now saw reminded me of what I saw in going up the Juwahier pass in Kumaon in 1842, when I crossed at an elevation of 18,500 feet, being the first European traveller, I believe, since Moorcroft crossed in 1817. But the Alps lack the grand back ground of the Himalayas, as on the Juwahier pass I had the huge Nundee Devi rising about 10,000 feet higher than where I crossed, the upper 12,000 feet at least being a cone of pure snow. Still there is grandeur enough in the Alps, and even at the Glacier du Rhone, to satisfy any one, and in mentioning higher ranges I am far from wishing to disparage the Alps, which indeed I greatly admire.

The hotel is of good size and well built, with abundant accommodation for travellers, and it stands in a small basin of table-land with the glacier to the north, though I could see nothing of the glacier as one vast sheet of snow covered everything. There is a small hot spring close to the hotel, furnishing hot baths, but I felt it only moderately warm, and the snow creeps too close up to the edge for any great heat.

Fortunately for me, a woman servant had arrived at noon to commence preparations for the season, and as she was a kindly body she soon made me comfortable with a nice cup of coffee. Fresh paint was about the house, snow all round it, and the kitchen fire very pleasant. A jolly old soldier, formerly in the Neapolitan Army, when "good old Ferdinand was king," remains in charge of the hotel during the winter, and has done so for thirteen years, descending occasionally to Oberwald for supplies, and a weary time he must have of it from November to April, one would suppose, though he does not seem to think

so. He pointed out to me marks on the wall indicating that some fourteen feet of snow surrounded the hotel during winter, and I could well believe it upon seeing the heavy mass around, almost within arm's reach, on this 24th of May. The keeper had a St. Bernard's dog, about ten months old and barely half-grown, as his valued companion; and no wonder when he told us that only three days before the puppy had come bothering and coaxing him early in the morning, until he was forced to go out and follow it. The puppy led the way joyfully to the foot of a deep snow-bed, about 400 yards from the hotel, and there, within a few feet of a steep cliff, lay a poor helpless traveller. This was a Prussian who had come over the Furca pass (which here joins the road) in search of work, and with no guide he had fallen over the path and rolled down several hundred feet of snow, only just stopping short of eternity in the shape of the precipice! Assistance was procured, and the poor Prussian, not much hurt but nearly frozen to death from having laid helpless all night, was taken to Oberwald and made comfortable. His first enquiry was for his purse, containing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  francs, and probably all he had in the world, and great was his delight on finding it safe. I much regretted not having known the poor fellow was at Oberwald in passing, as I would gladly have helped him if in want, but I doubt not he will be helped, and I hope he may never again have such a narrow escape. The keeper told his story simply, with no little honest excitement, and it really was a moving one. I hugged the dog in admiration of his intelligence, thinking him far more handsome than I had at first sight, and from his manner, and the keeper's pointing to the locality when telling the story, I had and have no doubt that the animal knew exactly what we were talking about. It appears that many poor Germans wander about in search of work, and indeed we met two coming up the Grimsel next day in a snow storm. They are often, and perhaps usually too poor, for paying even a trifle for a night's rest, they must push on, cannot engage guides, and, of necessity almost, some must occasionally perish in bad weather on an unknown and most desolate road. Some are afterwards found; how many sleep under snow-beds, or in glaciers or torrents, will never be known in this world! But they sleep soundly, and it is a sleep we must all sooner or latter take, whether under the green turf, the snow-bed, or a costly tomb, and when once there the difference will be unknown!

During the summer months very much of the snow I saw in ascending, and round the hotel, whether on level or hill-side, will no doubt have disappeared, but in the season this Hotel du Glacier must be a pleasant abode with many interesting spots

within easy reach, and the road is so good all the way up that it can be safely ridden, if not ready for carriages which I understood it would soon be.

Certainly the great change in climate and scenery, between the valley below and the Glacier du Rhone, an almost easy one and a half hour's walk up, is very remarkable, and it alone can hardly fail to interest a traveller, even should he decline to explore the glaciers, and the neighbourhood, if the season and weather admit.

I went early to bed, and found damp sheets, fresh I fancy from the wash in the valley below; these, however, I got rid of by sleeping between the blankets, and at 3 A.M., I was called to determine our future plans. Snow had fallen all night and was still falling heavily, and the guide rather doubted the expediency of our pushing on, especially as in coming to Sion he had taken a different route from the Grimsel to Oberwald, and so did not know exactly what difficulties lay between us and the Grimsel. My decision was, either to go on or return, but no halting or losing time, and as the old soldier said that although heavy in snow, he knew every inch of the way, and would put us well on our journey, it was settled we should proceed.

Fourth day, 25th, May.—From the glaciers of the Rhone to Reichenbach.

Started 4-0 A.M. Arrived at 4-45 P.M.

Walking	...	...	9 hours	20 minutes.
Halting	...	...	3	„ 25 „

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Total	...	12 hours	45 minutes.
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After a good breakfast of coffee, bread and butter, and honey, we said good-bye to the kindly woman servant and started at 4 A.M., the old soldier leading, and his dog frolicking about in the snow, rubbing his nose under it for several feet at a time, scenting for marmots, I fancy, just like a pet dog romping in a hay-field. I now began to find the use of my Alpen-Stock, which I had bought rather unwillingly at Grindelwald, and left with the guide to bring to Sion. Indeed, it was very useful, and often, no doubt, saved me from falling, so I would recommend travellers in the snow always to have one, though lugging it home some hundreds of miles afterwards, very awkward to pack and ungainly to look at, is a matter of taste. Mine remains with the guide for the benefit of his next companion.

Our route lay up a steep snow-bed westwards, chiefly old avalanche snow, but thickly covered with the fresh soft snow, into which we sunk thigh deep at every step. It was rather a



toilsome ascent, and I was glad to reach the summit at 5-15, when the Todlensee lake, or what should be the lake but now was one sheet of snow, lay before us. Doubtless in summer the scene, which now was heavy snow all around, is very different, and probably little or no snow remains between the lake and the Grimsel pass, or in the immediate vicinity, but the rugged and barren nature of the hills, almost inaccessible one would think to soldiers with their many *impedimenta*, must always remain. And it seems almost marvellous that the passions or ambition of mankind could lead them to fight on a large scale in such a country. What, however, is impossible where rulers will sternly dare, and men will devotedly obey their orders! I give in a note\* an extract from "Baedeker," page 154, a most interesting though brief account of what really took place here in 1799, hoping that in so doing I do not commit piracy, and believing it will be read with more interest perhaps than any part of my "Notes." And I need hardly say that, after having read the account, I looked with mournful interest over the pure sheet of snow now covering the Todlensee, and wondered how many poor Austrians might yet be sleeping calmly, deep under its cold surface.

We now turned northwards along a steep and soft snow-bed, and at 5-35, the way to the Grimsel being evident, the old soldier proposed turning back. He asked one franc for his trouble, and I willingly gave him two, feeling that without his guidance we could hardly have proceeded. He then asked for a sup of brandy to give him "*bon courage*" for his walk back in the snow storm, and we parted good friends. Further east was the

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\* "In the summer of 1799 this lake was used by the Austrians and French as a burial place. The former, with the Valaisians, had intrenched themselves on the Grimsel, having extended their advanced posts as far as the bridge of the Aare. All the attempts of the French under Lecourbe (stationed at Guttanen) to drive the Austrians from this position were ineffectual. However, a peasant of Guttanen, named Fahnner, at length conducted a small detachment under General Gudin over the Gelmer, Döhti, and Gertsborn by paths hitherto untrodden, except by goats and herdsmen. Being thus brought close to the Grimsel they attacked the Austrians, and after an obstinate conflict compelled them to retire into the Valais and in the direction of the hospice. Many of those who sought to escape by the valley of the Aare, perished in the crevices of the mountains and glaciers, whilst others fell by the bullets of the French. Relics of this struggle in the shape of human bones, rusty weapons, and white uniforms are occasionally found to this day. The French, at the demand of their guide, presented him with the Räterichsboden as a reward for his services (p. 151), but the Government of Berne annulled the gift some months later. The ridge from which the French poured down upon the Grimsel, on the north of the pass, is named Nageli's Grätti (8,609 feet)."

path to Oberwald, taken by my guide in coming, marked by post at intervals.

We now proceeded over some easy snow, and then down a steep snow-bed, the Grimsel hotel visible in the hollow below, and on shouting our loudest two huge St. Bernard dogs came out barking and frisking in the snow, evidently welcoming us, and gamboling about us in the snow, up to the door of the hotel. We entered at 6 A.M., two good hours' walk from the Glacier du Rhone, very glad to find a warm kitchen fire. My hair and whiskers were matted with frozen snow, and the guide looked such a figure, all crusted over, that I should much have wished our photographs could have been taken. But a good shaking and brushing down with a besom soon put us all right, and I felt very glad to have made a start and got on thus far, notwithstanding the snow storm which still fell heavily. It had almost wholly precluded any view as we travelled, save only a dim outline of snow here and there, consequently I had no view of the surrounding hills. I, however, enjoyed the variety of a snow storm, and in many respects preferred it to the fine weather we had previously been favoured with. Indeed, those who travel only during summer or autumn, can form but a faint idea of the grandeur of these mountains while covered with the winter's snow, and I strongly advise tourists, who wish to enjoy grand and wild scenery, to travel early in the season. I should prefer leaving England about the 20th May, between which date and, say, the middle of June, a great deal of most interesting country may be traversed with, I believe, no danger.

We found one man at the Grimsel hotel, its winter keeper, and two strapping peasants who had come up from Guttanen the previous evening. They started for Oberwald at 6.45, evidently carrying nothing for the snow-storm. Both had backloads in long conical baskets, and one load consisting of heavy rolls of leather would have been no easy work for an ordinary bullock. I could barely lift it from the ground. These men had long woollen snow-boots, and they were accustomed to traverse the mountain at all seasons. They said they would reach Oberwald about 2.30 P.M., but I should have thought much earlier, albeit I did not envy their heavy tramp and loads which none but strong, practised men could carry over such ground. The Grimsel hotel is a plain but good building, with forty-one apartments for visitors, and a large dining saloon. The summer visitors are very numerous, as last year's book showed, but as yet only one German gentleman had passed this year, I think three days before us, when the snow

was probably much lighter and firmer than we found it. There is a small lake in front of the hotel, but at present it was deeply covered with snow.

After getting well rested, though with very cold feet, and buying a few cigars and some good rum from the remains of last year's hotel stores, we started again at 7-50, the snow storm much abated. Our track was first north-west through heavy snow, and then turned north along the right bank of the river Aare, which comes down under snow-beds from the west, a grand mass of rock on the other side. At 8-4, we crossed the river by a stone bridge of one arch, a few yards of the stream visible below the bridge, but all the rest of its course above and below being under heavy snow-beds. The glacier of the Aare is about one hour's walk westward, said to be very fine. The snow now ceased, and I hoped the day might prove fine, but it soon recommenced, turning to sleet and rain as we descended, and for many hours we had a very wet tramp, quite a variety, and on the whole an unpleasant one, to the fine weather previously enjoyed, and very cold after the great heat in the valleys.

When near the Grimsel I observed four or five of the red-billed crows, and afterwards a few on the Gemmi. I had seen them in considerable numbers long ago in the Kumaon mountain, and I believe they never leave the high elevations or the immediate vicinity of snow. What they find there to live upon is a marvel, but "He who feedeth the ravens" knows how best to support all His creatures!

We passed along a tolerable road some distance above the Aare, the stream occasionally visible, but generally flowing under snow-beds, and the road nearly everywhere snow covered, and, at 8-40, came to some empty huts on a wide flat called Reitrechs, whence the guide told me the French troops were led by the peasant in 1799. Their track was across the river and behind an ugly looking mountain, with no doubt very difficult paths before reaching the summit of the Grimsel. It would be interesting to explore this route. We here met a young man arranging his gaiters preparatory to ascending the pass, snow again falling; gave him a sup of brandy, some bread and cheese, and matches, all of which he stood in need of, enjoined him to keep our track and make the best of his way up as the weather looked unfavourable, and he thankfully bade us good-bye.

We passed on over snow-beds, the road appearing more and more in patches, as we descended, and, at 9 A.M., came to the first stunted fir trees, and the Rhododendron (alpen-rose), a tolerably

sized shrub, though we had seen it much higher up and very small. This I understood to be the emblem of the Grimsel pass, as tree moss is of the grand Scheideck, and heather of the Gemmi. Travellers ought to put a sprig in their hats, as a token of having crossed a pass, but I always declined these marks of distinction, being content with the simple pleasure of having traversed and seen the passes.

We now made a zigzag descent, and, at 9-10, crossed to the right bank of the river by a stone bridge of one arch: again re-crossed about a quarter of a mile on by another stone arch, the river foaming grandly under in a narrow opening it had cut through the hard granite, which was scooped and scalloped out in curious shapes far above the present water-level, proving, I have no doubt, and as I have elsewhere often seen on a larger scale, the immense period of time during which rivers have flowed in their present courses, while cutting deeper and deeper by imperceptibly small degrees.

In advance there was a grand precipice of rock across on the right bank, and pine trees of good size became common on the hill-sides. At 9-45, we crossed the bare sloping mass of granite, called "Heilee-blatti" or clear rock, from the lower part of which some huge fragments have recently fallen into the Aare. Opposite, and above, was the rugged Kabbelhorn, and further north, the Gelmerhorn. A good but broken water-fall comes down many hundred feet from the flank of the latter; and nothing can well exceed the desolate grandeur of the masses of crag and rock all around this spot.

In advance we soon left the snow, and had a fair plain road. At 10-5, we turned down a rather steep zigzag descent to the Handeck falls of the Aare, the finest I had yet seen, whether viewed from either side, or from the little wooden bridge here spanning the river, which is, perhaps, the best point of view. On the left bank a small torrent, called the Arlenbach, comes in just below the bridge. The river rushes under the bridge in masses like liquid crystals of green glass, the turmoil below taking a purple white hue, from some refraction of the air and the colour of the rocks combined, I suppose. From the right side of the bridge you see the main fall rush against a steep face of rock, and thence deflected over to the other side in a most graceful double wave-like curl, and then the whole mass of waters foams along in a grand rocky gorge. The height of the falls is said to be 225 feet, but in the turmoil of waters we could not see the bottom. The view up the Aare from the bridge is very grand, and the scenery all round especially so, with rock, crag, and snow; but the falls

are superb, and I was delighted to have seen them, as I am sure all visitors must be at any season of the year.

After lingering pleasantly at the falls, reluctant to leave, but knowing there was yet a long stretch of road to travel, we returned to the road, and entered a chalet in which benches, tables, broken glass, &c., denoted tourists' accommodation; and in another close by there are eight bed-rooms, &c., but at present all were deserted as the season had not commenced, and the only signs of life, besides our own presence, consisted of two goats, standing disconsolately under the eaves for shelter from the heavy rain. We had a piece of bread,—small enough for breakfast, to which the guide added a portion of the bacon he had saved from three days ago,—and after resting a little and taking a small portion of the little brandy left, we started again at 10-50, having halted since 10-5, so far as the road distance was concerned. The Handeck falls are easily reached on horseback, or in a chair carried by porters, from Imhoff or Meyringen, and in fine weather they must form, with the grandly wild scenery of the valley of the Aare, a most pleasant day's trip,—very easy too.

At 11-20, we crossed by a bridge to the right bank, re-crossing, at 11-38, some grand scenery, and huge masses of rock fallen from the cliffs above into the valley, or rather, as it should be called, the glen thus far.

At 11-52, the valley opens out to a good width of poor grassland, and the very wild hill sides recede, though within a short distance further on they are almost as grand as ever, with some fine masses of snow on the summits, and frequent remains of heavy avalanches below. In the far distance to north-west, down the valley, was a fine long mass of snow, called Reviergratz, above and beyond the Brunig, which I had crossed between Lucerne and Interlaken.

At noon we reached Guttanen, a good sized village in the valley, where general Lecourbe's head quarters were in 1799. This was the first village seen from the Grimsel; and around it were the first attempts at cultivation, where the large heaps of stones of all sizes, collected to make little bits of fields, give one a painful idea of the hard work performed by the honest Swiss villagers to earn what would seem a very scanty return.

The hill-sides are by degrees better wooded after leaving the Handeck falls, though with abundance of the wildest rock and precipice, one huge pyramidal mass particularly prominent on the right, &c.; and the Aare, though still a roaring torrent, has lost much of its wildness as Guttanen. The general course

of the Aare is north-west, which was our direction all day after clearing the first heavy snow-beds and reaching the glen of the river.

We halted 20 minutes at an inn, enjoying a pint of good vin ordinaire, but pestered by flies, and, the weather having cleared up, we started again. At 12-35, we halted to watch an avalanche, the loud rumble of which attracted our notice as it fell from a broad mass of snow high up to our left. A succession of heavy falls rolled slowly down the mountain side, until on reaching a high precipice the snow poured rapidly and continuously down between two cliffs; and, seen with a good glass from about one and half miles distance, the appearance was exactly like a fine waterfall. In fact, had I not seen the snow rolling down from above, I could not have told the difference. After reaching the base of the cliff, the snow rolled gently down another slope in balls of various sizes, until it at last came to rest far down towards the valley.

Another, and then another avalanche followed on the same mountain side, all three within a length of a few hundred yards, and for some time all three, and then two of the three, were pouring over simultaneously. I was very reluctant to leave the largest and last, wishing, in fact, to see the end of it, but the road before me was long, and I at last turned away, leaving the avalanche still pouring its masses of snow over the precipice, and then gently rolling down the base. It was a grand sight, and perhaps so long a continuance of good avalanches in sight as seventeen minutes, how much longer, I know not, cannot often be witnessed. I now rather regret having left the best one "speaking," as reporters at times say of our longest-winded public men!

We here met a nice young fellow, a travelling tailor, on his way up the Grimsel in search of work. It would have been nightfall ere he could reach the summit, and if, as was probable, our track had been obliterated by the new snow, the guide thought he might never get there, young and delicate as he was. We soon found out that money was scarce, and he could not spare enough for a night's rest at Guttanen, so must push on. But with a little difficulty I persuaded him to take what would give him a dinner and night's rest in the village, and he left us with tears in his eyes, poor fellow! promising to halt for the night. I sincerely hope he did, as, if not, he may well have lost his life in attempting the ascent.

At 1-25 P.M., we crossed the débris of a huge avalanche that must have fallen weeks back, yet extending to and partly

spanning, the river below. Its downward course from the base of the hill fully 300 yards was a very gentle and winding declivity, and I marvelled, as I had often before done, how there could be such enormous pressure from above to force the huge mass of snow down to and probably across the river. Truly the force in this case must have been enormous!

A few hundred yards further on was a still larger avalanche, blocking up the Road for at least 200 yards in width, and just beyond it was a party of men at a "woodfall," rolling over lumps of pine stems, about three feet in length and often as much in diameter, to topple into the river, and be thence floated down for firewood. The guide, who was in advance, beckoned to me urgently to hurry across the path, and I did so without at the time knowing the risk incurred from some of the lumps striking me in their descent. Fortunately the workmen were either resting or had seen us coming; but they were high above the road, and I would not willingly attempt another leisurely passage of such a spot. The pine trees are cut high up in the forest, toppled down to the first convenient spot, and there sawn into lengths preparatory to rolling down into the river. I had seen a very large float of these logs in the Sarnen lake, when travelling to Interlaken, and wondered what they could be for, or whence they came, but now I knew it all, and was somewhat interested in the process.

At 1-50 p.m., we crossed to the right bank of the river by a wooden bridge, at the small hamlet of Sorvaie, the river much as before, but of a purer green colour. Our road then lay up and down over a steep precipice, forming with the left bank a magnificently deep gorge for the river, which with the precipitous cliffs, dark pine, and light green forest foliage (the latter only seen since below Guttanen), formed a view hardly to be excelled in grand beauty. This gorge is perhaps a mile long, and on clearing it, and entering upon the comparatively open valley, the castle-like mass of rock, called Blattenberg, towers grandly up to the right, with the "Thumb," a huge thumb shaped rock, lower and a little beyond it. The height of the Blattenberg above the valley must be many hundred feet, and it forms a superb object, with the base covered by a long slope of forest in which the fine light green colour predominates. Beyond, in front, were snow, crag, and forest, over and over again, and across the river to left the cragged peaks of the south-east face of the Engelshorner run down, into a rounded bluff mass of rock, to the valley of the Aare at Imboff, altogether a splendid view. I had passed on the other side of

the Engles-horner in crossing the grand Scheideck, and was pleased to see this end of it, which turns away north-west and then south-west to form, I fancy, the left side of the Brienz lake.

At 2-55, we reached Imhoff, a pretty and thriving place, in a wide and cultivated valley, with good hotel accommodation. This is, I believe, a favorite resort of tourists, and considering the grand scenery within easy reach of it, including the Handeck falls, and the romantic valley of the Aare, I can well understand its being a favorite and favoured spot. A fine, new, covered wooden bridge was just being completed over the Aare, and a good carriage road from Meyringen over the basaltic ridge to be mentioned, so that travellers can now reach Imhoff with perfect comfort, money only being at command.

I halted a few minutes to let the guide execute a commission, and we then marched on. The valley of the Aare ends very abruptly, about three quarters of a mile beyond Imhoff, by a ridge of basalt, about 300 feet in height, thrown across from the left or west side in some grand convulsion of nature, and the river passes through a grand rocky and narrow gorge at the east end, for perhaps five or six miles, until it reaches the Meyringen valley, and thence passes into the Brienz lake. The two sides of this gorge, which is from 50 to 100 feet in width, are very similar, and even now, after the lapse probably of many ages, it is evident they would, if "closed up," match exactly in many points. Indeed, on looking back up the Aare, it is difficult to doubt that both sides of the valley have at one time formed part of the same range of mountains, so frequent and exact is the resemblance of the prominent parts, but now separated, whether by a grand convulsion, or by the wear of waters during countless ages of time, is probably known only to "Him who knoweth all things"—certainly it is very wonderful and interesting.

The current local belief is that "formerly" the basaltic dyke or ridge did not exist, and that the Aare flowed further west through a rocky gorge, which is now about parallel with the ridge, a short distance on the other side, and which I shall notice presently. But this hardly solves the question, unless the second gorge was made to turn at a right angle to its former course when the grand convulsion occurred, as I fancy it impossible for a large river like the Aare, when in flood, ever to have turned in its course at such an angle, and to have kept it for ages



After mounting the ridge by a good zigzag carriage road, and descending a little in the direction of Meyringen, we turned down to the right through a pretty hazel copse, with occasional pine and other trees, to see the Finster-Aare-en-Sleuch, which, tired as I was, I would rather have shirked. But the guide like a good fellow said I must see it, and very glad I was afterwards to have been persuaded by him, for it is indeed a wonderful sight.

After descending somewhat for, perhaps, half a mile or less, we came upon the "Sleuch," a deserted torrent bed, worn in the rock to a depth at greatest of about three hundred feet, by the most undoubted marks and swirls of long water-wear all down both faces of the rock, and descending rapidly, till at about the same depth, it reaches the present bed of the Aare, at right angles to the deep rocky chasm in which the river now flows. It is a wonderful and deeply interesting sight, and will well repay a visit. I looked longingly at the river as it rushed past, and would fain have explored its chasm by wading and swimming if time had admitted. Probably some Englishman has explored it, though I have never seen his account; and, with a companion and a light small India rubber canoe, I should much like to make the attempt coming out, as we should do, if at all, near Meyringen. I returned to the road much delighted with my hurried visit to the "Sleuch," and profoundly impressed with the idea that an enormous lapse of time must have occurred to admit of the water-wear I had seen on the faces of the (now and how long?) deserted torrent. I had often before noticed similar marks, swirls, and scallop shapes, high up in the beds of rivers in the Himalayas, but though perhaps as ancient, they had not made upon me anything like the impression this "Sleuch" did.

The long gentle descent to Reisenbach is very pretty, with much fine foliage in the woods, and grand masses of snow in the distance, north, beyond Brienz. We reached the hotel at 4-45, P.M., having occupied fully half an hour in exploring the "Sleuch," as the distance from Imhoff is not much, if at all, over three miles. And while the landlord at the hotel seemed pleased to welcome me after my wanderings, I was very glad to be at the end of a long day's travel, and refresh myself with a warm bath. Rarely if ever have I enjoyed a day more, the snow storm and rain notwithstanding, and as I sat tired at dinner, I thought with almost a sigh how soon this wandering life must end, and the quiet pleasures of home be resumed, though it would of course be, as I admitted, alike undesirable and unavoidable to do otherwise!

Fifth day, 26th May.—From Reisenbach to Kanderstig.  
Started 4-45 A.M. Arrived at 8-3 P.M.

Walking	..	...	10 hours	15 minutes
Steamers	...	...	1	32 "
Halting	...	...	3	31 "

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Total ... 15 hours 18 mins.

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Although last evening was fine, the night had been very rainy, and the rain continued when I was called early this morning.

I, however, hoped for a favourable change, was averse to losing time, and started after a good breakfast at 4-45 A.M., the guide borrowing an umbrella for me (he had his own), which was to be left at Brienz. We walked rather fast to Brienz, in two hours twenty-three minutes, down the valley of Meyringen; grand masses of clouds rolling along the mountains on either side, and the distant ranges hidden in gloom. The valley is broad and well cultivated, with the river Aare passing down to join the lake at Brienz, chiefly along the north side, and the waters of the Reisenbach falls in a made channel along the south side. Several fine water-falls are seen, and at one spot, soon after leaving Reisenbach, we had six in view, that is, by looking all round from the same stand point. After nearly an hour's halt at Brienz, not much to see at that early hour, or at any time unless perhaps wood carvings for which the town is rather famed, we started for Interlaken in the steamer at 8 A.M. The day began to clear up, but grand masses of clouds hung about the hills on either side of the lake, rolling along in most fantastic and rapidly changing shapes. Although heavily clouded over head, the sun was shining brightly on fine peaks and ranges of snow in the far west. A little below Brienz on the left side we passed Giesbach, the hotel prettily situated a short distance up the hill-side, among trees in all the beauty of spring foliage, the dark pines, with their light new shoots peeping out, and the bright green of walnut and other trees, forming a pleasing contrast. The Giesbach water-fall is considered good, and probably I did not see the best part of it, but what I did see looked very tame after the Handeck falls yesterday, and the Reisenbach water-fall which I had twice enjoyed. By degrees the sun shone out a little, and the almost perfect reflection, in the still blue water of the lake, of the mountains on either side, producing as it were a double of their forests, peaks, and snow, was exceedingly beautiful. Indeed, the Brienz

lake scenery is very fine, second only to that of Lucerne, so far as I have seen, and perhaps more admired by some tastes. The contrast between the placid beauty of the lake and the wildly desolate route I had travelled yesterday, was very striking and enjoyable.

We reached Interlaken at 9 A.M., and the guide would have it that we should not reach Neuhaus on the Thun lake in time for the steamer, though I assured him it would not leave until 10-15, and the distance was only three miles. Perhaps he wanted a carriage lift, as several drivers "chaffed" us, and said we could not arrive in time. However, I let him walk his own pace, merely calling at an hotel to ascertain if some friends had left, and at the post office for letters; and the consequence was we reached Neuhaus in fifty minutes with twenty-five minutes to spare, when the guide pronounced himself wet through, which, under a hot sun and at the pace we had walked, did not surprise me. I was much in the same condition, but I kept my own counsel, and merely told the guide he should not have been in such a hurry.

The Thun steamer left Neuhaus at 10-15, and after a pleasant half hour on the lake we landed at Spiez, the church-bells ringing sweetly. Spiez is a very pretty village on a knoll on the left bank. Here we breakfasted on delicious bread and cheese, with a pint of the best white wine I had tasted anywhere, in a neat little inn close to the lake, and the charge for all was only one franc! How it could have repaid our pleasant hostess I know not, for the guide's appetite was excellent, and mine hardly less so after the morning's walking.

I saw at this time a wonderful game never before met in my wanderings, *viz.*, a box with a large open-mouthed iron frog on the centre of the lid, and sundry openings on either side, the mouth and openings leading to compartments ticketed with various numbers up to thousands! Small iron discs are used to pitch with from a short distance, and I could well fancy the honest peasant enjoying a game after their day's work, though what they played for or paid in when "thousands" were lost, I could not make out! The game seemed to me more amusing than any I had seen at English fairs, and I wonder it has never found its way to England, where it might prove quite a taking novelty. Certainly few ought to play at "Apnt Sally," if they had such an alternative, though tastes will and do differ!

We started quite refreshed at 11-23, a long moderate ascent and good road, through fine orchards and fat meadows, large walnut trees, and many neat chalets. Altogether I thought

Spiez an exceedingly pretty place, just the kind to dream away a honey-moon in, or to forget all care and the rest of the world in pure idleness, with flower, fruits in their season, and excellent wine to enjoy when the material things of this world must be attended to! The view across the lake, and also in the direction of Thun, is very fine.

The good carriage-road necessarily winds about before settling down in the valley of the Kander river, to reach which we had crossed a prettily wooded low ridge, and in taking a short cut at noon, to avoid a considerable detour, we were warned off by a peasant some way up the road. The guide was inclined to demur, saying we were doing no harm, that he had never known travellers interfered with in this way, but I at once made him turn back to the road, which indeed we had not left for five yards and we proceeded quietly along the highway. The peasant however came up, a big and unpleasant-looking fellow, and commenced abusing us violently, all in German of which I understood not a word, but in terms as the guide declared the very worst a man could make use of, and with most energetic gesticulations. I looked at the man and spoke mildly in French, which most probably he did not comprehend, but I at once saw he was very drunk and fiercely angry. The guide was a short tempered man, and he declared he would not stand having his charge abused in this way; but his remonstrances only increased the drunken man's anger, and I had to tell him quietly but firmly that he must be silent, that I was not afraid of anything but being detained, and that unless he or I were actually struck, he must positively do or say nothing, but follow me at best walking pace. The man followed us for a considerable distance, incessantly shouting out abuse, and several times coming up so close and in so threatening a manner that I hardly hoped to escape without a struggle. I therefore kept my Alpen-stock well in hand, determined to knock the poor fellow down, drunk as he was, if he touched either of us, but fortunately he did not. We walked very fast, the sun was fiercely hot, and the liquor, I doubt not, began to unsteady our tormentor. To my delight, therefore, he began to drop astern, after a long chase, and I was glad when a turn in the road shut out the last sounds of his abuse.

I mention this instance as the one exception to much civility experienced everywhere, believing it to have been very unusual; and because a very little giving way of temper on my part, under most annoying provocation, might have led to serious consequences, and must probably have ended, with or without other mishap, in a more annoying detention before the nearest

magistrate. This would have been fatal to my hopes of crossing the Gemmi next day, or probably at all, and if other travellers should unfortunately be persecuted as I was, I hope they will be rewarded by as easy an escape, in return for the exercise of perhaps a difficult control of temper under unsought for irritation. The guide afterwards took pains to inform me, that it would have been his duty to fight to the death if I had been touched; and I could see from his eye and manner that he meant it, and was probably sorry I had not allowed him to have a tussle with the poor drunkard, who, I hope, soon forget all about us!

We pursued our route up a fine undulating and rich valley, and, at 12-54, reached the turn to Henstrik-bad, some baths of good repute across the valley to the west, near the foot of the grand Niesen over 8,000 feet elevation, with fine forest and crag above the baths, and the remains of some large avalanches. Heavy rain came on here, lasting about an hour, when the day cleared up again. At 1-14 P.M., we passed Reichenbach, a neat and thriving village, and, at 2-10, crossed to the left bank of the Kander by a good and new wooden bridge, heavily covered with wood-work as these bridges usually are. I was often puzzled to understand why so much expense is incurred to cover over the bridges, without finding any one to explain the reason, and perhaps it is for the double object of protecting the main wood-work of the bridge, and of giving stability by weight to resist the violent rushes of wind often sweeping down the valleys. A notice is common at these bridges, that any one riding over them except at foot's pace will be severely fined, though they appear built with an excess of strength that should render all loads or paces immaterial!

On nearing Frutigen I noticed a very curious appearance high up on the mountain-side in advance. This was a long slope of snow, rapidly melting, broken into long even ridges of snow and dark furrow, exactly like what one could fancy a giant's potato field in winter. I never before noticed any thing of the kind so regular and curious in my snow wanderings. We saw hereabouts a weazel running down the road towards us; I stopped the guide and we remained quite still. The little animal came on, sitting up twice and looking around as if suspecting danger, but he came to within a few feet before noticing us, and then dashed rapidly into the hedge, evidently much frightened. But as it happened he must have run in upon an unfortunate mouse, for he re-appeared almost instantaneously with the mouse in his mouth, and scampered away up the road again—home no doubt. It seemed odd how, while

running in fright from us, the weazel could have retained coolness enough to snap up the poor mouse thus accidentally met, but so it evidently was!

This valley of the Kander ought to be a very paradise for birds, abounding as it does in woods, copse, and fields, but we saw or heard very few. Yesterday, in the copse leading to the Finster Aare en Slench, I saw a jay, the first yet. Blackbirds, thrushes, and chaffinches are not uncommon, and magpies seem everywhere numerous compared with the few to be met in England; indeed they are perhaps the most frequently seen bird, but, on the whole, the absence of life in so much wild country is very remarkable, and forms, as I have before said, a defect amid the general beauty.\*

We reached Frutigen, a neat and thriving village, at 3-15 P.M., and halted for dinner. My feet were very painful from the tightness and thinness of my boots, and it afterwards turned out that the guide was even worse off, though at the time I did not suspect it; in fact we had probably walked *too much* without any previous training or practice. I soon, however, got a liberal supply of water for my midday splash, and after a good dinner I felt quite fresh for a new start at 4-53 P.M. Thus far our course had been south up the Kander valley, fertile and well-populated, with snow masses here and there up the lateral valleys, and in grand masses far up to the south-west. We now had to turn nearly due east, some grand snow visible in the distance, perhaps twelve or fourteen miles off.

On coming out I perceived the guide was very lame, in fact his feet were painfully sore, and after trying in vain to engage a conveyance on to Kanderstig, we halted for a few minutes at a peasant's house, got an obnoxious nailed patch removed from one of the guide's shoes, his feet well rubbed in bntter and wrapped in cloth, affording him great relief, and we then moved slowly on.

Below Frutigen a good sized stream coming from the west is crossed, and in advance on a low hill to right is a huge white house. A little rain fell, and on the opposite hill to the left we saw the most perfect double rainbow I ever remember to have noticed—very beautiful it was. The road, still good and passable for carriages, ascends rather steeply, and the valley becomes grandly wild, enormous crags on either side, with trees here and there, and in advance huge masses of snow. At 6-35, we passed a deserted old castle, a massive square ruin, perched high up above the road to left, and formerly no doubt enabling its

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\* It is due entirely to the absence of Game Laws in Switzerland.

possessors to levy tribute from all travellers to or from the Gemmi. Now, however, its baneful influence has ceased, and a large tree growing apparently from the summit tells how long it has been abandoned. From hence in advance there is the best view I had yet seen, and the fine clear evening enabled me to enjoy it to perfection. Due south the Dame Blanche rises up, a glorious pyramid of snow; a little west of it is the Rinderhorn, almost as magnificent; and then the Alshills with a comparatively bare sheet of rock. To east is the Eischenhorn, a long flat of snow, and beyond it the Toldenhorn with a snow slope on its left, cragged bare top, and huge steep cliffs facing us, also a grand slope of snow behind and beyond it. Altogether this was a grand panorama, and the guide assured me it was seldom the Dame Blanche stood out so long and so perfectly in view. Two fine water-falls came down from the range across to our right, and the nearest objects on either side were some grand and steep cliffs. At 7-15, we had a grand precipice above to the left, fully 1,500 feet of sheer rock visible above the pine trees fringing its base, and the summit showed a really fine profile of a majestic old lion, which the guide had not before noticed, and which he agreed should in future be pointed out as "*Le Lion Suisse*." It really looked as fine as Thorwalsden's at Lucerne, but on an infinitely larger scale, chiselled, as it seemed, by some freak of nature. I shall be quite disappointed if future travellers do not recognize and admire this remarkable object, which, from the other side, a good way further on, changes to a good resemblance of a venerable and bearded old man, eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, all appearing quite distinct.

At 7-20, the road winding a good deal, we had a superb pyramid of snow to the left, and beyond it the flatter Radelhorn, with the full moon rising grandly between them. Far, far away to the north north-east the Hotel du Niesen was dimly visible, on the very summit of that mountain, which rises above the Henstrik-bad baths.

Further on, the grand masses of snow to our left assumed very different outlines, and I got a little confused about their names with the guide. Probably I have misnamed some, and the order in which they come; but the view is certainly there, and any traveller who enjoys it on a fine evening will, I am sure, admit that I have not at all over-rated its grandeur. The Blumels-Alp, seemingly highest of all, a grand cone of snow, with a long flat snow table is also visible from hereabouts.

We reached the Kanderstig hotel at 8-3 P.M. The village is small, grandly shut in by crag and snow on every side, save the valley approach we had come by, which on looking back is

tolerably open. The day's travel had been long, more so than it looks on a map, but without any tiring ascent, and probably owing to the cool evening, and the glorious scenery on approaching Kanderstig, I felt very little fatigued on reaching the end of it. My guide too had freshened up, and pronounced his feet quite good for the Gemmi pass, so I went early to bed in good spirits, hoping for a fine day on the morrow, sleeping indifferently however, and dreaming of wonderful glaciers and adventures on them!

Sixth day, 27th May.—From Kanderstig, over the Gemmi pass, to Susten.

Started 3-35 A.M. Arrived at 2-35 P.M.

Walking	...	...	9 hours 48 minutes.
Halting	...	...	1 „ 12 „

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Total ... 11 hours 0 mins.

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I was called very early, and started at 3-35 A.M., after a good breakfast. The Victoria Hotel very comfortable, and people obliging; and the view from it very fine. The morning was cold, but our road lay chiefly along the right bank of the Kander, till on passing a large new hotel (de l'Ours) at 4-20, the ascent began, a good zigzag of road from seven to ten feet wide, protected at the bad places by a stout hand-rail, winding west and east under the base of the cliffs. At 4-50, Kanderstig was far below us to the north-east, seeming in a plain, but the river—a rather fine torrent—had trended away north and north north-west. The ascent continued up through pine forest, or winding about to clear the high crags, chiefly to our west, a little snow here and there, but only for about the last quarter of a mile over the road, and, at 5-40, we had mounted the chief ascent. The road latterly not so good, but perfectly easy for horses and mules.

We now halted to smoke a pipe and enjoy the prospect. North-east, immediately below where we sat, is a very deep and dark ravine, leading up east to a pass into the Leutchine, seen by us from Tourtemagne. The opposite side, Schwarzenbach rises, a steep rocky mass to about 2,000 feet above the ravine, with snow-beds on its jagged summit, sides, and east face, and forms a grandly wild object: north and north-east were crags and snow, and a little east of north the sun was shining brightly on the little green valley of Kanderstig.

We started again at 6 A.M., southerly through pine forest, the Altels mountain across a ravine to south, its summit



a fine pyramid of snow, and its east face a grand perpendicular face of rock, I should think fully 2,000 feet in full view; west of the Altils the fine snow mass of Rinderhorn. At 6-25, the long steep and pure slope of snow on the north face of Altils, with a huge jagged mass of blue ice below, was grandly in view. Many pretty flowers were along the road, erocus, heath, cowslips, &c., and to our right all view was shut out by a low range of cliffs close above, which, however, opened out in advance.

We passed on over an uneven basin shut in on all sides, a few summer huts near the path, and here, as in the dark ravine below the Schwarzenbach, heavy work has been performed to keep the now tiny water-courses from cutting away a few roods of poor grass-land.

At 6-52, a few small trees about, we commenced a moderate ascent over snow-beds, and here, as elsewhere during my trip where the localities were pronounced favourable, I took a long but useless view with my glass in hopes of having a passing glimpse at a chamois.

After a rather steep ascent over an avalanche, firm snow, to 7-35 we had an easy path to 7-40, and halted at the small Hotel Schwarzenbach for a rest. A peasant from Frutigen (he had started at 2 A.M., he said, but I should think much earlier) had joined us on the way up and kept company. There were also two young fellows who had come up from Loik this morning, and we all had a good meal of bread and cheese, with three pints of very tolerable white wine, for the moderate charge of 2s. 3d!

We started again at 8-10, as the snow in advance was said to be heavy, and we wished to pass it before softened by the morning's sun. Up over heavy snow, fair footing though we sank in knee-deep now and then, wild crag and snow all round, and along over a waste of snow, passing sundry spots pointed out to me as where poor travellers had been killed by falls or avalanches; and over the bed of what is a pretty little lake, round which the road usually passes, now covered with from four to six feet of snow. Then up a tiring ascent of deep new snow, the worthy peasant producing a little paper-bag of lump sugar and giving us each a piece as good for the wind, which, I dare say it may be; certainly it pleasantly moistened the mouth. Some of the snow was intensely blue when pierced by the Alpen-stock, which the peasant seemed to enjoy, working down five or six feet every now and then. At 10-10 A.M., we reached the crest, and, at 10-20, we sat down at the commencement of the descent to Leukerbad. A grand panorama of

snow-peaks visible far away in our front (south), and the Lammer glacier, with its parent camel's back—like mass of pure snow, being some three or four miles westward; while below in the valley were the green fields and trees near Leukerabad (the village not visible hence), which, however, were not to be reached without a toilsome descent.

Two young Germans passed us here coming up, and they gave a very bad account of the snow on the descent. They were tired, as well they might be, and much they enjoyed a little drop of brandy, and a couple of cigars each to smoke on their way to Kanderstig, being unprovided with anything of the sort. We commenced the descent at 10-32, but had scarcely proceeded a few yards, when my guide, whom I had seen in conversation with the peasant, said he would be thankful if I could let him return at once, as the weather looked threatening, and he wished to be spared the risk of coming back in a storm. He said, too, that the peasant would carry my hand-bag, and take me safely to Loik or Susten, and though I could not understand a word of the peasant's German, and he barely one of my French, I thought it only reasonable to let the guide turn back, as he had been a very civil and intelligent companion. I therefore settled with him on the spot, and we parted with a few kindly words and mutual hopes of meeting again.

I now commenced the descent with the peasant, who soon informed me that it was "*nicht commode*," we could not understand each other. To this I naturally agreed, and I believe it was nearly the only occasion we did understand, all else being managed by my saying "*Loik*" or "*Susten*," and waving the hand in that direction. In fact I ought to have kept the guide, and but that I thought he was foot-sore, and that the weather had become overcast and threatening, I should have done so. I was, however, very glad I had let him turn back, when a violent storm of wind and rain, which would be snow on the mountain, came on soon after I was comfortably housed at Susten.

The Leukerabad cliffs, down which the road zigzags, are really stupendous, a mass of castle-like projections with alternate deep recesses, all nearly perpendicular. The height is stated at 1,560 feet, which it must fully be, and though what I saw of the road was not good, it would soon be put in order for the season; while as a work of great difficulty and expense it is much to the credit of cantons Bern and Valais, at the joint expense of which it was constructed. Some way down I was shown the place marked by a rude cross cut in the rock, where an English lady fell from her horse and was killed two or three years ago. The cliff side was protected by a few feet of hand-railing, but as

most of the descent was deep in snow, and we had to toil almost waist-deep in a narrow trough of it, there may have been railings or parapets at other spots which I could not see. The spot whence the poor lady fell is not particularly bad, having a fair width of about five feet, and she appears to have become frightened, and to have fallen from her horse into the zigzag below, about 100 feet, while the horse remained safe. But the whole ascent is too dangerous for riding, especially on strange horses, and travellers who cannot walk up or down it, which by going very slowly ought, I think, to be within the compass of any one fit to travel, should be carried in a kind of sedan chair, which, I believe, can always be hired.

At 11-27, we reached the base of these grand cliffs, and I was not sorry to be out of the only part of my trip I had considered at all dangerous, though it was so merely in consequence of recent heavy snow. The path zigzags down the long base of débris, formed by ages of crumbling from the mass above, and covered towards the bottom by fir and other trees, and, at 11-57, we reached Leukerabad, a collection of poor hovels, some fine hotels, and a neat little church. It stands in an undulating grass valley, shut in to north and west by the grand cliffs, and to the east by a softer looking hill, snow clad at present, and with patches of snow in the ravines, also in the indentations of the cliffs. It must be a very hot place in summer.

I would fain have seen a little of the famed baths here, where the bathers sit for hours in sociable chat, with floating tables for their requisite mental or creature comforts, and tired and heated as I was, I should greatly have enjoyed a dip. But my absence from home had already been too much prolonged, and I was forced to move onwards, without seeing more of the place than a few ladies and gentlemen sauntering about on a neat grass flat.

A man who spoke French offered me a conveyance to Sion for fifteen francs, would not take ten which I thought quite enough, so I walked on. The sun was now intensely powerful, as is often the case before a storm, and I had a very hot walk down the valley. The scenery is very fine, in parts grand, and a drive along the good carriage-road must be very enjoyable. We took short cuts when available, which my new guide well knew, and, at 1 p.m., halted for a few minutes at Inden, a pretty village on a flat projecting into the valley. Some of the rocky gorges in the ravine above Inden are very fine. The church-bells were ringing sweetly, as we refreshed ourselves with a modest pint of good vin ordinaire,

and I would fain have halted longer, but there was a long and hot stretch of valley-road yet to be traversed, and we moved on after a brief ten minutes' rest, taking a short cut down through a pretty wood to the fine and lofty stone bridge over the stream in our way to Loik; another good carriage-road going from Inden to Sion. There is a fine view from the bridge of the rocky gorge above, and the more open but deep ravine below, with the little torrent foaming along.

We now took the good new road towards Loik, and I somehow managed to understand from the peasant that I was to have left the guide's certificate with my Alpen-stock at an inn at Leukerabad, instead of at Loik as I had supposed, having had no means for writing when we parted on the Gemmi. This determined me on pushing on to Susten, where I knew the landlord of the inn would take charge of the certificate, instead of sleeping at Loik, as I had latterly purposed. We passed through Loik at 2-15 P.M., a large village, most of the shops closed, and the people sauntering about in their best clothes, with rifle practice going on close by. Another short cut and rather steep descent brought us to the Rhone, crossed by an old wooden bridge at 2-30, the sun intensely hot, and the good peasant, well tired as he must have been by his long walk from Frutigen, dropping asleep in an instant as I stopped on the bridge to write a few notes. Indeed, the heat was very oppressive, and had been so all the way from Leukerabad. Five minutes' more walking brought us to the hotel at Susten at 2-35 P.M., and while delighted with my day's march, I was very glad to have reached the end of the long descent from the Gemmi.

I had a little trouble with the peasant, who claimed three francs for having accompanied me from Leukerabad, to which place only he said he had agreed with the guide to conduct me, but in the end I gave him one franc, which with sundry glasses of wine was fair payment for his extempore guidance, and we parted good friends.

The diligence from Brieg to Sion was reported due at Susten, about 8 or 9 P.M., no one seeming to know the precise time, and I determined on proceeding by it according to my original intention. After dining comfortably, I was enjoying a nap on the sofa, when a violent storm of wind and rain came on, and, I felt thankful to have got over my wanderings and be safe under cover, with the high road and diligence to complete my round.

The diligence arrived about 8-30 P.M., and I took possession of the one vacant seat inside, though had all been full a

"supplementary" conveyance would have been ordered from the hotel, as it seems the custom, a very good one, to forward all travellers at no charge beyond the ordinary diligence fare, which to Sion was only three francs forty centimes, or under three shillings, for about twenty-five miles of road.

Heavy rain fell all night, and it was twenty minutes past mid-night when we reached Sion, the huge diligence with its roof-load and guard's perch making good progress with its four horses, when in motion to the most terrific, but, I fancy, harmless cracks of the coachman's long whip, every crack ringing like a pistol shot! But we had unconscionably long stoppages when changing horses, on the whole confirming the axiom, that "Heavy bodies move slowly." I was very glad to find myself in bed again at the Lion d'or, after having been up nearly twenty-two hours, but my neighbours were very merry, carriages seemed to rattle over the cobble paved street below nearly all night, and I slept but very indifferently, perhaps over-tired.

28th May.—Here ended my walking trip, and the streets being hopelessly noisy from a grand fair going on, I rose at 6 A.M., and looked out upon a sea of heads thronging the main street of Sion (the grand part) in wonderful variety of costume. Many of the women were very pretty, and the great variety of their head-dress, due, I fancy, to people having assembled from several cantons, was interesting, the broadest and jauntiest of straw hats contrasting with gaudy but tasteful head-dresses of variegated and handsome ribbons of all colours and edged with gold or silver lace, nine or ten inches high, and grouped vertically round the head, with a broad fall behind, in a very graceful fashion. The men, with some marked exceptions, were not good-looking, a strong lower Irish cast of countenance prevailing, which I think other travellers cannot fail to notice, and their coats of every colour, from brown frieze to pure and bright blue, were of the old, old fashion I remember in England as a boy more than forty years ago. Much buying and selling was going on, every one seemed happy, and altogether there must have been many thousands of visitors to the fair, which I heard was one of the two great annual fairs.

I now close my hurried, and, I fear, somewhat unconnected notes of a month's tour, which to me was productive of much pleasure, and not a few novel ideas. In dwelling at length on the details of my six days' walk, the object has been to show intending tourists how much may be done in a short time, where the inclination and fair walking powers exist. Switzerland

abounds in many such rounds as I took, often no doubt with grander scenery and more of general interest, and I feel assured that any one arranging his trip beforehand, and carrying it out despite any little annoyances of weather or fatigue—the latter to be much relieved by occasional carriage-lifts if desired—cannot well fail to be much delighted with all he sees and does. The particular round I took could be managed in ten days, by arranging for a guide beforehand, as Geneva is to be reached in twenty-four hours from London, and Sion easily the next day from Geneva, thus giving four days for rapid travelling, and six days for the walk. Any one writing beforehand to guide Furor at Grindelwald, with time for his reply, could, I think, rely upon having him or a good guide ready at Sion, and I believe that no one who desires to see and admire a portion of beautiful Switzerland, will be disappointed by such a trip.

On reading over what I have written, it appears as though I had too often indulged in almost hyperbolic expressions of “grand” “sublime” “very fine,” &c. But this has not been my intention. I have honestly and within fair limits endeavoured to convey the impressions made upon my own mind, by many varied and beautiful scenes I had the pleasure of seeing, and I feel assured they will be, at the least, highly appreciated by any traveller who visits them, albeit that later in the year much of the wildness, and not a little of the discomfort of my trip in the mountains, will have disappeared under the rapid melting of the snow. Enough, however, will remain to delight the traveller, and whether in May, as I recommend, or at any season of the year, I heartily wish him *bon voyage et bon courage*, being satisfied that once on the way he will not regret having decided on a trip over my route, or any similar one.

We now part from ‘the old Bengallee.’ We have inserted his travels at full length under the impression that the adventures of Colonel Samivel cannot fail to be interesting to those to whom long absence from Europe has caused a forgetfulness of things European, and who may be glad to see that nearly forty years of Indian service impair neither the will nor the power to enjoy.

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so recorded as to be intelligible to the unscientific. It requires no further preface for heartily recommending to the attention of the Indian public the book, which stands at the head of this review.

It commences with an exposition of the author's views on the formation of an army of Reserve. Then follows a historical disquisition on the bearing of the new inventions in gunnery on the cavalry arm of the service. The book closes with an application of the facts of a changed army and changed tactics to the more economic military tenure of India. The first point affects us remotely; the second, as it appears, directly; in the third to the Indian lies the gist of the whole matter. We propose to place before the reader as briefly as possible the facts and arguments of the author.

On the question of the Army of Reserve Sir Henry Havelock is in advance of his age. On the 13th of May, Sir J. Pakington introduced in the House of Commons three bills to regulate enlistment and organize a Reserve. One extends the first period of service in the Infantry from ten to twelve years; the others form a Reserve of men, who have completed at least the first term of service in the regular army, and of a fourth of the militia, if so many can be induced to volunteer. The advantage, if not the necessity, of a Reserve is thus freely admitted; and it is further certain that the surest and most efficient recruitment of it will be from the men, who leave the line regiments. It is true that this source has hitherto yielded a most limited supply. The "Army of Reserve" in 1866 numbered 2,081 men, and the "Enrolled Pensioners" but 13,328. Soldiers, however, seem to be ignorant of the existence of the Reserve [*vide* p. 21], and it can hardly be doubted that terms, such as those proposed by Colonel Havelock, if thoroughly made known to the men, would persuade many to enrol themselves in its ranks. The pension of the old soldier does not enable him to sustain a family; his training has seldom taught him the means of earning a separate livelihood. It is certainly probable that the discharged private would gladly embrace terms, which, though requiring from him attendance at an annual drill, would leave him free for the greater part of the year, and afford him material assistance in the prosecution of the trade, to which he might devote himself.

The manner, therefore, of recruiting the Army of Reserve is undisputed. The issue is, will the main army, as at present constituted, yield a sufficient supply of recruits? It is possible, that good terms, if freely notified, would attract men who have already taken their discharge, but of men, whose time is about



to expire, Colonel Havelock, sanguine as he is, does not expect a larger annual supply than 3,000 to 5,000. In an Indian Mofussil station there are neither actuaries nor war-office data, but if Sir Henry's assumptions formed at head-quarters are correct, it requires no abstruse calculation to discover that at this rate we should have with difficulty an "Army of Reserve" of 40,000 or 50,000 men in twenty years. This will be well when attained. Sir Henry Havelock does not want more. He contents himself with the defensive policy, which gave birth to our volunteers and guides our cabinets; he asks for a trained force of only the numbers we have mentioned, to co-operate with our Home Army of 55,000 men in case of invasion. Small as it is, compared with those gigantic Reserves, which were the secret of Prussian successes, and British misgivings, this "just line" of 100,000 men is the desideratum. Sir J. Pakington's bill will not give it from this source for a period so protracted, that we in India might safely put the proposal aside, as not affecting the destiny of our empire here.

But the nation proclaims like its former king,

"Let our proportions for these wars,  
"Be soon collected, and all things thought upon,  
"That may with reasonable swiftness add,  
"More feathers to our wings."

Sir J. Pakington accordingly remedies the deficiency by asking the militia to volunteer for the Reserve. This, as the army stands, and as the Enlistment Bill has been framed, may be the only means of obtaining an early accretion to the stinted ranks of the Reserve. Sir Henry Havelock alters the premise, and proposes a different plan. He suggests a modification of the discharge rules in the present army, and a change in the terms of enlistment for at least the next five years. Both suggestions are included in the one proposition, that the term of service in the regular army should be shortened. It may be useful to compare the two schemes. Sir Henry Havelock would reduce the service with the line regiments of men now in the ranks, on the condition of their giving two years' service in the Reserve for one in the line, and he would require in future from the recruit an engagement to serve in the Reserve Army at the expiry of his period of short service. The first point of comparison is therefore in his favour, for in the one case every man who leaves the regular army passes, as a matter of course, into the Reserve, while in the other the consent of each is bought. Further, the militiaman is at the present a half-trained soldier, and Sir J. Pakington provides only for his future improvement by stipulating that he shall drill eight weeks in each year with

regular troops. Sir Henry Havelock on the contrary provides a trained soldier, who has already passed five years in the army, and who would not require more than fourteen days' annual drill. There are few trades, in which a man could yearly absent himself for two months without injury to his prospects—few, in which an absence of two weeks would not benefit him by the exhilaration of a holiday and a change. Sir Henry Havelock's proposition, moreover, has a material bearing on a point, which has attracted the most serious attention of the Home authorities. He maintains that the mere fact of shortening the term of service will do more to make the army popular amongst even a better class of recruits, than any other measure, which can be conveniently adopted. His argument in its favour is excellently put.

"Many a well conditioned lad, who will not now look at the recruiting sergeant's shilling, because he is forced to bind himself for ten or twelve years, would be glad, from the mere love of change, to go for five or seven, and would have no objection to the additional bond for seven or nine years in the Reserve, that ensured his being brought home at the end of a short foreign service to spend the rest of the time at home in an almost nominal military service that would not debar him from more profitable employment amongst his friends, and only liable to be broken in upon in time of war. . . . By giving a greater impetus to recruiting, it would enable us to draw sufficient men from various portions of our service (for whom it would find immediate substitutes in recruits) to enable us speedily to raise the Reserve to respectable numbers, and thus early to obviate our present danger."

In a more remote fashion also short service would eventually conduce to the popularity of the army by removing the class of half-starved pensioners, of whom it has been well said that they are permanent scarecrows to warn their neighbours from a military career. These men are scarecrows, because they shew the result of the longest service under the present system. In their place we should have men living in comfort in their native land, earning their bread in a trade possibly learnt in the ranks, but assisted to maintain a reputable position, proud in the relation of their youthful adventures and in the right to the retention of the red-coat, which is still a passport to the respect of Englishmen and the regard of Englishwomen. The mention of Englishwomen reminds us of the argument, that has been elsewhere urged, that the adoption of a system of short service would enable the Government to prohibit marriage during the period, in which they kept their soldiers on active

duty. The saving to the Government, and the convenience to military commanders, to which such a regulation would lead, are not likely to be under-estimated, but the financial recommendations in favour of the change are sound. The curtailment of the term of service would remove the necessity for permanent pensions, except to such men, as had been actually invalided from service, and it would provide an army of young privates, cheaper than the existing body, which comprises so many old and often married soldiers. It is the opinion of men, familiar with the facts, that the re-engaged soldier is not superior to his younger comrade, as a military machine. A continuous drill of six months to a year will enable recruits to perform the evolutions required of them with tolerable correctness. As a combatant, the recruit is probably more courageous in battle, more active and energetic on the march, than his married or ambitionless senior.

When therefore, it is remembered that the intended additions to the soldier's pay and pension will increase the cost of an already expensive army, there must be some remaining consideration of exceptional weight to out-balance those in favour of a system, which will provide a better service at less direct cost to the State. It appears, then, that with the present system of a general service for colonial as well as for Home defence, a service of short terms cannot be adopted without necessitating an enormous expense in the accomplishment of the reliefs. Had India possessed a separate local army, had the Colonies their own arrangements for their own protection, England might at once have effected a substantial and beneficial change in the construction of her army. It is not long since the English Parliament abolished the local European army in this country, the removal of the colonial garrisons would not be immediately possible if desirable, and it is scarcely to be expected at a time of such engrossing interest in political reform, that the house should have leisure to reconsider the grounds of the abolition of the separate Indian army or to subvert the time-honoured institution of the defence of the Colonies.

Colonel Havelock accordingly proposes an intermediate measure, the withdrawal from the European force in this country of 15,000 to 20,000 men, and the restriction to the next five years of the enlistment for short service. The policy, or in other words, the safety of the withdrawal of so large a force will be hereafter considered, but even this proposal is based on the assumption, that India will pay for the transport of these troops from her shores, as well as the cost of the extra reliefs, which will follow from the adoption of the system. Colonel Havelock

argues that the formation of a Reserve being partly intended to provide a force for the assistance of the Indian Government in the event of another Mutiny, and a Reserve of European troops being more cheaply maintained in England than in India, India may be equitably expected to bear this cost. It is overlooked, that the voice of general opinion in this country is opposed to such a reduction, and till a Home danger arose, no one had discovered the idea of a Reserve, which should be so economical and at the same time beneficial to India. To grant, however, for the moment, that such a reduction can be safely made, and that the cost of the formation of England's Reserve can fairly be saddled on the revenues of India, it still remains, that, if the scheme is to produce an improvement in our army, it ought to be adopted, if possible, rather as a permanent measure, than as a temporary one. There can be no doubt indeed, that, if once adopted, it would be permanently maintained. With the creation of an Army of Reserve, it is to be feared, the patriotic enthusiasm of the volunteers would fade, and that the paid Reserve might be required for the double duty of Colonel Havelock's second and fourth lines, *i. e.*, as a Reserve for the Home Army, as well as for foreign service. The authorities of the War Office and Horse Guards would also doubtless prefer an army of trained soldiers to a body of volunteers, valorous and eager, but not a third of whom possess the mechanical skill in evolutions, or the experience of a soldiering life acquired by their military brethren. They would not likewise be regardless of the fact, that the services of the Reserve are compulsory during war, of the volunteers compulsory only for a fortnight. A campaign of longer duration than a fortnight might be ruinous to many a volunteer, fresh from the bar of the Old Bailey, or the counter of his haberdashery shop, and personal and domestic cares might prove too much for the most public-spirited citizen-soldier. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the system, once started, would be continued, and that India would have to pay for the relief of 50,000 men every five years a sum amounting to nearly three quarters of a million per annum. But there seems no reason from an Indian point of view, why India should not secure these 50,000 men for herself for twelve years or twenty instead of for five, and thus save the cost of a constant transit. However prematurely, therefore, it might be well to consider the obstacles to the reproduction of the old local army, and the consequent release of England from engagements which prevent her adoption of the most beneficial reform in her army, that has yet been suggested.

It would appear from the evidence taken before the commission on recruitment, that the recruits obtained for the Company's

European Army were men of a different class from those, who enlisted into the Queen's service, and were much more readily procured. They were "mostly men, who had been in a better class of life—some were medical men, some attorneys, and some had been clerks in ranks." The reason, why they selected India, was that "a great many of them wished that they might never turn up again; and then there were situations in India, which were not exactly like the position of a private soldier, they were conductors up the country and places of that sort, and they made themselves very comfortable." It seems, then, that in former days the local Indian service attracted men of a different stamp chiefly because it offered a different career. If the general service were made one for a short term only, and confined to the garrisoning of stations at Home or in the neighbouring Colonies, there would be a separation of services so distinct, that the two armies could hardly be rivals in the recruiting field. For a short service of five years in England, or England and Canada, we might confidently expect to find men of a better class than we obtain at present, enlisting under the natural "ambition of being able in five years to resume their peaceful occupations, richer men by four pence or six pence a day, and wiser and better from the experience of life, which five years of active soldiering would have given them." For a long service in this country, "the Indian service may be expected still to absorb a fair proportion of men, fond of pleasure, eager to become rich, not very scrupulous as to the means to be adopted to attain their end, broken sometimes in fortune, sometimes in character, sometimes in both, impatient of lives of steady industry, and burning for adventure." Each army would possess an attractive feature, not possessed in force by the army, as it is, and the result, we anticipate, would be an impetus to the flagging recruitment, which the Government hope to remedy by the Bills they have introduced. It is true, indeed, that since the days of the Company's army there is a large increase in the number of what we should call interlopers, if we might use without offence an expressive epithet. Men, unconnected with the Government at arrival in India, are at hand in numbers to compete for the posts once given to the Company's soldiers, but the soldiers of the Queen's local army would have an advantage in their known character and experience of the country, which would lend them unquestionable weight in the competition. It is further true that the Pagoda tree does not drop such golden fruit as of yore, and that the increase of emigration has made known to most parts of England, openings for the acquisition of wealth at least, which were possibly not so

familiar to the people in the days of recruitment for the Company's army. Still the opportunity for the attainment of honorable distinction, and the excitement of war's alarms are such as the Colonies furnish but barely, and must always attract the more martial spirits of the population.

It is certain that some men, who would enlist for one or other of these services, will hardly join the army on its present conditions of service, and if, by separating the armies, we can increase the field of recruitment in England, as well as lessen the cost of the army to India, a fair argument in favour of separation has apparently been made out. Nor are the political objections to a severance unconquerable. The Indian army would not be under the exclusive control of a local government, as under the Company; nor is there the tendency in this country, which exists in the Colonies to deprive the English Government of all voice in its disposition.

The one obstacle to the adoption of a scheme of short service, which would supply England in a few years with the trained Army of Reserve, now so anxiously demanded, does not therefore seem to us insurmountable, and on its removal India would be furnished with a standing army, the strength of which would be measured by *her* wants and *her* means alone, at a smaller cost than she now pays for a force of similar numbers.

The second point taken up by Colonel Havelock is the introduction of a novelty in the art of war—the substitution for a great part of our cavalry of a body of mounted riflemen. Novelties are perhaps no where more deprecated than among military men, till a clear advantage has been proved to attend them. The armies of Europe were slow to avail themselves of the improvements in gunnery effected by rifling, till experience shewed their value. England is even yet slow to adopt a trained Reserve, or to invent the means of rapidly forming it, though its necessity for the purposes of modern war has been amply demonstrated. There are proverbial objections, moreover, to a Jack of all trades, and Colonel Havelock has to contend against a double prejudice, when he suggests the formation of this new force, cavalry equipped as infantry, and expected as a rule to depend upon and use with precision the arms of the foot-soldier. He puts a fair analysis, however, when he considers the cavalry-soldier as the union of man, horse, and equipments. The first two factors we cannot change, and we will further allow, that the third sanctioned by experience, should not be altered without due cause shewn. Colonel Havelock proves by a reference to the history of warfare

and the opinions of distinguished Generals, that cavalry as hitherto armed has not been of signal value as an attacking force. Its place is to complete the work of its steadier and more deadly associates in arms, to give the final shock to an exhausted, bewildered, or flying enemy. Till the enemy is exhausted, bewildered, or put to flight, the cavalry is for the most part inactive.

“All out of work and cold for action.”

The reason of its defects as an attacking force is its want of the equipments to fit it for any but a hand to hand conflict. For this reason it is supplemented with artillery and infantry; for this reason it is not trusted alone. This reason has increased in weight as the arms of the fusilier and the gunner have had their range extended. Arithmetical calculations as to the number of bullets lodged in an advancing squadron between 800 and 200 yards may not be borne out in the field of battle. Smoke, dust, and excitement may interfere with the precision of volleys, and the ability of a regiment to discern its enemy at the furthest range of its rifles. But the infantry of Queen Victoria are more skilled in the use of their rifles than the footmen of George III. with their Brown Besses, and on a cavalry charge the breech-loader will enable a regiment to deliver a continuous fire without moving their weapons from the position, which bars the passage of the attacking horse. The gallant officer, whose pamphlet in defence of his service heads this article, himself admits, that “it would be absurd to deny, that cavalry on a modern battle-field would not (*sic*) run more risk than it formerly did” and it is apparent that, for the future, cavalry cannot be used alone against infantry in good order.

Colonel Havelock then asks, whether it is not possible so to equip our cavalry that they shall be able to take an active part in the attack, as well as in the climax of the battle or to act alone if necessary, and so be rendered more useful in the conflict and adapted for manœuvres which are not feasible at present. He instances the case of the Horse Artillery to shew that the combination of infantry arms and cavalry drill will not affect the mounted rifleman in either department of his duty, will not in short produce a Jack of so many trades, that he may not reasonably be expected to be master of them all. He further adduces the history of the late American war in evidence that mounted riflemen have already been found of use in this particular way, have supplied the desideratum in our cavalry, and are the exposition in practice of the manner, in which the strength and speed of the horse may be still

turned to account in warfare not only to conclude a fight and secure its most material results, but to create a line of tactics as brilliantly effective, as it has been hitherto impossible. The American "mounted riflemen" are cavalry soldiers, armed "with the best repeating rifles, and trained under an organized system of drill and manœuvre to the practice of fighting with them on foot, always when possible from behind cover; the horses mean while, each held by a mounted man, or never by less than one man to two horses, being kept out of harm's way further to the rear, but ready at a moment's notice to pick up their men, or to meet them half-way, in falling back for any necessary change of position." A corps of such men, so armed and so drilled, Sir Henry Havelock would now substitute for part at least of our cavalry. It does not appear that he is inclined to substitute it entirely for the cavalry, and when the special use of cavalry is considered, it may be thought advantageous to have in battle a Reserve of fresh soldiers neither reduced in numbers, nor exhausted by fatigue, to close the action.

Of the success of the mounted riflemen in America there can be little question. The military journals at home give the idea, no particular support. They assert that the mounted riflemen of America existed only because the old United States cavalry were simply mounted infantry, and that on these all subsequent corps on both sides were formed. But the question is not why the mounted riflemen existed, but what they accomplished during their existence. In a chapter of great interest, Colonel Havelock gives an account of two engagements, which have a special bearing on his argument. The details of these actions we must leave to be read in the pages of his book, let it suffice to place before our readers the more important facts, which they illustrate. At the battle of the Five Forks, which was one of the most decisive in the war, and which resulted in the fall of Richmond, the Federals were not on the whole successful in the first day's action. It closed, however, with an attack by the enemy with all his cavalry, and two divisions of infantry upon five brigades of the Federal cavalry on the open plain. The Federal cavalry *dismounted*, and the attack was repulsed. The Federals were thus able to retain a position, which was a vantage-ground for their advance on the following day. The second day's attack on the enemy's works, in which the dismounted cavalry took an active share, was entirely successful.

"With their ranks reduced and wearied, and seeing it to be useless to try longer to check these desperate onsets, the Confederates, turning, now rushed to the rear through the only outlet left to them. The dismounted cavalry had swarmed over the



works and entered them simultaneously with the 5th corps at many points. The Confederates were completely routed; the 5th corps 'doubled up' their left flank in dire confusion, and Merritt's mounted reserve brigades immediately seizing the happy moment, dashed forward at a gallop, passed the White Oak wood, and riding into their broken ranks, so demoralized them, that they made no serious stand, after their works were carried, but fled in disorder. The cavalry finally turned their own captured guns upon them in retreat. Between five and six thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Federals; and what was almost of more importance, the fugitives were by the quick action of the cavalry, driven off westward, and thus completely cut off from Petersburg. Merritt's and Mackenzie's mounted brigades pursued them till dark over a space of six miles. By this heavy stroke nearly 13,000 men out of Lee's feeble remnant of 42,000 were either killed, captured, or so driven westward as to be completely isolated from him, and no longer serviceable to his defence." On the first day the mounted riflemen were effective infantry; on the second effective cavalry.

Upon this conclusive defeat Lee suddenly evacuated Richmond. There were several lines of retreat open to him, and in consequence the Federal army had been divided into several corps for the pursuit. Sheridan with the 5th corps headed General Lee, and sent intimation to General Grant to bring up the rest of the army of the Potomac. Lee, however, turned off to the West, and Sheridan immediately assuming charge of the cavalry pushed on in a still more westerly direction, while the infantry went in direct pursuit. "When near Deatonville, at Sailor's Creek Sheridan overtook the confederate trains (waggons) moving in the direction of Farmville, escorted by heavy masses of infantry and cavalry, and it soon became evident that he had before him a very strong rear-guard of Lee's army attempting to cover and make good the retreat of the main body. This force (probably at first 10,000 men) was too strong for him to check by confronting it; but he hit upon an ingenious device for *delaying* it with the cavalry, which, under the circumstance of the rest of Grant's army, drawing every moment nearer equally answered the purpose. Crook's division was at once ordered to attack the flank of the trains and the escorting column, and if the enemy was too strong, one of his brigades was to pass on at once *in rear* of his line (while the line, dismounted, held fast and pressed the enemy with their fire,) and attack at a point farther on. Each division doing this in alternate succession delayed the enemy; and this constant searching fire discovered his weak

points. Passing on successively in this manner, Crook's, Custor's, and Deven's divisions crossed over from northeast to the south and west of Sailor's Creek before the Confederates could reach the stream; and getting on the high ground on the farther bank they took post, formed up, faced about, and routed their enemy, thus disputing his passage. They thus captured sixteen guns, 400 waggons, and many prisoners, and by aid of their strong commanding position and superior 'repeating' rifle fire, actually intercepted and turned off their line of retreat, so that they were delayed, until eventually captured, three whole divisions of infantry. . . . Had it been any European cavalry, unarmed with 'repeaters,' and untrained to fight on foot, that was barring the way, any cavalry, whose only means of detention consisted in the absurd, ineffectual fire of mounted skirmishers, or in repeated charges with lance or sabre, the Confederate game would have been simple and easy enough. They would merely have had to form battalion or brigade squares with their baggage in the midst; to have placed these squares in echelon so as to support each other; and then, advancing, to have steadily shot their way through the opposing horse. . . . But the 'mounted rifle' plan of fighting on foot from behind cover made the detaining fire of the Federal cavalry as galling and effectual as that of the best infantry; while by their method of the alternate passing on of mounted bodies in rear of their dismounted skirmishers, these mounted bodies again dismounting in selected positions further on in their turn, they were enabled to present to the Confederates an impenetrable hedge, constantly falling back, and thus avoiding actual contact, but unbroken, continuous, sheltered by obstacles of ground, and constantly emitting in their faces a fire most deadly in its precision and sustained rapidity. They were thus enabled always to keep ahead, and always to present an impassable barrier to further retreat, while they themselves, from being completely covered, avoided any serious loss. The Confederates could not form square against them; because on this formation their repeating fire would have told with ten-fold effect."

The "mounted riflemen" followed up their success, three days later by cutting off the supplies of the Confederate army. The next day Lee's army surrendered.

The argument with its illustrations is before the reader. Let him judge between it and the author. It is to its application to the reduction of the army, that we anticipate an Indian public will alone demur. It commends itself to the reader of Indian history. No one, who has heard of Lord Lake and his galloper-guns, no one, who remembers the camel-corps of the Mutiny,

will withhold his assent to a proposal, which in the field will bring the British soldier unexhausted alongside his more enduring rival, the Indian Sepoys. The brilliant and detailed comparison, drawn by Sir Henry Havelock, between the tactics of the British Commanders in 1803 and in 1857, should be read *in extenso*. It is perhaps the most effective passage in his book, strong in its deduction, that the wily, active, irrepressible Asiatic can only be conquered by a system of tactics, that combines rapidity of motion with solidity of action. No more happy thought towards this end has been hit upon, than the mounted rifles of the Americans, and their success on another continent against a more vigorous and better equipped foe might well give us confidence in introducing them in this country.

In proposing their introduction Colonel Havelock quotes Napoleon's dictum that an army of 10,000 men, that can move 20 miles a day is superior for war to one of 20,000 whose average speed does not exceed 10 miles a day. From this he argues that in giving India 8,000 mounted riflemen, the English Government may fairly withdraw 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, to form their Home Reserves. He supports his argument by contrasting the condition of the country as it is now with its condition before the Mutiny. Look here upon this picture, and on this—a country disarmed, furnished with a native army of only 130,000 men, provided with railroads and telegraphs in every direction, garrisoned by a British Army of 70,000 which revels in the proud superiority of Enfield rifles, and Armstrong guns—on the other hand, a country full of arms, with a native soldiery of 250,000 men, who held our very magazines, with slender means of communication, and a British Army of only 45,000, armed for the most part with Brown Bess alone. With mounted riflemen, breech-loading rifles, railways, and Lord Lake's tactics, we should be able, urges Sir Henry Havelock, to hold India with a very much smaller force.

The argument deserves attentive consideration, for a reduction of the European army in India is the cry of the every English periodical. That old friend of India Maga himself, fixes 60,000 as the limit, and would keep 15,000 of these in reserve in England. Macmillan calmly resolves to restrict us to 40,000. A Royal Engineer in *Fraser's Magazine* is convinced that 20,000 men in forts, and a similar number in movable columns with some stray out-garrisons would be amply sufficient, if we would only recruit our native army according to correct principles, and locate our valuable British soldiers among the "kuds."

Sir Henry Havelock has moreover carried his arguments to their remote issue. He has calculated the saving, to the country

which his reductions would bring about, and in two of his four chapters has educed an eloquent peroration on the material benefits, which those savings otherwise applied would bestow. The seer pales, as the vision of long canals, pukka roads, and Addisonian Baboos rises before his enchanted eyes.

Unfortunately the vision partakes of the usual characteristics of such phenomena. Shall it be said of it, that it has a 'baseless fabric?' Colonel Havelock calculates at page 31 from the estimates of 1865, that a reduction of 18,000 men from the permanent British garrison of 68,000 would effect a saving of £2,500,000 per annum. But he had just stated at page 27, that he would 'substitute' for 15,000 or 20,000 of our slow-moving line infantry, a body of 7,890 mounted riflemen. Accordingly if Napoleon's dictum be kept to the letter, we should have a reduction of the British garrison, not by 18,000, but by only 8,000 men, and the gorgeous palaces of the sequent vision have their proportions mournfully curtailed. The slip may be forgiven to Sir Henry's enthusiastic nature, but it cannot be overlooked in practice, and the material assistance to the revenue is not so enormous as to out-balance all other considerations.

It would appear, that, substituting for 16,000 infantry a body of 8,000 mounted riflemen, he leaves a garrison of 60,000 men, and that consequently he does not consider that number too large for the requirements of the country. It is true that towards the close of his book (page 190,) he states that 53,000 would not be too few, but he has there evidently deducted the 20,000 for his Home Reserve from the nominal 73,000 of the previous page, and forgotten to add the 8,000 mounted riflemen, whom he was to substitute for the 20,000 withdrawn. We gladly allow this point in his favour, for it brings his views into unison with those of a still more experienced and able soldier, the present Commander-in-Chief in India. Sir William Mansfield in his place in Council stated during the chief debate of the present year, that the actual number of British troops in India was under 61,000, and that he held very decided opinions, that we could not safely make any further reductions.

In that opinion Sir Henry in fact concurs, if we have rightly assumed that his omission to add as well as subtract was a simple oversight. He would even leave of the 60,000, 8,000 mounted riflemen, and to this we give our hearty support. The idea has been tried in the field in America, and apparently with marked success, and there is probably no country in the world, where it could be worked to such advantage as in India in the hands of British soldiers.

In a vein of curious humour the great Scotch poet has said.

" The best-laid schemes o'men and mice  
Gang oft agley."

And the simple fact, that Sir Henry Havelock did not possess correct information as to the real numbers of the British forces in India, has vitiated his pet device for the immediate formation of an Army of Reserve. The error in his calculation is not to be regretted, when it affords such unintentional testimony in favour of the views of the Commander-in-Chief. His espousal of the principle of a short term enlistment will do good service, we believe, in a good cause, and one cannot read his book without admiring his warm and honest advocacy of ideas, which will doubtless bring forth their fruit in due season.

For the rest, it is not incumbent on us here in India to defend against the theories of magazine writers the practical opinions regarding the defence of India of one, who has had in fact to defend it in its need, and is now entrusted with the chief command of the defensive force. The Indian public does not require to be told, that prevention is better than cure, and that we want an army of sufficient proportions to check a thought of revolt, rather than one, which we are assured would eventually quell it. We have only 16,000 more men, than we had before the Mutiny and this is probably the minimum compatible with peace and safety. Nor is it a force inconsistent with the revenues of the empire. With the burden of the expense of an army, much larger than it will have in the future to sustain, the empire has passed through an era of unexampled prosperity in the last decade, and we will not yet forego the prospect, which is our author's refrain, India, peaceful and happy, pressing on in the race of nations, advancing in education, refinement, wealth and virtue.

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ART. VI.—*The Land and Labour of India.* A Review. By W. Nassau Lees, L.L.D. Williams and Norgate. 1867.

THE Land and the Labour of India are two subjects of such momentous interest, as to justify us in devoting somewhat more space than usual to the examination and criticism of the statements and opinions set forth in the essays, which have been published under that title. The various publications too, which Dr. Lees has from time to time put forth on subjects of political economy in this country, no less than his practical experience in the development of its resources, entitle him to a patient and attentive hearing. It is true that the present volume is but a reprint of a review which appeared four years ago, and that, in place of the meagre notes which have been added here and there throughout the book, the whole work might possibly have been re-written with advantage. Yet we observe that Dr. Lees' object in leaving the original text untouched, was to show that the views which he now advocates in 1867, and which have been fully borne out by the experience of the last four years, differ in no way from those views which he advocated in 1862, when, he says, they were almost universally condemned in England as erroneous. The form of the re-publication, therefore, is not to be ascribed to carelessness or indolence; it is rather to be regarded as a mode of self-vindication, or an attempt to prove, by further evidence, the same issues which lay between the writer and his critics four short years ago.

It is unfortunately but too often the case, that those who devote themselves to the study of Political Economy, while ever ready to acknowledge that theoretically their principles and axioms depend upon certain external conditions, omit altogether to take them into consideration in their practical application of the results, using those results rather as though they had been deduced with all the exact precision of mathematical demonstration. It was thus that the cotton-spinners of Manchester, in 1862, chose to let their operatives starve rather than guarantee payment for Indian cotton, because it would be a direct interference with the regular course of production and trade. It was thus

that the Board of Revenue, in 1866, pinned their faith to an immutable law of supply and demand, when they should have been urging forward the importation of food into Orissa. And it is in the same spirit that many excellent and well-meaning individuals, especially in England, discuss some very important questions relating to the good government of this country. To counteract this tendency and to remind his readers that the abstract principles of economic science are not of universal application, is perhaps the main object of *The Land and Labour of India*. This is the first position Dr. Lees would impress upon us—the foundation, as it is, of all subsequent progress. For, having once admitted that the general law will not apply, we may then proceed to ascertain the disturbing elements. But if, on the other hand, we set out with maintaining that the same maxims and principles, which obtain in England and Europe, are applicable also to this country, and endeavour to bend circumstances to our own obstinate will, we run a fair chance not only of being unsuccessful in the measures we propose, but of making ourselves ridiculous. In this view Dr. Lees combats some of the more frequent errors into which economists of the class we refer to are liable to run. “Thus,” he writes, “the entire theory of value and prices rests on the “assumption of a state of society, in which that healthy “*competition*, which arises from the self-interest of all parties “concerned, exists. Here the *idea* has not been born. Again, “in drawing conclusions in accordance with the laws of this “science, such an amount of knowledge on the part of buyers “and sellers as will admit of both making themselves acquainted “with the ordinary circumstances and conditions of the “trade in which they are engaged, and sufficient intelligence “to enable each to know what is best for his own interests, “must be premised. Neither the one nor the other can “be predicated of Indian traders generally.” And in his second chapter he details certain peculiarities in the circumstances and condition of India, which are not found in the countries of Europe. He reminds us, for instance, that we have to deal for the most part with an uneducated people, in a very primitive agricultural stage of civilization. He contrasts the state of opinion in England at the present day with what it was before the abolition of the corn-laws, and he contrasts again with that opinion the blind ignorance prevalent in India, which in time of scarcity obstructs the importation of food from other districts. In a comparison between the *laissez faire* school of economists and those who would advocate the interference of the Government in the business affairs of the people he

shows that the fundamental principles of each pre-suppose very different states of society. "If we take twenty highly cultivated and highly educated men and set them around a board groaning with delicacies, served by a *chef* of distinguished merit, it will not follow that all, or even a majority of them will eat and drink only those things that are good for them, or that the proportion of the twenty that will do so, will be the same, if their numbers be composed of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Indians, Chinamen, or any other of the families which compose the human race. So it is with the business of life; and it is consequently wholly impossible to define or determine the proper functions of Governments in the abstract, for it is abundantly clear that those functions which are *obligatory* in one state of society will be only *expedient* in another, probably *unnecessary* in a third, and possibly *mischievous* in a fourth." Dr. Lees chooses to regard the people of this country as eminently in a state of *infancy*, and the Government as bound to stand towards them *in loco parentis*. And proceeding on this assumption, he explains the policy which he would have the Government adopt by an illustration taken from common life. Jones is supposed suddenly to come into possession of a large, though only partially developed, estate, which he wishes to bring into full cultivation. There are three modes of action open to him—to leave the task to his tenantry, to undertake it himself, or to invite the agency of foreigners. Possibly, as in India, the tenantry might lack the capital, intelligence, or enterprise necessary for so extensive an undertaking. Or, if he invited foreigners, and "if a few responded to his invitation and *failed*, as almost all pioneers do, it would damage the credit of his scheme, and thus materially injure his prospect." Even if they succeeded, they would absorb and carry off with them the profits, which ought to be employed upon the estate. It would be better, therefore, both for himself and for his tenantry that Jones should take in hand the improvement of his own estate himself, provided that he could find the requisite capital or credit for the undertaking. But in this emergency it would be necessary that Jones should secure the services of an intelligent and efficient manager, in concert with whom he might work out his plans. And this last consideration leads the writer to suggest the appointment of a Minister of Commerce for India, whose duty it would be to study the economic requirements of the country, and to advise the Government in all matters which concern the development of its vast resources. "England has her Board of Trade with its President—a Minister of State.



"Almost every Government in Europe of any respectability has its Minister of Commerce. And until India has *her* Minister with an efficient staff competent to take charge of the vitally important and responsible duties, which in this country attach to such an office, I do not think that the undirected and desultory efforts of Government officials or private individuals will effect a tithe of what might be accomplished in this direction with better management, in a quarter of the time, though it is quite possible that they may do a great deal of mischief."

Before, however, passing on from the illustration of Jones and his Yorkshire estate, it will be convenient to notice certain remarks which Dr. Lees makes further on regarding the introduction of English capital into India, and which, from their having been somewhat misunderstood, have already, we observe, been made the subject of criticism. We quote the passage at full length; the more so, as by the manner in which the concluding portion is printed, the writer would seem to lay particular stress upon it. "English settlers and speculators, as pioneers, and by the introduction of capital, will do much for the material progress of the country. But it must never be lost sight of that Englishmen in India are but a means to an end, and that though in the attainment of this end, the interests of both races may be well served, as long as the existence of the one race is exotic, the interests of both must, in no small degree, be antagonistic. Englishmen in India, from this point of view, are useful only in so far as they supplement deficiencies of the natives, for, birds of passage as they are, if they bring one rupee INTO the country, *it is only that they may take two, or, more probably, four OUT of it. India is certainly, the ONE rupee richer; but still the TWO or FOUR poorer than if the developers were true sons of the soil.*"

Now Dr. Lees appears to us to confuse Englishmen with English capital, and capital with profits. It is true that Englishmen in this country are only birds of passage, but English capital can scarcely be said to be only temporarily introduced into India. The greater part of it becomes *fixed* capital in the shape of railways, canals for irrigation, and factories for the manufacture of indigo, tea, sugar, silk, and the like. And even such portion as may be considered to be *circulating* in the hands of merchants, is never practically entirely withdrawn from the country, the business being either sold or handed on to others, and the capital being added to rather than diminished. The fact is, that English capital is attracted to this country by the higher rate of profits, which

prevails here than is common in England; and Dr. Lees probably meant to say nothing more than that the withdrawal of these large profits from the country was prejudicial to the accumulation of capital. But his assumptions are altogether out of proportion. The *one* rupee which is introduced into this country is *capital*; the *two* and *four*, which represent the *profits* upon that capital are such exaggerated assumptions that they have caused a confusion of ideas. Or, if Dr. Lees is thinking of the case of the speculator, who, after spending a quarter of a lakh in planting a tea-garden, sells it to an English Company for a lakh, and retires with the proceeds, India cannot be said to be poorer by the difference, which probably never found its way into the country at all. But the allegory of Jones and his estate shows that our interpretation of the passage is correct, and that the writer simply meant that, "though the condition of the operative classes would be much improved by the working expenses, the profits would not remain in this country to be again spent in it, but would go to enrich the foreign proprietors of the capital."

On the question of Waste Lands and the means of bringing them into cultivation, Major Lees is in his element. In the first place he is careful to point out that the term *waste* is not synonymous with *unowned* or *unclaimed*. The quantity of unoccupied and unclaimed land, actually at the disposal of Government, is very much less than was formerly supposed, though it still amounts, as Dr. Lees tells us, to a hundred millions of acres, more or less. To effect reclamation of these extensive wastes, the Indian Government has for many years invited both native and European agency on terms, than which, Dr. Lees admits, nothing short of giving the land away could be more liberal. But, with the exception of certain localities in which the success of tea-cultivation, with its large profits, out-weighed the risk to life and health, these very favourable conditions of tenure have, for the most part, failed to achieve the object in view. The question, according to Dr. Lees, is in fact one of profit, and *not* one of tenure. But it is to be observed that, throughout the discussion of this very important subject, the writer confines his observations to the reclamation of wastes by means of European agency and European capital. The question of colonizing India's waste land with India's own sons, though admitted theoretically, as we have seen, to be the best policy for the country, finds no place whatever in the practical discussion of the subject. A note to page 188 tells us of the author's gratification at Mr. Schiller's scheme for the reclamation of the Sunderbuns, "*the natives being its chief supporters*;" but for any scheme of developing India's

resources by the agency of the true sons of the soil, we may look in vain in Chapter III., which professes to deal with this part of the subject. Nay; we think at times we can detect therein a certain hostility to *native* enterprise, as, for instance, when he regrets the possibility of natives out-bidding Europeans. "Were the rights of the people in the soil to be confiscated to-morrow," he writes, "and all the cultivated and culturable land in India to be put up to auction, the next day, except in unpopulated and wild tracts and a few districts favoured by a soil and climate suitable for growing an extraordinarily remunerative crop requiring European skill in its management, not an acre of it would come into the possession of Englishmen, for the sound and very simple reason *that it would be worth the natives' while to pay more for it!*" If Dr. Lees means to say that the natives can produce rice, cotton, and sugar at a smaller cost than Europeans,—and if this is his meaning, we are not sure that we do not agree with him,—there is obviously a sacrifice of some portion of the country's wealth for every acre which is cultivated by the latter.

Dr. Lees takes objection to some of the conditions with which the old rules were fettered. The requirement of a minimum clearance periodically, for instance, is considered obstructive, though the author is not aware of this clause having occasioned much inconvenience. But when the early reclamation of waste-lands is important, when, to borrow again from the allegory of Jones, "every day passed in inactivity is certain loss," some such condition is necessary, not only to prevent speculators from applying for more land than they can possibly bring into cultivation, but to stimulate the energy of those who have abundance of labour and capital at their command. The very reason why the Government leases these lands on such remarkably easy terms, is the desire for their speedy reclamation. Possibly the forfeiture of the *whole* grant in case of failure to comply with the condition, is a somewhat stringent penalty; still, if the rule were that the uncultivated portion *only* should be forfeited, it is obvious that, as a penalty and as a stimulus to exertion, it would have no force whatever. A man might apply for the whole of Assam, not with any intention of cultivating it, but simply that he might enjoy a monopoly of tea-cultivation for a certain number of years. Practically we believe that no injustice would be allowed to follow from the rule. We ourselves are aware of several cases in which grants have been resumed by Government, but in no one of them had a single rupee even been laid out upon the estate.

Regarding the sale of waste-lands in fee-simple, Dr. Lees speaks in decided and authoritative terms, and the event has

fully proved the truth of his remarks. The measure itself he condemns as being unnecessary: the agitation for it was mischievous, and its concession inexpedient. That tea-planters were much better off under the old rules than they are at present, is proved by the number of estates which have lately been abandoned in preference to payment of the purchase-money due to Government. The price bid in some cases was absurdly disproportionate to the value of the land, and generally it may be said that even the upset price of Rs. 2-8 an acre equivalent at 8½ years' purchase to an annual rent from the commencement in perpetuity of nearly five annas an acre, was rather above than below the average rate at which land in the plains could be leased. Planters, too, found that at the outset, they wanted all their capital for purposes of cultivation, and so they soon had reason to regret the abolition of the good old rules. But the temporary agitation for the sale in fee-simple of waste lands, however mischievous and suicidal it has proved, succeeded in obtaining what was demanded at the hands of Government. That concession Dr. Lees condemns as *unnecessary and inexpedient*—unnecessary, because English capital was already being embarked in tea-cultivation with sufficient rapidity for the enterprise to remain in a healthy condition; and inexpedient, because of the utter impossibility of determining the real value of waste land by public auction. It is impossible to refute Dr. Lees' conclusions on this point, or to deny him the credit of sagacity and prescience in the criticisms which have been so fully justified by the experience of the past two years. All that can be said for the Government is that, in a weak moment, it yielded to the pressure of a small class who were blind to their own interests, and that now it is reaping the reward of its policy in the prospect of tea-gardens fast relapsing into jungle, and the partial ruin of a most promising agricultural enterprise.

The land-revenue of India is again another of those questions which so happily illustrate the principle for which Dr. Lees is contending, that Indian questions cannot be cursorily treated from an English point of view, without due consideration of the special circumstances of the country. It is unfortunately but too patent at the present day how in their blind admiration of English systems, and in their short-sighted determination to adapt them to India, Lord Cornwallis and his advisers, in granting the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, committed an egregious mistake, the evil effects of which can scarcely be over-stated. The Permanent Settlement may be traced solely to that tendency to apply the economic laws, which obtain in one country, to the widely different circumstances and conditions

of another. This part of his subject is eloquently argued by Dr. Lees. It is admitted that, contrasting Bengal proper with other parts of India, an amount of wealth has been created in the Lower Provinces, which is truly remarkable. But, as Dr. Lees rightly points out, this increase of wealth is due "not to the activity, energy, and enterprise of an intelligent landed proprietary; but to the extraordinary fertility of the Gangetic Delta, its greater freedom from famines, and to those gains arising from an increase of the area of cultivation, to which the landlords of Bengal had no right or title, and which, however upright the intentions of the law of 1793, can be viewed in no other light than the illegitimate and unjust alienation of the property of the whole community for the benefit of a favoured class." In 1793 there were thirty millions of acres under cultivation in Bengal; in 1857 there were no less than seventy millions, without any corresponding increase in the Government revenue. Supposing the difference to have been assessed at the nominal rate of one rupee an acre, Dr. Lees estimates that the Government must have surrendered by this measure no less a sum than one hundred and forty millions sterling, which might fairly have been brought into the coffers of the State. This fact is in itself sufficient to account for a great portion of the wealth which has centred in the zemindars. Now the question which arises is this:—what has the State or the country gained by this act of renunciation? If it is argued that it has placed the zemindars in a better position to contribute to the State's necessities, Dr. Lees would retort by quoting the opposition raised by them when called upon to aid in defraying the charges of the village-watch. In 1859 too, when the income-tax was proposed, the zemindar of Bengal, "claiming immunity under the very Act that effected, it may be said, the creation of their wealth, stontly resisted its incidence, loading the Government with accusations of injustice and bad faith in lieu of those outpourings of gratitude and substantial donations which might have been looked for." And if there is a particle of logic in the arguments that have lately been used in relation to the License Tax, we must believe that the Government has already abandoned the position of expecting to make up by direct taxation what it has voluntarily relinquished in the concession of the Permanent Settlement. For that position to be sustained, it would be necessary that some special tax should be devised, which should fall with its heaviest weight upon those who have enjoyed and are enjoying the surplus rents of the soil. It might even be a matter of consideration whether some local impost might not with

justice be imposed upon the zemindars of Bengal. But what, on the contrary, is the action of our Government? While the whole labouring community is forced to give up to the State a portion of its hardly-earned income under the mis-nomer of a License Tax, the drones of society, who are living on the fortunes which the liberality of the Government has enabled them to amass, are exempted from the payment of a single rupee. Or, have the mass of the people benefited one jot or one tittle by the Permanent Settlement of the Government revenue? Is the Bengal ryot in any sense a richer, a happier, or a better man than his neighbour in the North West? Is he at all better educated? Have the zemindars "aided in improving the means of land or river inter-communication; have they made roads, built bridges or canals; have they established hospitals for the sick, almshouses for the poor, caravansaries for the weary and exhausted; have they assisted in the maintenance of an efficient police; have they built colleges or schools, or attempted to improve the existing wretched village *patshallas* of the country, or expended any portion whatever of their accumulated savings in elevating, morally or intellectually, their less fortunate fellow-countrymen; have they given long leases to their tenants on such terms as have enabled them to improve their holdings, and attain a small degree of prosperity; have they built houses for them, drained or banded their lands, or in any way cared for their comfort or welfare; finally, have they shown a particle of that enterprise, energy, and activity of character, which in other countries tend to divert the surplus wealth of one section of the people into channels from whence *all* derive advantage, and to which England owes her fine roads, her many railways, her steam companies, her mining, iron-working, and other companies?" And who will not reply with Dr. Lees, "They have done none of these things."

Regarding the land-revenue, however, Dr. Lees seems to us, if not to be in error, at least to state his views with somewhat of indistinctness. "In India," he writes, "the land-revenue is not a *tax*, and never has been a *tax* in the sense in which that term is understood in Europe. Nor yet is it *rent*. Fusing the elements of the different systems we have to deal with in India, without violating the fundamental principles of any, the question may be fairly thus simply resolved 'The earth, the source of all wealth, is the Lord's. 'The produce is his creatures'. Kings are God's vice-gerents on earth. As such, they have certain duties and responsibilities to perform towards the rest of the creation. In consideration thereof they are legally entitled to a portion of

“ ‘the produce of the soil—a tenth, a sixth, a fourth, as the laws of the land or the necessities of circumstances may determine.’ ” Similarly, if we regard all labour as the source of wealth, the State is entitled to a portion of its produce, and, by whatever name it may be called, that portion is a *tax* in the one case no less than in the other. The fact, indeed, would seem to be this. Land, which is unoccupied and which has never been brought into cultivation, may as a monopoly be regarded as the property of the State, and its value as waste may fairly be taken as Imperial revenue. So soon however as the land is brought into cultivation, and capital begins to be laid out upon it, any increase of value which the land sustains thereby is at once private property, and any attempt to levy a portion of it for the State is simply a tax. The difficulty of the case is this,—a difficulty which Dr. Lees has himself pointed out at pp. 92-7,—that, until the land is brought into cultivation, and in many cases until it has been in cultivation for some years, it is absolutely impossible to determine the value of the State monopoly. For, under this theory, and assuming that the improvements are not effected by the Government, the State monopoly is not identical with *rent*. When once however that value has been determined, any increase of revenue which may be derived from a proportion of the *produce*, is a *tax* upon the labour and capital expended upon the estate. As regards the right of the State to the monopoly, all are agreed; it is as regards the further tax, that opinions differ whether it should be realized through the land or otherwise. In the Lower Provinces the land-revenue is so nominal, that it may be said to be no more than the value of the monopoly to which the State is entitled. But in the North-West Provinces it partakes of both *rent* and a *tax*, falling upon the actual cultivator or the middleman. Dr. Lees would uphold a land-tax on account of its greater popularity with the natives of the country, than other modes of taxation, and for our own part we are disposed to agree with him.

On the subject of population we must confess that our own views and those of Dr. Lees do not accord. In the first place we believe,—and the late census in the North-West Provinces would seem to confirm our opinion,—that Dr. Lees greatly underestimates the population of India. And in the next place we apprehend that he has been carried away into the error, which he himself would be the first to condemn, of applying to this country the laws regarding population in Europe. *Estimating* the area of British India at not less than 1,000,000 square miles, and taking the population at 135,000,000, Dr.

Lees would infer that there is an average of only 135 souls to the square mile. He says it is a most erroneous idea to suppose that there are millions of people in India starving for want of employment. Now we would refer the writer to the commencement of his second chapter, and submit that such an estimate based upon the whole area of British India,—a continent, as Dr. Lees tells us, as large as Great Britain and, Russia excepted, half the rest of Europe besides,—is calculated to convey a most erroneous idea. The census of the North-West Provinces which was taken in 1865, shows that the population in those provinces is 351 souls to the square mile, or denser than any European country, with the exception of Belgium. But, without contrasting statistics, which, owing to different stages of civilization, are not always a faithful criterion of an excessive or deficient population, we think the following fact is worth a hundred theories. Notwithstanding the frightful loss of life from wild animals and those famines which periodically decimate the inhabitants of particular localities, the people of India have been emigrating for the last quarter of a century at the rate of about 20,000 a year. In the year 1865-66 alone, between sixty and seventy thousand coolies emigrated to the Tea Districts and the West Indies. If the population is not excessive, we should like to know where these 70,000 came from. But Dr. Lees himself distrusts his figures. Let us, therefore, examine his other tests.

The general law is thus stated: "The produce of the soil of any country only reaches its maximum, when the pressure of population forces cultivation up to the highest possible point; and as it is an axiom that each increase in productive power is gained at a higher proportional increase of labour and outlay, the tendency of population is to increase beyond the power of the soil to support it,—or in other words the ratio of the increase is always in favour of consumption and against production. The maximum attained, should population still increase, in a self-supporting country, one of too courses only remains—population must be checked, or emigration must carry off the surplus." The maximum of cultivation then is here made the test of population, and Dr. Lees, we presume, would have us hold that, until every acre of waste land in this country is cultivated, and that to the highest possible extent, India must be considered to be under rather than overpopulated. But the principle is not applicable to the continent of India, as a whole, any more than to the whole of Europe. If we apply it to particular provinces, we shall find in truth, not only that cultivation is carried to such a point that two,



three, or even four crops are obtained in a year, but that the population is actually emigrating.

Neither can we altogether accept Dr. Lees' other test of population—the price of grain. "The truest test, for general purposes," writes Dr. Lees, "is the price of grain, and in most parts of India, making all due allowance for the dearness of money, except in times of dearth, it is comparatively cheap." Now prices must depend upon the demand,—the demand, that is, of the non-agricultural community; and the reason why grain is cheap in India is not so much that the population is sparse as that it is mainly agricultural. The price of food is no doubt an excellent test of population in a certain stage of civilization, but it is scarcely safe to rely upon it in a country of so primitive an agricultural type as India, where the town-population is small, and manufactures may be said to be unknown. In such a state of society in which each family produces its own requisites, in which there is no co-operation between the industry of the town and the industry of the country, there is but little demand either for money or for food. Wages will be low and grain cheap. But this does not prove that the country may not be over-populated. Suppose two countries of equal fertility and population, but in one of which the non-agricultural community is twice as numerous as in the other; it is obvious that, supposing each country to be self-supporting, the demand for food and, therefore, its price will not be the same. It is said that the number of agriculturists employed in the cultivation of a given area, is ten times as great in India as in England. The late census of the North-West and Central Provinces shows that at least two-thirds of the whole population is agricultural. Of course a large proportion of this number is now-a-days employed in raising produce other than food for exportation, though the majority doubtless are engaged solely in the production of food. And this has been the great misfortune of India for ages, preventing the accumulation of capital, and the increase of the population. Holdings have been divided and subdivided to that extent that a ryot now thinks himself fortunate if he can secure a holding of five or six biggahs. Dr. Lees would seem to have a prejudice in favour of the peasant-proprietors of Norway, France, and Belgium. Let him study these remarks from a late number of the *Saturday Review*. "The life of a French small proprietor is a very hard one. It is hard even in the genial climate of the Pyrenees; it is much harder amid the rigours of the Department of the North. His house is comparatively comfortless, his food coarse and poor in the extreme, his debts heavy and oppressive. But there are other countries where the condition of the peasant-proprietors is

"worse even than it is in France. France is a land of varied climate and productions, a land of corn, olives, mines and manufactures. Norway, on the other hand, has no manufactures. Norway is essentially an agricultural country. Most of the heads of families are proprietors of the soil. Their lives are still harder, and their food coarser, than those of French peasants. An English labourer would turn up his nose at the bread which a Norwegian proprietor habitually eats." Yet a Norwegian can get land at a tithe of the rate which the Indian ryot pays for it. What does our author himself say on this subject? "The masses, *the tillers of the soil*, have little, indeed I may say no education whatever; their food is a few handfuls of rice,—it may be wheat or pulse; their clothing covers their nakedness—no more. In many parts of this country the substrata of the people hardly know what money is.\* \* \* They literally have *nothing* but the land, and their interest in that generally consists in the right to live on and cultivate it.\* \* \* Their crops are almost invariably under hypothecation to the money-lender of the village, or in remote regions to the nominal lord of the soil." And this, we venture to assert, is mainly the result of an excessive agricultural population. There is no doubt that agricultural labour in this country might be economized enormously. At present the land is made to support as many human beings as it can, and far too many for their own happiness and comfort. Every man in India who is withdrawn from the production of food, contributes so much to the rise in prices and the accumulation of capital,—the more, if his labour be employed in other branches of industry. Thus the employment of labour in vast public works, and the expansion which the trade of the country has received from the enterprise of British rule, have, in the last few years, nearly doubled prices; but would Dr. Lees maintain that the population has doubled in the same period?

The deductions which Dr. Lees draws from his theory of the population of India are (1) the impolicy of allowing foreign countries to entice away labour from India, so long as so large a part of India is still lying waste and uninhabited; and (2) the greater expediency of diverting that labour into the Tea Districts of Assam and other wastes which it is desirable to reclaim. He writes— "Since it has been shown that the labour of the whole of India, as compared with its area, is short of the average of European countries, that it would be *politic* to endeavour to prevent the labour that is wanted in India being diverted to other countries, will, I think, be conceded." "That it is the *duty* of a Government, with population excessive in some parts, and large tracts of rich land unpopulated in others, to take some measures to

"encourage the transfer of the surplus population to the surplus land, no reasonable being will deny." It will be seen that there are two questions mixed up in Dr. Lees' argument, (1) the foreign emigration of coolies, and (2) their migration to Assam and other wastes of India; and although the writer has interwoven these two questions so intimately in the discussion, that it almost seems as if he objected to emigration because coolies cannot be procured for Assam, we propose to discuss them separately.

Dr. Lees objects to the policy which allows the Agents of the Colonial Governments of such places as Mauritius, Trinidad, and Demerara "to entice away the labour which this country requires for reclaiming culturable waste land, making railways, building barracks, and other public works." He is inclined to regard foreign emigration "under the bondage of a five years' contract," as partaking of the nature of the slave-trade, possibly a slavery of the mildest form, but with no guarantee whatever that it is so. Now the strongest argument against this objection is, that after so many years' experience, so large a number of coolies are always found willing to emigrate. Even in the case of Assam, Dr. Lees does not positively say that there has ever been a dearth of labourers for importation. In 1865-66, there were no less than 44,000 coolies imported into Assam and Cachar, against some 20,000 only who emigrated beyond seas. It is possible that the author, while giving undue prominence to the "crimping and kidnaping" which he asserts is practised for foreign emigration, somewhat under-rates the natural forces, which are always in operation with a tendency to check it. There must be causes at work more powerful than the mere prospect of high wages, to induce the Hindu to break the ties of kith and kin, cross the black water, and toil for the white man under a foreign sky. There must be pinching want, perhaps starvation, somewhere. There must be plenty of labourers out of employment, although the Department of Public Works may not consider it its duty to find them out. Dr. Lees himself writes, "The Indian's love for his village home is proverbial. To desert it is his last resource." We maintain that, for the area under cultivation, the agricultural population has long since attained its maximum. The ryot's eight or ten biggahs (and we believe that this average is not an under-estimate of holdings in Bengal) are scarcely sufficient to provide food and clothing for himself and family, as well as pay his rent. If his implements or stock require renewal, he has to borrow. As for accumulating capital, he has no surplus to save. The new comer cannot get land at all, and if

he did, he would not have the funds wherewith to stock it. In such a case emigration is the only resource open. And unless the Government of this country is prepared itself to find employment for the surplus population, it ought to feel obliged to any colony that will undertake to import it.

And this brings us to the second portion of the argument, in which Dr. Lees holds that the equal distribution of labour throughout the country is pre-eminently the business of the State. And in treating this portion of this subject, we must emphatically express our regret that the author has not re-written his remarks with special reference to recent events. Notwithstanding the interference of Government and the exceptional legislation of the past four years, the Cooly-Trade of Assam is not a whit more satisfactory in 1867, than it was in 1862. Nay further; we are inclined to assert with Dr. Lees that it never will be so, until the Government takes the whole business into its own hands.

Now although, as we have hinted above, it is possible that Government might have done, and might in the present day be doing more towards the colonization of India's wastes by the *natives* of the country, we are not disposed to admit the assertion, that it is the business of Government to go to the expense of finding labour for the Tea-planters of Assam. But Dr. Lees tells us that the planters expressed their perfect willingness to pay all expenses, and only requested the Government to establish an Immigration Agency after the pattern of Colonial Governments. To this we see no objection whatever. The Commission of 1861-62 confirmed the statement of the planters that any system of immigration into the Tea-districts, "to be successful, would require to be conducted under the auspices of Government." Recent events have only tended to expose the evils of the present system, and to show that the day must ultimately arrive when the Government will be forced to acknowledge its responsibility in the matter.

The reason why the importation of labour into Assam should be undertaken by the agency of the Government rather than by that of private individuals, is simply this, that, while the Government stands between the planter and the cooly as a wholly impartial and uninterested go-between, it has the power to compel both to conform to those rules and regulations, under which alone the system can be worked successfully. It then becomes the interest of Government to *protect* both parties; its action ceases to be one-sided. It provides equally, that the planter gets strong, able-bodied labourers, who can do a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, and that the labourer is properly treated and

cared for by his employer. The existing system is a half measure only, under which the Government can impose difficulties in the way of the planters, without taking upon itself the responsibility of seeing that their grievances are redressed. But the whole subject is much too interesting and important to be fully discussed in a short notice like the present, and we must therefore postpone its further consideration to some future opportunity.

In his last chapter Dr. Lees treats of the enormous (though undeveloped) wealth of India, and the absence of capital available for works of public or private enterprise. Indeed, in this chapter he seems to us to disprove much of what he insisted on in the last. He shows, for instance, that it is capital, rather than population, that is wanting for the full development of India's wealth. The mass of the people are excessively poor, and they have few incentives to improve their condition. Dr. Lees would find the panacea in a re-settlement of the land-tenure, as if every sort of tenure had not already been tried. We quote his words: "The system of *advances*, so much railed at in England and India, is simply a *necessity* arising out of the extreme poverty of the people, and its only cure lies in such a settlement of the land-tenure, as *ensuring* to the actual cultivators of the soil a larger share of the profits resulting from their own industry, will enable them, after providing themselves with the necessaries of life, to call the crops at least their own. The sale of land in fee-simple to *ignorant and unenlightened* landlords will not effect this. Nor yet the redemption of the land-revenue. A perpetual settlement will be equally impotent to accomplish the end. It has not accomplished it in Bengal. On the contrary the ryots are admitted to be in an extremely depressed condition. Before much benefit can result from any improvement in the land-tenure of the country, landlords must be better educated, and cultivators more intelligent than at present. The former must learn that the ryots, as the source of their wealth, must be solicitously cared for, and that some better and more profitable use may be made of their accumulated savings, than squandering them in personal luxuries, marriage ceremonies, and barbarous festivals. The ryot too must understand and be placed in a position to prove that his *thews and sinews* are not merely a means of maintaining his existence, but the means of enabling him to live in a certain degree of comfort, and to bring up his children to industrious and useful callings." The writer indeed does well to insist on the importance of extending the blessings of education among the lower classes, but it is something more than education or a more favourable tenure of the

soil, that is required to raise the Indian ryot to the level of a civilized human being.

We cannot close this notice of *The Land and Labour of India* without animadverting on the slovenly manner in which it has been allowed to issue from the press. It is not so much the consideration, of expense, as the expectation of securing superior execution, which induces writers in this country to forward their manuscripts to England for publication. Those who do so, are of course unable to read their own proofs, and it is therefore the more incumbent upon the publishers to whom the duty is entrusted, to see that they are corrected with all due care and intelligence. We are not aware whether Messrs. Williams and Norgate are responsible for the typographical correctness of *The Land and Labour of India*, but we certainly trust that for their own credit they are not. The letter-press unfortunately teems with inaccuracies. The laws of punctuation have been utterly set at defiance, and commas are with a reckless profusion inserted between almost every nominative case and its predicate. At page 171 the proverbial dislike of Englishmen to *continental* systems is corrupted into a paradoxical hatred of the *constitution*. The simple sentence, "Its produce is his creatures' (property)," is written, "It's produce is his creatures." A scholar like Dr. Lees would never be guilty of "Himaylayan." And to crown all, we are told in a note to page 21 that the adoption of certain principles by the Board of Revenue in Bengal was a material cause of the *interests* of the famine in Orissa. Even a Bengalee reader would have seen at a glance that the word in this last passage must be *intensity* !

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## ART. VII.—MR. MONTEATH'S EDUCATIONAL MINUTE.

ONE of the latest of Mr. Monteath's many services in the Secretariat of the Indian Government has been the preparation of his Minute, reviewing the condition of education in all the provinces of the Empire.

The diversity of results exhibited in it has immediately led to suggestions in favour of a Director General or Minister of Education for the whole of India, in order to utilize the experience of one province in directing the efforts of the Department elsewhere. Could this be done without unduly restraining the independence of the local Directors and without sacrificing vitality to overstrained uniformity, such an appointment would no doubt be useful in many ways; but at the present time we conceive that in all departments of Government in India, centralization is the evil that has to be guarded against; the encroachments of the Home Government on the Supreme Government, and of the Supreme Government on the Local Governments, threaten more and more every day to convert the administration of the Empire into a vast bureaucracy, and to trample out and extinguish all individual energy and talent. Hence we fear that a Local Director of Public Instruction, who is already sufficiently hampered by general rules, imperial supervision, and the intervention from time to time of the Secretary of State, would find his action still more fettered were he subordinated to a Director General who, necessarily ignorant of the local requirements of many parts of the country, would in all probability be gradually led to aim at introducing an apparent uniformity throughout the Empire, and thereby aggravating the vices of a system which already prescribes the same terms for a grant-in-aid to a school in Hooghly or Nuddea, as to a school in Ungool or the Sonthal Pergunnahs.

With this admission, however, of the danger of centralization, it may fairly be asserted that it is most advantageous from time to time to compare the progress of one province with that of another, to be able to perceive at a glance where it has excelled, and where it has fallen behind, and thus to ascertain

the direction in which efforts are most required. The information necessary for this has now been brought together into one volume, we believe for the first time, in the minute under review, and the results exhibited by comparing one province with another are in some cases most striking.

The first and most remarkable contrast which Bengal presents with other parts of India, is in the state of education among the upper as compared with the lower classes. Schools for boys are now ranked as Higher, Middle or Lower, according to certain lines of distinction, which are more or less definite.

If we place these three classes of schools, and the expenditure upon them in Bengal and in the North-West side by side, the striking result of the contrast will be seen at a glance.

	No. of Schools.	EXPENDITURE.	
		From Imp. Rev.	From other sources.
Higher class. Bengal { Govt.	50	2,00,328	1,95,108
	{ Private.*	90—140	58,058—
		2,58,386	1,30,860—
			825,958
" N. W. P. { Govt.	5	1,08,983	8,892
	{ Private.	4—9	18,333—
		127,316	35,541—
			44,438
Middle class. Bengal { Govt.	117	45,405	19,863
	{ Private.	941—1058	1,51,169—
		1,96,574	2,49,808—
			2,69,471
" N. W. P. { Govt.	265	60,633	23,130
	{ Private.	78—843	77,320—
		1,37,953	101,833—
			1,22,963
Lower class. Bengal { Govt.	81	12,549	2,720
	{ Private.	1205—1286	57,595—
		70,144	62,561—
			65,381
" N. W. P. { Govt.	8097	62,203	1,73,163
	{ Private.	5161—8258	13,815—
		76,018	2,49,583—
			4,32,736

In the North-West Provinces education of the higher class is most rare and most expensive to Government. Every 3

\* Aided and unaided.



rupees spent from the Imperial Revenue is met by only one rupee from other sources, and the expense per school is enormous. In Bengal, on the contrary, considerably less than 50 per cent of the total expenditure on such schools, comes from the Imperial Revenue, while the cost per school is less in the proportion of about one to four.

Descending to middle class schools we find that the comparison is far less adverse to the North-West, though still in favour of Bengal. The latter with three times as many schools costs less than half as much again to the State as the North-West Provinces, while the income from private sources in the former considerably exceeds, in the latter somewhat falls short of, the amount expended from public taxation.

Descending, however, to the lower class of schools we find the picture entirely reversed. The schools in the North-West provinces are nearly seven times as numerous as in Bengal, the expenditure from public funds is scarcely greater; while each rupee fails in eliciting an equal amount from other sources in Bengal, whereas it is met by 5 to 6 rupees in the North-West Provinces.\*

In the above comparison it must be remembered that we have not included colleges, where the contrast is vastly in favour of the Lower Provinces, nor girls' schools in regard to which it is in favour of the North-West: we have confined ourselves to schools for boys and to their three divisions, because these exhibit so clearly the opposite systems at work in these two contiguous portions of the Empire.

Assuming then, as we are justified in doing, the approximate correctness of these figures, does it show that the poorer classes in the North-West are proportionately more taught to read and write than in Bengal? This is very problematical. It is well known that the *patshalas* in Bengal are innumerable, that they are far more than 8,000 in number, that therefore it still remains an open question whether if indigenous and Government educational institutions be taken together, the *patshalas* in the Lower Provinces would not be quite as numerous as in the upper, but the figures do conclusively show that the English system of education, modern geography, modern methods of arithmetic, the modern system of grammar, &c., have been extended to the classes who frequented the old indigenous institutions, very much less under the one Government than under the other. In Bengal the English or modern system of instruction has been readily accepted by the upper classes, it has been spread

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\* The effect we believe of a local cess.

all over the country in the form of what are called Higher class schools, that is, schools which educate or profess to educate up to the standard of the University Entrance Examination; also in the form of Middle class schools which are supposed to include all other schools not designed for the education of the masses, but it has been found difficult to carry it further, and to introduce any taste or demand for it, among what are termed the masses.

As this has all along been *the* problem in the prosecution of educational operations in Bengal, we cannot do better than give a long extract from Mr. Monteath's Minute, showing the efforts that have been made, and his views of the success which has attended them.

"151. The Lower Class of Schools may be described generally as consisting of elementary Institutions for educating the lower orders of the people. The subject of primary education is justly regarded as a most important one, and has had a prominent place assigned to it in the Educational Despatches of 1854 and 1859.

"152. In the Despatch of 1854, the Home Government declared its wish for the prosecution of the object of Vernacular Education " in more systematic manner," and " placed the subject on a level in point of importance with that of the instruction to be afforded through the medium of the English language." An attempt will now be made to describe the measures taken in accordance with the above instruction, in the several Presidencies and Provinces."

*Bengal.*

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"155. Very little, if any, advance in these directions has until recent years been made owing principally to financial restrictions and partly to prolonged discussion which ensued between the Bengal Government and the Government of India, in which the latter argued that it was not the intention of the Home Government that the grant-in-aid system should be applied to the extension of this class of Schools, but that any measures which might be taken should be based on the principle of having the Schools under the direct management and control of the Government. The Bengal Government, having taken a different view, had contemplated a system of grants-in-aid to such Schools, and had asked for a relaxation of the Grant-in-aid Rules in its favor."

"156. The Bengal Government maintained that the cost of any system of Vernacular instruction, by the direct instrumentality of Government, would make its general introduction impossible.

" It was argued that although cheap Schools, costing, as in the North-Western Provinces, from rupees five to rupees eight per mensem each, had been to some extent found practicable in Behar and Assam, they were not practicable in Bengal Proper. The great problem of a sufficiently cheap system of Vernacular education, through the direct instrumentality of Government, remained the subject of discussion and report till 1860, when the Lieutenant-Governor, writing with reference to previous correspondence, and especially to a recent call for a definite report of the measures desired to be introduced in connection with the Secretary of State's Despatch of 1859, proposed a system, the basis of which was the encouragement of the best of the indigenous Schools by rewards to the Masters, supply of books, &c. ; a proportion of Model Schools being also established, and arrangements being made for maintaining an efficient inspection. "

" 157. Sir John Peter Grant's scheme was very much modified in its actual application. It was transformed into a scheme of which the following description was given in the Report of 1862-63 :—

The villages where *patshalas* are already in existence are invited to send, for a year's training in a Normal School, either their present Gooroo, or some other person whom they will undertake to receive as their future School Master. Their nominee, if accepted by the Inspector, is sent to a Normal School with a stipend of rupees five per mensem, and a written agreement is entered into on the one hand with the heads of the village, that they will receive him back as their Gooroo when he has completed his course of training and received a certificate of qualification, and on the other hand, with the nominee himself, that he will return to the village which selected him, and there enter upon and discharge the duty of Village School Master, to the best of his ability, on condition of being secured a monthly income of not less than rupees five, in the shape of stipend or reward, so long as he continues to deserve it.

Each of the three Training Schools at present established receives 75 stipendiary students. They have been opened but a few months, but no difficulty has been experienced in filling them. Each had its full complement at the end of the year.

" 158. There can be no question that this is by far the most promising scheme for encouraging primary education that has ever been tried in Bengal, and I shall, therefore, endeavour to follow out its later history somewhat at length. At first its operation was confined to three selected districts (Burdwan, Krishnaghur and Jessore), in each of which a Normal School for Goorooos was established. In the first year of their working they had an average attendance of 217 Goorooos come from their respective villages to draw stipends of rupees five per mensem, and be trained as Teachers. In the course of the year 171 students passed their final examination: In the second year of

" their existence (1864-65) they had an average attendance of 234 Teachers,—certificates being given to 203. In the third year (1865-66) only 75 certificates were issued; the cause of the decrease being the great prevalence of epidemic disease, which necessitated the closing of one Training School during several months of the year, and greatly interfered with the operations of the others. During the year, sanction was obtained to the extension of the operations, under the same Inspector, to three more districts, *viz.*, Bancoorah, Midnapore, and Moorshedabad. Only one additional Training School was added on this account, four Training Schools being considered sufficient for the six districts."

" 159. In addition to this, another Inspector was appointed to superintend similar operations in North-East Bengal, in the districts of Rajshahye Dinagpore, and Rungpore,—three new Training Schools being opened for the purpose.

" 160. So great is the number of applications for admission to the Normal Schools that, even in the newly created Institutions it was found possible to get several "Free Students," *i. e.*, students in excess of the authorized complement (75 per School), for whom there are no stipends, and who yet entered into the usual engagement to remain at the School, and to return to the nominating village as Teachers when qualified."

" 161. It will be interesting to note the progress of this scheme in the three districts last taken up (Rajshahye, Dinagpore, and Rungpore), where Mahomedans constitute above two-thirds of the entire population; and where, from the small number of existing *patshalas*, it is necessary to get the villagers to bind themselves not merely to hand over an existing School to the Teacher when qualified, but, if there be no School, to get one up. The number of Mahomedan nominees is already reported to be considerable."

" 162. It may be explained here that the scheme contemplates not merely the training of Teachers, and the subsequent grant of rupees five towards the salary of each qualified Teacher, but it provides also for the inspection of the Village Schools. For this purpose each of the two special Inspectors has under him a staff of Deputy Inspectors. There were in 1865-66 altogether 19 Deputy Inspectors employed in this work.

" 163. The salary of rupees five paid to qualified Teachers by Government, is calculated to represent about half of their total income. That this is actually the case will be seen from the following statistics for 1865-66 given by the Inspector in charge of the districts first selected":—

The *Patshalas* have, on the whole, gone on well during the year. They have increased in numbers and in attendance of pupils, and yielded no inconsiderable amount of income to their Gooeroos in the shape of schooling fees. Exclusive of the four Training Schools, and as many model *Patshalas* attached to them, I had under me, on the 30th April last, 521 Village Schools, with an attendance of 16,561 pupils, who paid Rupees 28,507-1 in fees and otherwise to their Gooeroos. The total cost to Government in these Schools was rupees 21,843-11, and therefore less than two annas per month per pupil. The scheme of *Patshal* improvement, therefore, still fully maintains its character of being the cheapest to Government, and most easily expandible of all the systems of elementary education yet brought into operation.

" 164. The model *Patshala* above alluded to, form another not " unimportant feature of this scheme, for it is, of course, desirable " that the embryo Teacher should have some practical experience " in the art of teaching before he leaves the Normal School, and " the means of this is afforded by the model or practising *Patshala* " attached to the Central Institution. In these model *Patshalas* " the native system is adhered to as much as possible, so as to " secure their being really models of what it is intended that the " Village *Patshalas* should be. The following account of the " model *Patshalas* is given by the Inspector of the Eastern " Circle":—

In the constitution of the model *Patshala*, the Native *Patshala* system has been scrupulously preserved, but with such improvements as are desirable, which, while they promise success, avoid all unnecessary offence to established notions. The young lads attend School twice a day, and are arranged into the plantain-leaf, the palm-leaf, and the paper classes. Zemindaree and Mahajonee accounts are largely taught. The Schools open and close with the recitation of short songs in praise of our Maker, and on other appropriate subjects.

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" 166. I have already devoted more space in this Note than " can well be spared to the description of this most interesting " scheme for encouraging the education of the lower orders of the " Bengal people. There can be no doubt that it promises to be " the best scheme that has been tried. It takes as its basis the " national Schools of the country, and it improves them at a cost " sufficiently small to admit of a really wide extension of the " system. The schemes attempted hitherto failed in one or other " of two ways, viz., either—(1) by establishing Government or " Grant-in aid Model Schools which were filled by a class of the " people far higher in the social scale than the laboring and " agricultural population whom it was desired to influence; or (2) " by attempting to encourage good teaching in Village Schools, " the Masters of which, however ready to take the offered rewards, " and to do their best to win them, were, from defective education, quite unable to carry out the desired " reforms."

"167. I do not mean to say that the new system affects only the laboring and agricultural population. In some parts of Bengal perhaps its principal effect is upon, what may be called, the middle classes of the people. This is shown by the following extract from the Report of the Inspector of the Central, or first instituted, Circle"—

I tried to point out in my last Annual Report, as well as on other occasions, that the *Patshalas* are not and cannot be Schools for the masses *exclusively*. I showed in that Report that they are primarily preparatory Schools for the children of the higher and middle ranks; and, at the same time being extremely cheap, are attended largely by children of the lower orders.

"In the other or Eastern Circle, it would seem that the scheme is more directly operative on the agricultural population, as may be gathered from the following extract from the Inspector's Report"—

I have heard it talked of, even in high quarters, that the *Patshala* system is not working among the masses. This, I think, is far from being the truth, though it is certainly to be owned that it does not influence the masses alone.

Of the Schools I visited in the Burdwan Division (belonging to the other Inspector) some had a sensible falling-off in attendance during the growing and reaping seasons, when laborers cannot forego the assistance of their children. These children will, on all hands, be allowed to belong to the masses.

My own Division, however, is peculiarly the land of the masses. In Dinagepore and Rungpore, I do really feel that I am working among the lower classes. There the bulk of the people are agriculturists, while the "higher orders are almost unknown.

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The diaries of Deputy Inspectors teem with names of villages composed entirely of agriculturists."

"168. It would be wrong if I were to pass from the description of this scheme without mentioning the names of the Inspectors\* to whose able and zealous supervision the successful working of the system is doubtless due in no small degree."

\* Baboo Bhoodeb  
Mookerjee, Central  
Division.  
Baboo Kasseo  
Kanth Mookerjee, East  
Division.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the object of the scheme has been to reach classes lower in the social scale than those for whom the grant-in-aid system was suitable, and as lower class schools have been defined to be schools designed for the education of the masses, and as those schools have from the very outset been treated and spoken of as lower class schools, it is easy enough to determine what is the light in which they have been regarded by the Home and Indian Governments. But if it is once settled that this is the object of the scheme we may proceed to argue, that it can be called a success only as far as it is accomplishing this end, and is useless or rather pernicious as far as it







school as well as from an aided-school, but there is a great difference between a vague and desperate hope of some marvellous success, which the parent or student knows cannot be fulfilled in the case of one in a thousand, though he hopes that his may be the thousandth case, and a sober, matured, and, as the parent or pupil at least believes, and is led to believe, reasonable expectation. We, therefore, regard ourselves fully justified in concluding that a school can be said *to be designed* for the masses, when it is not intended to encourage the students to expect to make their \* book-education their direct means of support in after life, and that it has been successful in reaching the masses when it is frequented by children, who come there or are sent there without such intention: and on the contrary, that whatever its design may be, a school should not truly be denominated a school for the lower classes, if those who frequent it do so with the intention of making a livelihood afterwards by means of what they learn, nor can it be even said to be designed for such classes if such expectations are knowingly and intentionally encouraged.

Adopting, therefore, this canon for testing the success of the improved pathshala system, let us next for the benefit of those of our readers who may be ignorant of it, give a very brief outline of the system of schools established over the country for the upper and middle classes.

The Calcutta University has colleges affiliated to it, both in Calcutta and scattered over the Lower Provinces. Into the character of its Degrees we need not enter now or into the scholarships allowed by Government to the most successful students at each examination. Admission to the University, that is, admission to study in the college department of one of the affiliated Institutions, and thereby to be a candidate for the Degrees, is obtained at a general annual examination at which some 1,500 students annually present themselves, of whom in round numbers 50 per cent are successful. On this occasion Government gives what are called Junior Scholarships of 18, 14 and 10 rupees a month to the number of 10 of the first, 50 of the second, and 100 of the third class, so that 160 of the best of the 1,500

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\* We are obliged to use the term book-education to avoid making the word too comprehensive; it is obvious that in a well organised school for the masses a good deal of useful practical instruction in ploughing, weaving, or other trades might be encouraged, such branches of education would of course be utilized directly in after employment. By book-education we mean reading, writing, arithmetic, together with such elementary instruction in geography, history, and other sciences, as may be included in the school course.

candidates are enabled to continue their University studies either entirely or in great part at the public expense.

All schools which educate up to the Entrance standard, whether Government schools, or private schools aided or unaided by a Government grant, are termed higher class English schools, English being a *sine qua non* at the Entrance Examination. Anglo-vernacular schools of an inferior kind are encouraged to send their pupils to the higher class schools, to complete their education, and for such students too there is an annual examination, at which scholarships of Rs. 5 a month for two years are allotted to the best candidates, to enable them to study at the higher class schools.

Below these again come the Vernacular schools, both Government and aided, and to students of such schools there are allotted annually in each Zillah from 5 to 20 scholarships of Rs. 4 a month, competed for at a formal well-known examination, and tenable for 4 years to enable the pupil to study at a higher class English school, and compete for the University Entrance. Consequently all the Vernacular schools aim at teaching up to the Vernacular Scholarship Course, to enable their best students to compete at this examination, which is regarded as affording the same common test to the Vernacular schools, which the Entrance Examination does to the English schools.

Thus far, therefore, there is an elaborate scheme providing for instruction by gradual stages from the first letters of the Bengallee alphabet up to the M. A. degree at the University. In each stage, expectations are deliberately and designedly held out to the very poorest of rising to a higher stage. A Vernacular student, however poor, is taught to look forward to the prospect of obtaining a Vernacular scholarship, and of thereby being able to go to an English first class school. Similarly the students of the English schools are encouraged to keep their eyes fixed on the 160 Junior Scholarships, and on being thereby enabled, however poor, to study at the University. And this is precisely the manner in which the system works. Those who are wealthy enough will go through with their studies, whether they obtain a scholarship or not; but a very large number follow the system as far their means allow, and then seek the highest employment, that their attainments justify them in hoping for. If after completing the Vernacular school course they fail in obtaining a scholarship, they desist from further studies, and try to become mohurrirs, or 2nd class pundits, or something of the same calibre. If they get through the course at an English school, but gain no Junior Scholarships, they make the most of their Entrance Certificate (if they

obtained it), and try for the lower employments in which English is required ; and so one may proceed throughout the various University Examinations ; at each stage many drop off, but always regard every step gained, every examination passed, as a sort of guarantee of so much better employment hereafter.

It is, therefore, evident that the provision for upper and middle class education was complete, and it was also clearly capable of indefinite expansion until it practically included all persons and classes in Bengal, who intended or expected to gain a living by what (as long as our meaning is not misunderstood) we may term book-education : and there can be no possible doubt that not only was it adapted to attain, but was actually attaining with great rapidity this very result. Grant-in-aid Vernacular schools, as well as Anglo-vernacular schools were multiplying rapidly over the country for several years before the *patshala* system was introduced, quite as rapidly as was consistent with sound and steady progress. Of this no one has ever doubted. It was no failure of the grant-in-aid system *within its own sphere*, that called for further efforts of the Department ; it was because the system, however much it expanded, showed no signs or capabilities of success among the masses, no indications of being resorted to by those who might be tempted to seek elementary instruction without ulterior designs of thereby forsaking the ordinary path of labour, and becoming writers or something more, that it has been felt that further efforts must be made, and some different method resorted to before the wish of the Government to educate its subjects in a comprehensive manner could be accomplished. A moment's consideration must surely satisfy any one, that this is what the Government of India intended when it argued against extending the grant-in-aid system under relaxed rules to the lower class schools. It did *not* mean that in gradually inducing those classes who sought, for a livelihood by educated labour, to accept our education instead of their own as the means of success, we ought after reaching a certain point to draw a sharp imaginary line, and say that below this employment-seekers must be educated in schools, supported instead of aided by Government. It meant, clearly enough, that though, as long as education was to be the pupil's capital, his stock in trade and means of future income, expenditure from private sources might be fairly and legitimately insisted on as an essential antecedent to the expenditure of public money ; yet when a totally different class were to be touched, when those to whom their school learning was not expected to be any source of

profit, were to be induced to receive elementary education, such a condition could be no longer consistently maintained, but Government should itself take the requisite schools in hand, and provide for their permanency and security.

This then being the object, it was admitted on all hands that the indigenous *patshalas* scattered in such numbers over most of the districts of the lower provinces, furnished the best opportunity of getting at the masses. It must not be supposed that these *patshalas* were in themselves schools for the masses. It was well known that they were in great part, perhaps the greater part, filled by those who looked to obtaining a livelihood out of their school-learning either as gooroo or sircars or gomastahs or in some similar capacity: but on the other hand they had never, like the schools set up under the auspices of Government, been looked upon as royal roads to employment, their course of studies was of the humblest and most conservative character, and therefore, together with the future sircars and gomastahs, they were attended by many others who either never intended to abandon, or at any rate subsequently acquiesced contentedly in settling down to, the old commonplace agricultural pursuits of the majority of their countrymen. Hence it is patent that merely getting hold of the indigenous *patshalas*, and moulding them into English *patshalas*, would not in itself be necessarily any real step in the way of reaching the masses; this would entirely depend on the manner in which the conversion was effected, and on the different degrees in which the two classes, we have just described as dividing the *patshalas*, were encouraged in their diverging objects. If those who looked for prospects, if the future *sircars*, as for convenience sake we will call them, were to be encouraged to think that they would under the new auspices be future *keranees*, it would soon result that the idea would communicate itself throughout the *patshala*, and that it would rapidly lose all trace of its character as a school for the masses, and would only be regarded as another channel conducting to employment, and to a contingent Deputy Magistracy in the background.

On the other hand, if the future *sircars* were discouraged in their hopes, were given to understand that they might become *sircars* if they liked and could, but that it was not the object of the *patshala* to enable them to do so, but rather to let them return to their plough and their sugarcane, after a few years' instruction, with the advantage of being able to read and write and sum during the rest of their days, if they cared to take the trouble of keeping it up; had this been done the *patshala* might have fallen through owing to

the masses being indifferent to the advantages held out to them, but if it did stand there could be no doubt that it was a real step in the direction of reaching the lower classes.

Now we suppose that no person, who has the slightest knowledge of the connection which the Bengallees consider to exist between Government education and Government employment, can doubt for a moment in which of the above directions, the tendency would be, as soon as an indigenous *patshala* was taken under Government control. The idea would at once be that a new path to the Government system of scholarships and University education was being opened to them, the future sircars would turn up their noses at any thing which did not at least lead to an eventual Head Clerkship; those who had never even raised their eyes to sircarships, would now have their heads turned by the unexpected prospects, and all who did belong to the masses would cease to be contented to regard their education in the only light in which real education for the lower orders can be properly regarded.

It seems therefore evident enough what the course of the Educational Department should have been in dealing with these schools, in order to accomplish the objects of Government. It should have taken care to draw the line very markedly between them and the aided vernacular schools; to make it perfectly clear that the *patshalas* were something apart and on a totally different footing, and that they furnished no opening into the regular educational system above them. That those who wished to try their fortune in that lottery should go to an aided school at once, and that those villages or groups of villages which contained enough candidates for such a career should endeavour to get up an aided school for themselves with which the *patshala* would have no connection and into a rivalry with which it would never be permitted to enter. All attempts to raise the *patshala* out of its sphere, to bring on one or two of the promising boys, and send them up to the Vernacular Scholarship examinations, or to astonish visitors by the extent of studies, should have been most firmly and unsparingly repressed.

Prizes and money rewards, so long as they did *not* lead into the upper stratum of schools might have been freely multiplied, for they would have encouraged the scholars in their proper line without leading them to look beyond it; but it was manifestly of vital importance, that the line between the aided schools and the *patshalas* should be insisted on with the utmost rigour. Were this not done it must be evident that nothing could resist the natural tendency, no less on the part of the gooroos than of the pupils of the improved *patshalas* to assimilate themselves

to and imitate the aided schools, and, instead of accepting their true position as schools of a different rank altogether, to become adjuncts of the existing system and thus only anticipate the results which the vernacular aided schools were attaining more deliberately before, namely the bringing over to the modern system of teaching those who were preparing to make a livelihood by what we have termed book-education.

This then being the view which we think ought to be taken of the task which awaited the Educational Department in Bengal, in endeavouring to work on the masses by the instrumentality of the indigenous *patshalas*; we cannot help stating that we are unable to concur with Mr. Monteath in the opinion which he has expressed, 'that this is by far the most promising scheme for encouraging primary education that has ever been tried in Bengal.'

In one sense it is the most promising, because it is the *only* scheme which has been with any system, or at any great expense, put into practice; but it seems to us that those who have had the control of the experiment have fallen into every one of the errors which we have described above as endangering the fundamental intention of the Government and diverting it into another channel which was not intended or needed; and which in fact amounts to nothing more than the expediting by a different and inharmonious method the result which the grant-in-aid system was already accomplishing surely and quite quickly enough.

Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee was only entrusted with the inauguration of the new scheme as modified in the manner described in Mr. Monteath's 157th para in the very end of 1862; let us therefore begin to trace its progress from the Reports of 1863-64, and the following years.

In the Report of 1863-64 we find one of the Deputy Inspectors appointed to inspect the schools under Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee, thus writing of some of the *patshalas* under him.

*Bulgonah*.—"One thing however struck me from the beginning. The dress and looks of most of the children *showed that\* they belonged to the higher classes of the community*. It will not be long before their parents will begin to wish for the establishment of an English School in the village. *In fact it will be thus in most places*. The appointment of a certificated tutor to the village *patshala* will improve its condition and interest the people in the education of their children. That interest will of itself create a desire for English as the road to

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\* The italics are ours in almost all these extracts.

"*preferment.*" Very good objects in their way no doubt, but we may surely ask, is this the purpose for which the *patshala* system was set on foot? Bulgonah might have been a very good place for the establishment of an aided school, but surely it was a complete prostitution of the *patshala* system to plant a *patshala* there, and thereby impede and probably prevent the establishment of an aided vernacular school!

On turning to the Report of 1865-66 we still find a *patshala* at Bulgonah which is ranked in the highest grade as 'excellent.' As an educational institution for grounding the upper and middle classes in the vernacular, we can readily believe, that it is excellent, but we must be pardoned if we are sceptical of its excellent effect upon the masses. While the anticipated demand for English education has been realised in the shape of an anglo-vernacular school at the same place, into a mere feeder of which we cannot repress a strong suspicion that the *patshala* has been permitted to degenerate! And yet the Deputy Inspector far from regarding this as an abuse or even abnormal application of the system, clearly refers to it as a specimen of how it may be expected to work.

A little further as we come to *Bursool*. "This is another of the transferred *patshalas*. There is an aided English School in this village and the Baboo who is manager of the aided school is likewise manager of the *patshala*. I believe also that the children who attend the school also attend the *patshala*." Comment on this endeavour to 'get at the masses' must be superfluous.

*Nyamutpore*.—"The children who were mostly of the Brahmin or writer caste passed a very good examination. The villagers informed me that one of themselves taught English to the higher classes for an hour or so every day."

*Duhpool*.—"There is a grant-in-aid vernacular school here as well as a *patshala*. The certificated *patshala* tutor is strongly befriended by a few shop-keepers who have given him house accommodation in the bazar and who are endeavouring to secure him a respectable income from fees. The number of pupils at the *patshala* is daily on the increase, and I believe that unless they begin to teach English in the aided schools it will lose in the competition. I had an application from the manager of the latter, for an order on the *patshala* tutor prohibiting him from admitting boys that come to him from the aided school."

When this is the spirit in which the *patshalas* were established what more need be said? Here is a plain avowal that the *patshalas* which were intended to be radically and fundamentally

separated from the grant-in-aid institutions, are actually entering into competition with them at the public expense. The whole account suggests the suspicion that there was a *doladoli* in the village and that the opposite factions were making use of the two branches of the Educational Department as instruments of spiting one another.

With such an utter misconception or distortion of the objects of the system as the above extracts reveal, we are prepared for the proposal of the Additional Inspector at the close of the Report.

"My second suggestion is this. Now that the *patshalas* have been started, it is necessary to place before them a definite object of pursuit. Without such an object before them, their improvement can never be regular, steady or uniform. With men as well as institutions, there ought always to be some standard to aim at. The colleges have the University Degrees to strive for. The Zillah and aided schools compete with each other for the English scholarships, the vernacular scholarships are an object to the aided and model vernacular schools, the *patshalas* need have some object of the kind set before them and some standard by which their progress may be tested. I would propose the institution of a certain number of inferior vernacular scholarships, bearing a certain proportion to the number of *patshalas* in each district. Then will really be opened a way for the child of the poorest ryot to obtain within his reach the best education available in this country and the highest Honor of its University." It is quite evident that Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee wanted to break down instead of to build up the wall of separation between his *patshalas* and the upper and middle class educational institutions, and we must again repeat that this shews a total misapprehension of the objects of the system. All that is here asked for was already provided by the grant-in-aid system. There was no necessity for organising a new system to meet the requirements of *candidates for preferment*. The Government of India would never have said that the grant-in-aid system could not be made properly applicable to the education of such classes as these, in such districts as Burdwan and Nuddea.

Organised rewards or definite objects for these schools to aim at, were most desirable it is true, but we argue as the Additional Inspector does that as the object held out such will the schools be. Hold out to your schools the prospects of a collegiate career and you will at once fill them with the classes you do *not* want, the classes for whom the aided system is perfectly adapted. Such a class of rewards should have been asked for, as would have shown decisively that the pupils were



not encouraged to look to preferment, as the object of their school career, instead of which Baboo Bhodeb asks that such objects may be systematically held out as will lead them to do so.

What however did the Director of Public Instruction do? He might fairly be looked to to correct the misapprehensions of his lieutenant. Whether he did so or not we have no means of learning; from the aspect of affairs afterwards, we fear, that he did not; but in this case he fell into a worse mistake than if he had procured the institution of the proposed scholarships: he allowed the students of the *patshalas* to compete with those of the aided and other vernacular schools for the regular vernacular scholarships. This to our mind was the very worst and most pernicious step that could have been taken, it not only acknowledged but actually authorised the competition between the aided vernacular schools and the *patshalas* which the latter were only too ready to resort to. It was in fact little less than a definite assent to an entire change of character in the *patshalas* from that which had been designed for them by Government. No doubt the Director did not intend deliberately to further this change, he probably accepted the argument which was we may suppose laid before him, that if a boy at a *patshala* did possess such marked ability as to enable him to compete with those who were trained in the aided schools, it would be a shame to debar him from the career which was opening before him. But even Baboo Bhodeb's own Report ought to have led him to see that the question was a much wider and deeper one. Was it not evident that the *patshalas* would take their impress from the character of the objects held out to them. If once allowed to compete for the examinations, was it not morally certain that they would rush into the gap thus created for them and that they would convert themselves one after the other into preparatory schools for this purpose; in fact be identical in their objects and character with the inferior aided vernacular schools and *pre-occupy* the field which these latter were intended to fill?

Under such auspices the first full year of the *patshalas* closed. Let us turn to the Report for the following year in order to judge how far actual results verify the anticipations that might have been formed.

In the Report of the schools visited by Baboo Bhodeb Mookerjee himself we read:

*Bitoor*.—"All the children belong to the respectable classes. "The teaching is carried on entirely on the *plan of our superior schools* \* \* the tutor is a smart young man and takes

"pains with his pupils. He has succeeded in giving to his *patshala*, the exact appearance of a *Mofussil aided school*."

*Sonacoondoo*.—"A student from an extra class opened by the tutor, competed successfully at the last vernacular scholarship examination."

*Cassidangah*.—"This school is very well conducted, progress excellent. This school can after a year or more send up candidates to the vernacular scholarship examinations."

*Dadospore*.—"This *patshala* would in my opinion compete on equal terms with the best conducted aided school, which I remember to have seen at any time."

In this Report Baboo Bhoodeb enters at great length into the questions which we have been discussing, and as his remarks bear out our views to a very remarkable extent we will hereafter extract from them fully; meanwhile however to continue the thread of our narrative it will be better first to pass on to the Report for 1865-66, and see the further progress made by the *patshalas*.

In that Report we find the Deputy Inspector of Goosheerah writing: "At four of the *patshalas* under me the villagers have appointed teachers of English." This is furthering education of the masses with a vengeance.

The Deputy Inspector of the Mymari Circle. "16 out of the 47 *patshalas* under me are getting on well, they are in no respect inferior to the aided vernacular schools which I have seen at different places; and as their Gooroos are equally attentive to their duties in the *patshalas* and to their self-improvement, I have every reason to hope that before long, they will be qualified to teach the vernacular scholarship course to their pupils who have been already well grounded in their elementary studies. With respect to those Gooroos who will prove incapable of meeting the now growing popular wish for teaching up to the vernacular scholarship standard, I would suggest that they be permitted to re-enter the training school by threes or fours every year in order to qualify themselves better." As might have been prophesied no sooner were those examinations opened to the *patshalas*, than both teachers and pupils began at once to lay themselves out for them and to make success in them, the main object of their existence. In fact to do everything that the aided schools were doing and we might safely add nothing more.

The evil results of such a system that is of the encroachment on a field not designed for them can easily be conceived. Let the Deputy Inspector of Kooshtea tell us: "The certificated

"Gooroos are no longer compared with the old Gooroos who offered in the beginning such a contrast to them. They are now compared with the Pundits of aided schools who are accordingly growing jealous of them, and, I am sorry to find *endeavouring to undermine their influence, and popularity* as far as they may."

*Jessore Circle.*—"In about 12 of these schools the students are preparing for the vernacular scholarship examination."

*Bagrhat circle.*—"There are 35 *patshalas* in this Circle inclusive of 10 night schools. The boys of the 25 day *patshalas* have made very considerable progress in their studies. In most the first class pupils have come up very near the vernacular scholarship examination."

*Khoolnah Circle.*—"I think that in a year more a few of them will be able to send pupils to compete at the vernacular scholarship examination."

The above evidence must be sufficient to satisfy any one that not only was it the tendency of the parents and children, who made use of the indigenous *patshalas*, to convert them into ordinary channels to employment, like the aided schools, but also that this tendency has been encouraged in every manner by those who have been entrusted with the supervision of the system.

So palpable had this divergence from the original objects of the scheme become by the second year of its existence that Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee enters into an elaborate and, we may justly add, able justification of it. He writes :

"But the question now occurs: whom are we educating in our *patshalas*? I shall attempt to answer this question at some length, as a right understanding of it is absolutely necessary, for clearing up certain misconceptions with regard to the system now at work. The present scheme was at first designated as 'the scheme of *patshala* improvement.' It was known that there were in this country, from time immemorial, a large number of schools called *patshalas*, which might be made the ground-work for the further extension of our educational operations. The system of *Ciroles* had been working for some time previously on these indigenous schools, and all that was then expected from the present scheme was, to effect, at less expense and at greater speed, what the system of *Ciroles* was to have effected. In order to apprehend properly, therefore, the object and scope of the present scheme, it seems absolutely necessary to have at first a clear idea of what kind of institutions the *patshalas* are.

"Now, the history of any one of the thirty thousand *patshalas* said to exist in Bengal, is the history of each of them. Some respectable villager wishes to make provision for the elementary instruction of his children. He takes a gooroo into his service, gives him free quarters in his own house, feeds him and pays him a rupee or two per month, and accords him permission to take in as many children of the people as choose to attend his lessons. Thus a *patshala* is established. The *patshalas* are, therefore, in their very origin "preparatory schools for people in the higher and middle

ranks of life," and could not have existed, and cannot now exist, without their interest and active co-operation. At the same time the *patshalas* are very cheap schools. The gooroo does not insist upon large fees from his pupils; he does not deem high-priced printed books to be absolutely necessary; he makes use of no expensive school apparatus. The *patshalas* are therefore, attended by the children of the poorer classes. From the above description, it must be apparent that the *patshalas* are *not* schools for the masses *exclusively*, but at the same time there cannot be the least doubt that they *teach* the masses. The present scheme is calculated to *improve* these schools, and I do not fear the application of any reasonable test which may be proposed to try the improvement which has been already effected upon them. But I cannot regard without some apprehension the impression which seems to be entertained in certain quarters, that the *patshalas* ought to be *mass-schools exclusively*. The simple fact, however, is, that the *patshalas* never were, and are not now, schools for the masses *only*. Children of the highest as well as of the lowest classes have always attended them, and continue to attend them at present. My endeavour has hitherto been to *keep* them in this respect what I found them. It was my aim to *improve* the *patshalas*, not to *convert* them into mass-schools.

"In 1862, when reporting on the result of the experiments for *patshala* improvement which had been set a-foot in the Burdwan district, I had to notice how "the children of the lower orders had dropped off from the institutions which had been experimented upon." It has been my care, therefore, from the very commencement of operations under myself, to guard against the desertion of my *patshalas* by the children of the lower classes, and I flatter myself that my exertions have not proved unsuccessful. But the *conversion* of *patshalas* into *purely* mass-schools is what I never attempted, nor thought possible to attempt, under the provisions of the scheme of which I am in charge.

"The present scheme is calculated to improve the *patshalas*, and thereby act on the masses through and along with the middle and higher classes, but not in exclusion of them. The present scheme *requires* the people to set about the improvement of their own schools—it *requires* them to be bound to heavy penaltiss to keep up the schools upon which Government money is expended—it *requires* the payment of fees by the children who attend school—and in short, it proceeds entirely on the principle of the grant-in-aid system of "offering help to those only who help themselves."

"If then the provisions of this present scheme be not at all more liberal than those of any other system now at work, it is hard to imagine why it should be supposed as more fitted than all others to act on the masses *exclusively*, unless it be admitted, against every reason and experience, that the more stringent the provisions of an educational scheme, the more suited it is to act on people whose thoughts are all engrossed by present cares, who entertain no future prospects, and who feel no call for improvement. It is indeed impossible to understand how schools were to be formed for the masses *exclusively* under the present scheme. I cannot conceive how, on exclusion of the middle classes, I can receive applications for the nomination of gooroos or get my agreements signed, or the school fees paid regularly, or the school thatch built, or the village tutor housed and fed without any charges upon his small income. In schools designed *exclusively* for the masses, not only must every ordinary item of expenditure be borne by Government, but even their books must be supplied to the children gratis and occasionally prizes in cash or articles of food and clothing offered to them as bribes for their regular attendance at school.

"The present scheme is quite powerless to effect anything like what is above described. It but makes the grant-in-aid system work more widely and speedily than that system had been worked ever before. It takes but one step towards the education of the masses, and proves more strongly than anything else, that if we do not force down any mere theoretical classifications on our educational institutions—classifications not based on any definite social distinctions—the grant-in-aid principle will in time suffice to bring the masses fairly within our reach. It proves that, by following our present course, we may proceed safely as far downwards as we will, without putting any such strain upon the Government resources, as would certainly ensue, if we proposed to go plumb down all at once."

This contains a candid avowal of the true position of the improved *patshalas* and a defence of that position, "the present scheme is quite powerless" to reach the masses exclusively, "it but makes the grant-in-aid system work more widely and speedily than that system had been worked ever before." With this we entirely agree, but we dissent from Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee entirely in his views that this is what was wanted by the Government of India or in fact by the Government of Bengal. Was it discontent at the rate of progress of the grant-in-aid system which led to the measure which was subsequently entrusted to the Additional Inspector? To our minds the uniform and steady progress of the grant-in-aid system was sounder than this forcing of it by means of the improved *patshalas*, and consequent checking of it, in its normal growth.

It would perhaps be unjust to say that Baboo Bhoodeb was solely or chiefly responsible for what we must call this perversion of the intentions of Government. He was appointed to work under special instructions and after the scheme had been already decided on, and he may be excused for shielding himself from the blame of having failed to further the general objects of the measure, by urging that he had faithfully carried out his definite orders of improving the indigenous *patshalas*. Without therefore endeavouring to ascertain who in particular is to be blamed for the misconception of the intention of the Government, let us rather again call attention to the manner in which it happened. The indigenous *patshalas*, as we have already said, and as very fairly stated by Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjee, were only in part schools for the masses, but it was this element which made them valuable to the Government as a field of operations. As long as the *patshalas* were merely aided by rewards, as long as the very name of 'scholarship' was probably unknown, and the dividing line between them and the rest of the educational machinery clearly distinct, the danger of exciting all the pupils to look for employment as the end of their schooling, and thereby

of depriving the *patshala* of any true adaptation to the masses as such, was little or nothing. It was hoped that the objects of the *patshala* and of the students attending it might be conserved and at the same time the Western instead of the Eastern system of elementary instruction introduced. But it was found that the old gooroos were incapable of being transformed hence the plan of educating them in normal schools, and then restoring them to their *patshalas* was adopted. It was in carrying this out that the original plan of Sir John Peter Grant was gradually and imperceptibly but vitally modified. Sir John Peter Grant proposed to leave the gooroo his present means of subsistence, but to add about 2-8 a month to his income as a reward for his adopting the Western system, he then proposed a further expenditure of about 20 Rs. per annum on each school in purchasing books and giving prizes, money rewards, &c., to the pupils. The first deviation the Educational Department made was in educating these gooroos too highly in the normal schools. It stands to reason that if many of the certificated gooroos have been able to pass pupils for the vernacular scholarship examination, they must have been trained more highly than an improved *patshala* for the masses required. Higher education brought expectations of higher pay, and it was proposed by an Inspector to guarantee them, a stipend of 5 Rs. for one year after their return to their *patshala*. This was soon altered to a guarantee for two years of Rs. 5, and then again into a guarantee of a stipend of 5 Rs. for two years, and of 5 Rs. composed half of a stipend and half of rewards for two years more, and lastly at one step into a permanent guarantee of a stipend of 5 Rs. for life. To meet this increase of salary for the now more highly trained gooroos, money must be obtained somewhere. One normal school swallowed up the expenses which Sir J. P. Grant had assigned for 6 model schools, and the new scheme not only retained the Deputy Inspectors contemplated by him, but also provided for a more highly paid Additional Inspector over the Deputy Inspectors. It was therefore already more expensive than the original scheme, and had a further allowance of 30 Rs. per annum been asked for per gooroo, the Government of India might have demurred to the proposal. Under this pressure the Director had recourse to the second blow at the masses: he laid his hands upon the 20 Rs., set aside per school for books and rewards, which were swallowed up in the additional stipends to the gooroos.

Now any one must see that this 20 Rs. was the very backbone of the education-of-the-masses element in Sir J. P. Grant's scheme. It just furnished the means whereby education might

be made popular among those who were not to look to it as a means of livelihood. Baboo Bhoodeb is himself our witness on this point in the passage we have quoted above. "In schools designed exclusively for the masses, not only must every ordinary item of expenditure be borne by Government, but even their books must be supplied to the children gratis and occasional prizes in cash, or articles of food and clothing offered to them as bribes for their regular attendance at school." This, in a modified form, is precisely what Sir J. P. Grant's scheme foresaw and provided for; and it would be impossible to find a clearer condemnation of the policy which over-trained the gooroo, and then, as a result, made over to him the funds destined to make the *patshalas* accessible to the masses, than the above passage.

The next feature which attracts our attention in all the Reports of the Additional Inspector is that he does not appear to observe the distinction between education for the masses and the education of individuals belonging to the masses in a manner *not* adapted to the masses. It does not seem to occur to him that if he has induced 100 boys belonging to the masses to come to school in the hope of gaining vernacular scholarships and becoming *keranees*, that he has not by so doing made any progress in the direction of real education for the masses. The pertinacious manner in which he speaks of future prospects of employment as being the one lever to educate the masses shews a kind of inability to comprehend the nature of the problem before him. We hold that any education for the sake of "prospects" is *ipso facto* not education for the masses in any true sense. One of two results must follow, either the education must be confined to a very small proportion of the population, since for only a very small proportion can employment of this kind be found, and can never become sufficiently wide-spread to be of any use; or many more than there are room for, having been led to educate themselves in the hope of success, there will be disappointment, and dissatisfaction, leading to a reaction and a general feeling of having been duped by false pretences.

We maintain that any system which raises false hopes and aspirations must eventually retard rather than advance the true progress of education, and that on this account, it is very doubtful whether the net-work of schools preparing up to the vernacular scholarship course, which Baboo Bhoodeb is scattering over the country at an annual cost to the Imperial revenue of over 100 Rs. per school, is not doing more harm than good, by stimulating a supply for which no demand exists. The districts in which he commenced operations are Burdwan, Krishnaghur, and

Jessore, and we appeal to any one who has ever had to advertise a vacant clerkship in any of those districts whether the supply of qualified candidates for such work is deficient. Is it a fact that the number of candidates is so few that the employer is obliged to offer an excessive salary to obtain what he wants, or is it a fact that he can if he likes procure qualified men for the merest pittance, till he is ashamed to offer so little as would be eagerly accepted? On the other hand is the labour market in those districts similarly overstocked? Are coolies or agricultural laborers, or palkee-bearers, or mistries, or peons or constables to be too easily procured, and at the same cheap rates as 20 years ago? How then is the country benefitted by reducing still further the supply for those occupations, which are already undermanned, and swelling by geometrical progression, the already overflowing ranks of *umedhars*? It is vain to suppose that such a system of education will penetrate downwards, it will lead only to disappointment and disgust. The first quarters where this will be visible will be near the large cities, where the already excessive supply of applicants will be earliest apparent. Accordingly in the latest Report for the Burdwan Circle of the Burdwan District, the Report in 1865-66, we find the Deputy Inspector writing thus:

"Of all the educational institutions under Government control, the *patshalas* come in for the smallest share of the Government patronage. During the year embraced in this Report no Government employment has been conferred on any *patshala* pupil of any Circle. *The growing popularity of the patshalas has, in fact, received a sudden check. A feeling of disappointment has begun to rise up about them in the popular mind.* Other results were expected in the beginning, some *material advantages which did not belong to the patshala before they were taken up for improvement.*" The Deputy Inspector in every way it will be seen corroborates our views. The *patshalas* were taken up for improvement in such a manner and in such a spirit as to raise expectations of material advantages. The pupils and their parents are beginning to find out the delusive character of these expectations and the result is disappointment and a check!

For reasons indicated above we attach no value to the alleged evidences of partial success among the masses, which appear to have weighed with Mr. Monteath. Baboo Bhoodeb himself reported in a passage we have quoted that "the children of the lower orders had dropped off from the institutions which had been experimented upon," and as he has implied very unmistakeably the methods by which he has endeavoured



to retain them *viz.*, the holding out prospects to them we may assume that where they have remained, they have remained with an eye to prospects, which, as we have insisted upon, is no education of the masses in any proper sense.

If attendance declines during the agricultural season that shews that children of the agricultural population are attending the school, but it does not in the least shew that they intend to become agriculturists, and we are justified in doubting this when the converging mass of evidence which shew that 'prospects' and 'employment' are thus far the cause of all the vitality of the improved *patshalas*. We are bound to add that what we have said above does not apply to the operations under the other *patshala* Inspector, Baboo Kasikant Mookerjee. At the date of the latest educational Report he had only been 6 months at work, the gooroos were being trained but apparently none had returned to their villages, nor could it be ascertained how the *patshalas* would work. We greatly fear however that when it does get into working, we shall hear the old story again about vernacular scholarships, prospects and Government employment.

We have not attempted in this article to shew how the masses are to be reached, we have confined ourselves to what we admit to be the far easier task of criticism, to shewing that the present system is anything but calculated to accomplish this end, by its having been allowed to be worked on bad and vicious principles and that it is thereby in our opinion doing more harm than good at a great expense to Government. We may however express our firm conviction that no system will ever succeed in reaching the masses which is not based upon an educational cess, somewhat similar to the system adopted in the North-West. Large villages or villages which have already many *patshalas* ought to be required or, to use a more pleasing word which generally means the same, induced to pay from 6 to 10 Rs. a month, for the support of a gooroo. These gooroos should be trained as at present, only in such a manner as clearly to shew them that they are *not* Pundits. Thus supported they should be bound to maintain *patshalas* at the hours when the agricultural classes could attend, and no fee whatever for attendance should be requisite. The Government might contribute in aid of the local cess a sum of 20 or 30 Rs. annually to be spent in the purchase of books and money rewards both for the pupils and for the gooroos in accordance with the number of scholars capable of reading and writing that their *patshala* contained. The course of the *patshalas* should be so regulated as to shew clearly that they are quite distinct

from the aided schools, and that those whose objects were 'prospects' must go to the latter. Such schools would no doubt exhibit a feeble vitality at first, but what they did accomplish would be sound progress and the expense entailed on the Imperial revenue would be sufficiently small to enable it to be extended without limit. Moreover it would in many cases be found that where the Zemindar was either an enlightened man or otherwise desirous of pleasing the Government, he would himself undertake the support of the gooroo and take care that a fair proportion of the children of his ryots attended the school. We believe that the districts near Calcutta\* are rife for such a scheme and that if even in the North-West the cess has not been unpopular, it would be still less so in Bengal.

We now turn to a different subject to perhaps the most important question connected with education in the Lower Provinces, after the *patshala* system: we mean the solution of the difficulties connected with the foundation of Mahomed Moshim, the College at Hooghly.

Probably every one of our readers is well aware that the Western system of education has been accepted heartily and readily by only one of the great religious parties in this part of India, and that the smaller party, the Mahomedans, form an almost infinitesimal portion of the students who attend the Government and Aided Schools. The result has been that during the last ten years the Mahomedans in this part of India have greatly fallen behind in what is commonly called the race of progress, and exercise far less influence than their numbers and position would have otherwise entitled them to. Whatever the causes of this may be, and they are not difficult to find or altogether discreditable to the Mahomedans, it is obvious that it is no less the bounden duty than the interest of the Government to take care that all just causes of complaint and dissatisfaction on their part are as far as possible removed, and that our educational measures if not palatable to them should at least be equitable. It is on this account that it may be reasonably urged that 'the affair of the Madrissas' is one of the most important questions of our educational policy.

The history of the Hooghly College is thus given by Mr. Monteath:

"264. The Hooghly College is the next on the List; and as its history and that of the Calcutta Madrissa are in most respects similar, I shall treat of them together. The Hooghly College was founded in 1836, and is mainly supported from funds bequeathed by Mahomed Moshim, a wealthy Mahomedan gentleman, who, dying without heirs in the year 1806, left his large property, yielding an annual income of Rupees 45,000,

to Mahomedan Trustees 'for the service of God.' Owing to the misappropriation of the funds, Government assumed the office of Trusteeship. The right of assumption was opposed by the original Trustees, but upheld both by the Courts in India and by the Privy Council in England. The period of litigation extended over many years, during which the annual income accumulated, forming a surplus fund of Rupees 8,61,100. This fund was devoted to founding and endowing the Hooghly College. It was further increased by a portion of the original Zemindaree and by the lapse of various pensions with which the estate had been burdened.

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" 267. The history of the Hooghly Madrisa up to 1850 had been of much the same character; and hence it was that, in the educational reforms which took place between that year and 1854, both of these Mahomedan Institutions were re-modelled. In both of them a junior or Anglo-Persian Department was created, the senior or Arabic Department being made quite distinct and separate. In the latter Department a more modern and rational system of instruction in the Arabic language and in the principles of Mahomedan Law was substituted for the antiquated and faulty system of the Indian Monlaries, and the teaching of false physical science was altogether prohibited.

" 268. In both cases the Anglo-Persian or General Departments have flourished, while the Special or Arabic Departments have languished.

" 269. In the Hooghly Institution, the Anglo-Persian Department was merged into a Collegiate Institution, with School and College Departments like other Mofussil Colleges. The Institution was affiliated in 1857. The Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Institution has only recently been affiliated to the University, and that only as educating up to the First Arts Standard. It is noticeable, however, that the Hooghly College and Collegiate School appear to have been completely monopolized by Hindoos to the almost entire exclusion of Mahomedans. The distribution of pupils for 1865-66 was as follows:—

<i>Pupils in 1865-66.</i>				
	Hindoos.	Mahomedans.	Others.	Total.
Hooghly College ...	133	6	2	141
Hooghly Collegiate School ...	236	43	8	286

Considering that these Departments were supported in the year under notice, to the extent of Rupees 45,507, from the "proceeds of endowment," it may be a question whether the funds bequeathed by a Mahomedan, however usefully employed, are being expended in a manner consistent with the special object for which they are held in trust. It is true that, while the fee rates are Rupees 2-8 and Rupees 3 in the School, and Rupees 4 and Rupees 5 in the College, Mahomedans are admitted both in the School and in the College at the reduced rate of one Rupee; but the results seem to show that, even with this privilege, the arrangements are not such as to maintain the original character of the Institution as one designed specially for the education of Mahomedans.

Now keeping in mind what has been above said regarding the general disfavour which modern education finds among Mahomedans, and that in the present instance Government has succeeded to the position of trustees, and not to that of irresponsible managers, we must admit that if Mr. Monteath is right and if the funds are not spent in a manner consistent with the object for which they are held in trust, we cannot be surprised if a deep sense of injustice rankles in the hearts

of all of the Mahomedan community who know the circumstances of the case, and not unreasonably contributes to impel them to assume an attitude of settled hostility to our educational system, particularly if it can be shown that this educational system, rather than the deliberate intention of the Government, is the source of the injustice.

In order to enable a judgment to be arrived at on this point, let us give a brief history of the institution, correct in its outlines and we believe also in its minute details. By the will of Mahomed Moshim the proceeds of the estate were to be divided into nine parts. Of these three were to be devoted to religious objects proper, to the keeping up the mosque or Emambarah and to analogous purposes; two shares were to be allowed to the two trustees for their own use, and the remaining four shares were for what we may call secular-religious purposes, for pensions, establishments, salaries of servants and a small Madrissa. The two trustees were especially authorised to appoint successors to their office and they and their successors were authorised to make all necessary and proper alterations in the disposition of these funds as time and circumstances might require, and as the pensions fell in.

After the lapse of some years, it having been found that the trustees were abusing their trust, the Government assumed the office of trustee. The assumption was stoutly opposed on behalf of the trustees, but finally upheld about the year 1834, and the Government then entered upon its office which it has continued to hold ever since, having at its disposal, besides the ordinary proceeds of the estate, a balance of upwards of 8 lacs, the accumulation of the years during which the estate had been under litigation. The position of the Government therefore, assuming as we must and are fully entitled to assume, that the decision of the law courts was a just one, is clear enough: they had power limited only by the general objects and clear wishes of the testator, to dispose of the surplus capital as they thought fit, as well as of the other sums which might fall in. They accordingly continued and continue to spend the  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths on the strictly religious objects laid down in the will, for prayers for the Prophet and for the Emams, and for the expenses of the Mohurum and of the Emambarah. Only one Mutwallee or superintendent was maintained and one ninth assigned for his salary. The pensions and establishments according to the schedule of the will were also duly paid out of the  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths. There remained therefore the accumulated capital exceeding 8 lacs of rupees, the  $\frac{1}{3}$ th saved from the salary of the second Mutwallee and the lapse of pensions together with the funds which had

been expended on the support of the small existing Madrassa. With these funds it was resolved after setting aside a sum of about 1,40,000 Rs. for the repairs of the Emambarah, to establish an educational institution with the remainder which was estimated to yield an annual income of 57,000 Rs.

On this resolution being arrived at a discussion of the nature of the institution and its details occupied the greater part of the years 1835 and 1836. The Sheahs, at once petitioned that the institution might be set apart for the exclusive use of their sect to which the testator belonged. The Soonees petitioned that it might be open to them. The Governor-General in refusing the former petition on the 25th March, 1835, wrote thus: "The Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council looks on the "munificent institution of the proposed College at Hooghly as "intended by the Founder for the diffusion of knowledge not "only to religionists of his own sect but to all coming under the "general name of Musalman." This view however was subsequently to some extent departed from, for in a letter addressed to the General Committee of Public Instruction on the 8th April of the same year, directing them to propose a scheme for the proposed College, the Governor-General writes: "It was certainly not the "intention of the testator, that the large funds devoted by him "to this excellent object should be applied exclusively to facilitate "the cultivation of Mahomedan literature, but the Governor-General in Council, though he would provide for imparting to "all classes of the population, instruction in every possible branch "of useful knowledge, is nevertheless of opinion that the institution should be essentially a Mahomedan seminary of education, "so as to satisfy the just expectations of that class of the population, of which the beneficent Founder of this charity was "during his life-time a member."

This was the principle on which a scheme was ultimately proposed; two departments, one English and the other Oriental, were organised, the former to cost Rs. 21,360, the latter Rs. 15,540 per annum. Miscellaneous items, prizes, &c., ran up the total annual establishment to Rs. 40,700. The College was open to all who chose to conform to the discipline prescribed.

The history of the institution thus founded has been sufficiently indicated in the extract which has been given above from the Educational Minute, to complete which we need only add as is stated further on in the same minute that the special Arabic Department, which is confined to Mahomedans, is in a miserable condition, the number of students at the date of the last Report being only 19, and many of these we believe scholarship-holders.

This palpable failure of the institution to acquire the confidence of the Mahomedans has for many years attracted the attention of the Bengal Government. Two successive Lieutenant-Governors have looked into the case and abstained from doing anything, and it now stands over for the action of a third. As early as 1861, Moulavie Abdool Luteef was asked to record his opinion of the changes which would meet the wishes of the Mahomedan community, and wrote a pamphlet on the subject; while the Director of Public Instruction and Major Lees, the Principal of the Calcutta Madrissa, had already expressed their opinions in the early part of the same year.

The principal results arrived at in this correspondence may be briefly stated as follows. (1) Arabic Madrissas are intended for what is called the learned as opposed to the worldly class of Mahomedans. Persons of this class, traditionally poor and supposed to remain so, require to be supported during their studies and in all well organised private Madrissas are so supported. The withdrawal of all such support, and on the contrary charging a small fee, has deprived the Madrissa of the attendance of the class for whom it is adapted, and has therefore led to its practical desertion.

(2) The larger and what are styled the worldly class of Mahomedans, in order properly to fill their place in society, must learn Persian, if therefore they are mixed in the general department with students of other creeds, either all those students must be compelled to study Persian, or the Mahomedans must be placed at the disadvantage of having to compete with their fellows handicapped with the weight of an additional language. Consequently even the school for the worldly class ought to be restricted to Mahomedans, though the pupils could not expect to be supported while learning. It is no doubt also true that the more respectable and consistent Mahomedans do not like to mix in schools with other religionists; and considering that all the most conscientious persons in England and Ireland object to mixed education, we cannot be surprised if conscientious Musalmans are of the same way of thinking.

These are the two difficulties which may we think be safely assumed as lying at the root of the failure of the Hooghly Madrissa and Collegiate department as a place of education for Mahomedans. Accordingly Moulavie Abdool Luteef urges the concession of both these points. Major Lees and the Director of Public Instruction both apparently admit the necessity of supporting the pupils of the Madrissa during their period of study, but the stumbling block is the question of breaking up the present Hooghly College, which is so successful and popular

an institution among Hindus though so unpopular among Mahomedans.

Were the Hooghly College supported by the endowment of any-body but a pious Mahomedan, we should unhesitatingly admit, that Government would be right both in refusing to pay incipient Moulavies to study Arabic, and to set apart an educational institution for the exclusive use of Mahomedans. But it cannot be lost sight of that together with the authority, Government have also accepted the responsibility of the position of trustees to carry out the intentions of Mahomed Moshim. Can anyone doubt for a moment that he would have supported the students of Arabic during their studies? Can any one suppose that if he had found out that an English Department for the mixed education of Hindus and Mahomedans would not work, and that it must practically fall into the hands of one or the other, he would have hesitated in his choice between the two?

Looked at in this light it does not appear that there can possibly be two sides to the question; but we have reason to believe that Sir C. Beadon was disinclined to do anything tending to render the English Department more exclusive on the ground that the question had been once finally settled in 1836, and that it could not be re-opened. In this view we are unable to concur; it seems to us that it is altogether a mistake to say that any decision was given in 1836 in *favour of the present system*. What was then decided was that an institution should be set up which though open to all classes should be '*essentially a Mahomedan seminary of education*,' and it would be notoriously an abuse of language to term the present College a Mahomedan seminary of education. Regarded in its true light the case may be thus put. In 1836 *two* objects were held in view and were to be conjointly given effect to; in 1860 or 1867 it has become evident that these two objects are incompatible one with another and that the two-fold intentions of the Governor-General cannot be both carried out. The question is which of the two should be given up in favour of the other, should the principle of keeping the institution open to all classes be adhered to, and the character of a Mahomedan seminary of education abandoned, or should the latter be regarded as the fundamental object, and the former made to give way to it owing to its proved incompatibility with it. Reduced to this issue surely it cannot be doubted which line ought to be adopted, even if we look at the intentions of the Government in 1836, still more if we look at the intentions of the testator?

Thus far then we are entirely of opinion that the Educational Department ought be made to disgorge its prey, to use, without any offensive meaning, a not inapt expression: but we are bound to remember that there does exist a very equitable method of balancing the loss thereby incurred. The case for insisting on the funds of the Calcutta Madrisa being spent in a manner not conducive to the interests of the Educational Department is as undoubtedly weak, as that for spending the endowment of Mahomed Moshim in a manner congenial to Mahomedan customs and habits is strong. Either Warren Hastings or the Government of the day endowed the Calcutta Madrisa. Assuming that Warren Hastings endowed it, we are as justified in assuming that he would have sided with what is called a liberal policy had he been alive, as Mahomedans are in assuming that Mahomed Moshim would *not* have sided with such a policy. But as a matter of fact Major Lees' remarks have satisfactorily shewn that it was the Government of the day and not Warren Hastings which supplied the funds, now commuted into an annual allowance of Rs. 31,875. (30,000 Sa. Rs.)

This College was founded of course long before Mahomed Moshim's bequest and still longer before the institution of the Hooghly College; and it may undoubtedly be urged that what Government from motives of policy gave, it may also from motives of policy take away. Had a large Mahomedan seminary, such as might have been established with the 57,000 Rs. in 1836, existed in 1780 in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, it is reasonable to suppose that the grant to the Calcutta Madrisa would never have been made. While therefore it would be an act of the barest justice to hand back for the purposes of *bona fide* Mahomedan education, the entire proceeds of the endowment of Mahomed Moshim, it would be equally just at the same time to resume the 32,000 Rs. now assigned by the Calcutta Madrisa. However we would neither tamper with the Calcutta Madrisa beloved by Musulmans from its now time-honored associations, nor would we touch the College at Hooghly. The College at Hooghly should be dissevered from the Madrisa there, and its Persian classes shut up; this would relieve it of some portion of its expenditure, and to meet the remainder it would have the Government assignment of 32,000 Rs. and the schooling fees which exceed 12,000 we believe. The further deficiency considering that the present expenditure of the institution, Madrisa, Persian teachers and all only amounts to between 60,000 and 70,000 Rupees, would not be very great and might be met either by a slight



reduction of establishment or by a slightly enhanced assignment from the public revenues.

On the other hand experience and the persistent decline of the existing Madrissa has abundantly shewn, that two Madrissas, within the space of 80 miles, for the education of the 'learned' class of Mahomedans are not needed. The Hooghly Arabic Department should therefore be amalgamated with that in Calcutta, which should be maintained from Mahomed Moshim's endowment on an improved footing in regard to expenditure, and should be constituted in a manner in entire accordance with the wishes and tastes of the most respectable Mahomedans, out of respect to the religious opinions of the testator. The Anglo-Persian School in Calcutta would also remain intact, a charge on the same funds, and there would be an ample margin to establish a very good Anglo-Persian School for the exclusive use of Mahomedans at Hooghly, well endowed with scholarships to enable the best pupils to continue their studies either in the Madrissa at Calcutta, or in the Hooghly or other College affiliated to the University.

Should this be deemed impracticable, should it appear (what seems to us absurd) that the grant to the Calcutta Madrissa has been so made that the Government of the present day cannot divert the funds for another purpose however equitable, the next best course in our opinion would be to divide the funds at Hooghly and leave part for the English College, while the other part was set aside for purely Mahomedan education. Such a conclusion might not unfairly be arrived at either from the manner in which the capital was formed or from the decision resolved on in 1836. The money having been saved in great measure through the interference and good management of the Government acting as trustee, and such an accumulation having never been anticipated by Mahomed Moshim, the right of Government to share in the advantages to be derived from this accumulation might be fairly maintained. Again, in 1836 it was resolved as we have already shewn to establish an educational institution which should be open for the general education of all classes, and at the same time remain essentially a Mahomedan seminary. The incompatibility of these two objects having been now proved by experience, it might be argued in order to maintain the principle therein arrived at, that neither of the two objects should be entirely abandoned, but that part of the funds should be expended in maintaining an English College and part in maintaining a Mahomedan seminary. In that case the Government would be compelled to increase to a considerable extent their present payment of 5,000 or 6,000 Rs.

for the support of the Hooghly College in order to set free sufficient funds to maintain the Mahomedan institutions. Even then we would advocate no second Madrissa at Hooghly. A sum of 6,000 Rupees would endow 100 stipends of 5 Rupees a month for Arabic students at the Calcutta Madrissa to be elected in some satisfactory manner either by a competitive examination or by the nomination of a competent Committee; while a further sum should be set aside for the proper institution of a good Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly as before. In fact in either case the result which we advocate is much the same, and the only difference consists in the different principles on which the endowment funds will be expended.

Whatever is done, we regard it as a *sine qua non* that no attempt is made to patch up a sort of hybrid institution, half Mahomedanised, half modernised, which will give satisfaction to no one, least of all to Mahomedans; and which the testator, as we may judge from his character, would have as soon thought of establishing as he would have invited his co-religionists to a feast of pork and wine. Far better and far more candid would it be, to place the trust funds at the disposal of the Director of Public Instruction with a definite understanding that they are to be regarded as no more for the benefit of Mahomedans than for that of Christians and Hindus, than to profess to make a show of doing every thing for the Mahomedans and at the same time steadily to refuse to concede to them those fundamental points, without which other concessions are worthless.

We have not space to enter upon any of the other questions which Mr. Monteath's educational Minute suggests, and in fact we believe that the two upon which we have dwelt at length are by far the most important. On the one hand it is surely time that some attempts were made to ascertain whether the large and increasing sums that are being annually spent on what is supposed to be the education of the masses, are doing anything more than prematurely forcing on the grant-in-aid system under another form, and threatening to deluge with office seekers and denude of laborers, those very districts in which already the office seekers are far too numerous and the price of labour is rising with the most alarming rapidity.

On the other hand if we have begun to cease to wonder at discontent in Ireland, as long as the many poor are taxed to support the religious establishment of the rich minority, we ought to remember that in Bengal, we cannot expect to obtain the confidence of the Mahomedans whether in our Government or in our educational system, as long as, acting as trustees of

the endowment of a pious Mahomedan, bequeathed by him to be spent for the benefit of his soul and of his religion, we expend those funds in the maintenance of a godless College for the almost exclusive use of Hindus.

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# ART. VIII.—SIR CECIL BEADON'S ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL.

IF we are to call no man happy till he dies, least of all would we call any Indian Governor happy, till his official life is well over, and the good and evil that he has done, alike forgotten and buried out of sight. Five years ago, when the Lieutenant-Governor who has just left these shores first assumed the reins of his Government, what brighter prospect could any one have had? Coming after a Lieutenant-Governor whose lot was cast in the thorny times of the Bengal Indigo troubles, and who, because he could not and would not struggle against what he saw to be inevitable, passed the latter part of his Governorship under such a ceaseless chorus of reproach and execration, as almost surpassed that to which his successor has been exposed, Sir Cecil Beadon had in his favor not only the expectations which almost all men build upon a change, but it was known, or at least believed that he was an opponent of Sir J. P. Grant's policy, and that he had guided the later counsels of Lord Canning and he had certainly identified himself distinctly with the policy, of what was at that time scouted as an unjust and one-sided measure, brought forward specially to favor Indigo planters *viz.* the punishment criminally of breaches of civil contract. It was known moreover that in his manner he was excessively urbane and courteous, always ready to hear what people had to say and to receive and listen to suggestions from whatever quarter they came—and in this too he contrasted favorably with the retiring and inaccessible habits of his predecessor. Then too his first public actions were entirely in conformity with the popular view. When a series of elaborately imagined letters appeared in a daily paper, attacking the opium system in the Behar districts, and accusing one of the district opium officers of corrupt practices in the disposal of his patronage, official enquiry was immediately instituted, and though no attempt was made to prove the personal charges, yet as minor matters of mal-administration came to light

in the course of the enquiry, a letter of thanks was addressed to the paper, and the official was forbidden to prosecute a charge of defamation which he had commenced against the author of the letters. The first few months moreover of Sir Cecil's administration were marked by his tour through the Tea districts, by the anxiety he showed to assist and develop the prospects of the Tea planters in every way, by his urging on the Government of India the necessity of giving larger grants for Public Works in Assam, by his giving in his waste land Rules as liberal an interpretation as possible to the despatch of the Home Government, and by a general anxiety to identify himself with the interests of European settlers, and to do away, as far as possible, with the mischievous notion which many foolish writers are still eager to encourage in the minds of this class, that their Governors are hostile to them, and that it is the steady and fixed design of officials to injure and ruin them. At the time, all these efforts of Sir Cecil were appreciated, and though here and there an occasional voice attributed them to popularity-hunting, the general cry was one of approval. The way was smooth to him, he was popular personally, approved politically by the press, he had the character of leading public opinion, of understanding the wants of the European community, of being prepared to carry out Lord Canning's later policy, (whatever that may be.) Indigo troubles had died out, the Tea Industry was in the hey-day of its hot youth, magnificent with the colours which a too vivid imagination had lent to it, and its prospects appeared fabulously bright; there was no threatening of war, no internal trouble, with the sole exception of the Cossyah rebellion, and that was speedily and efficiently stamped out in the first cold season after Sir Cecil took charge; famine had been unknown for years, and in Bengal its recurrence was undreamt of, and there was no cloud of importance on any quarter of the horizon, to threaten the fair weather voyage of the new Lieutenant-Governor.

Now that the five years' voyage is over, let us ask how has the promise been fulfilled? how has he sped? The favouring breezes have turned to storms of wrath and execration, he has tasted the fickleness of the *popularis aura*, and he leaves us "lean, rent, and beggared by the strumpet wind." After five years of unceasing labour he goes home, with health shattered, with official prospects ruined, amidst the desolation of a Famine not yet completely subdued, with the execration of many papers in his ears; from one comes a suggestion that a monument of dead mens' bones should be raised to him in Orissa; another dismisses him to his "home deservedly unregretted,"

and threatens with dire publicity any who should dare to get up an address to him, or should meet to wish him god-speed. The Thunderer holds him responsible for all the loss of life that has occurred; the *Pall Mall Gazette*, one of the most thoughtful and therefore most formidable of the English papers, holds that Governor Eyre's sins, of scarlet though they be, are white as wool to those of Lieutenant-Governor Beadon, and while these greater papers, thunder forth sonorous all their anger and reproach, their lesser brethren answer in gentler chorus; the native papers rage furiously together, the "irresponsible indolent reviewers" swell the cry, and so far as the press is a fair exponent of public opinion, one might say that our late Lieutenant-Governor left these shores amidst one harmonious strain of unbroken universal ululation. And, apart from this apparent unpopularity, which a strong mind, conscious of success, which shall justify itself to posterity, might afford to disregard; what state of affairs, what results of his work could he look round upon with pleasure, and find his comfort in their contemplation! In Orissa a famine still raging, and a commission (one of whose members was a trusted and favoured subordinate of his own) appointed virtually to report on and condemn his shortcoming in respect to it; in Bchar, the famine, it is true, at an end, but a special commissioner (also a subordinate of his own and selected by him,) condemning his officers, his system of Government and himself personally for all the distress and misery of the past year; the Tirhoot Indigo system which had withstood the troubles of 1860-61, trembling on the balance and apparently on the verge of a collapse, for which by the way with admirable foresight a portion of the press had already held him responsible. In Assam and Cachar, the whole fabric of the Tea Industry, the development of which he had made his own and dwelt upon with paternal pride in successive annual reports, which he had made his first care on taking the reins of office, and which had promised to render his administration eminent and honoured—all this magnificent industry hopelessly collapsed; shares in all the once-desired Tea Companies a scorn and a derision; gardens everywhere closed, and their managers out of employment, and only a few struggling on in the hope of better days—and all of these attributing their ruin and distress to him; looking at him like the companions of the Ancient Mariner as responsible for all their woe.

Each turned his face with a ghastly pang  
And cursed him with his eye.

In the place of the honoured and popular Lieutenant-Governor of five years ago, we see him then almost

universally execrated by the English press and held responsible for the entire collapse of one and the threatened collapse of the other of the two great English industries in the interior of the province, blamed by the Commissioners and by the Government of India for his conduct in the famine; unforgiven by the natives for his exertions in mitigating the Burning Ghat nuisance, his attempt to put an end to Ghat murders, and to the infinitely destructive vice of Koolin marriages, unpopular with a portion of his own service for his sudden and unheard of raid against the incompetent and the hard bargains of the service, and perhaps also for his suspected distribution of patronage,—disliked by others for the very vigorous language of his Secretary and his too unsparing use of the official lash, and almost on every point in which his career as Lieutenant-Governor began most favourably, meeting with failure, unpopularity and reproach. We may well ask, can such a voyage have such a disastrous end and the captain not be to blame? It is to endeavour to find an answer to this question, and to examine in a necessarily brief and cursory manner some of the important points of Sir Cecil's administration that this paper is written.

Sir Cecil's personal character has undergone a good deal of discussion lately, and it has certainly had an important influence both on the points on which his administration has succeeded, and on those in which he has failed. Of his ability there can be no question: the most hostile criticism that we have seen on his character still admits this, and while calling him shift, unreliable, and even treacherous, speaks of him as admittedly "possessing very great ability, a large capacity for hard work, untiring industry, and considerable skill in dealing with a knotty subject." With an almost excessive facility in writing, a facility which is characteristically shown in the ease and grace with which his pen brings him safely out of long and involved sentences, that would drive other men to despair, he combined great capacity for grappling with the gist of a difficult subject, and making it smooth and simple for those who had to deal with it after him. While lacking the terse and precise vigour which characterised the writings of Sir J. P. Grant, his power is mainly shown in an opposite direction; in readiness of apprehension, versatility and grace; and on these points the style of writing was a faithful index to the character of the two men. Sir Cecil was without the originality, the stubborn grit and vigour of his predecessor, but his cast of mind was readier, more pliant, quicker to seize the signs of the times, and more open to new impressions. Without being perhaps one of those born leaders of men that we meet with mainly in

the pages of Carlyle and in descriptions of Punjab officials, Sir Cecil would in any country and under any circumstances have been a man of mark. We have already alluded to the unvarying grace and courtesy of his manners, "for manners are not idle but the fruit—Of loyal nature and of noble mind," and we may perhaps be excused for repeating a saying attributed to the late Lady Canning that the two most perfect mannered men she had ever met were Sidney Herbert and Cecil Beadon. This charm of manner, and his great ability, industry and capacity for work were perhaps Sir Cecil's most marked characteristics and have been testified to both by friend and foe. But there are other characteristics which deserve notice and which cannot well be passed over. The late Lieutenant-Governor was a remarkably courageous man. His physical courage as far we know has not been tested, but in grappling with severe illnesses, in refusing to leave his post when ordered by the Doctors to go home, and when told that if he did not, his death was almost a certainty, his pluck never gave way. It was in fact sheer pluck that carried him through. In the heaviest crisis of the Mutiny when many men in high places lost heart, and doubts as to the ability of the army before Delhi to hold its position, were freely expressed by members of Council, and others whose least hint of doubt was sure to be eagerly seized on and exaggerated in its passage through society, Sir Cecil never lost his firmness; no one ever heard him breathe a word of misgiving as to the ultimate result, or let slip a sign which could add to the doubts and terrors that were then agitating society. That he did not do this has been interpreted by some as want of sympathy with the European population, and with the general feeling of his countrymen, but those who know him best know how little the imputation was deserved, and the most thoughtful men looking back now on the terrors and temptations of those days, are the first to appreciate what the character of England owes to the attitude then taken by Lord Canning and his principal advisers; to their clemency on the one hand and to their hopeful courage on the other.

The fact is that nature gifted Sir Cecil with an unusually sanguine temperament, and his tendency to take a sanguine view of things, a tendency not less marked in personal than in political matters, may be seen to have influenced his actions in many matters in which his judgment has most been called in question. Referring again to the Mutinies, though the often repeated assertion of his having alluded to the alarm occasioned by the outbreak of the Mutiny as "a passing and groundless panic," has been distinctly contradicted and disproved, yet there



can be little doubt that he did not at first appreciate the true magnitude of the crisis. Again in the Bhootan War, which he is accused of having entered upon with inadequate resources and preparations, it must be admitted that he did not make enough allowance for such contingencies as actually happened—he was over sanguine in his belief that the Bhootas would invariably *not* fight and that our native troops invariably *would* fight, a supposition which was disastrously contradicted on the occasion of our losing Dewangari. Of minor instances where his judgment has been impugned either by the Government of India or the public at large, his consistent belief in and support of the Mutlah scheme and the subsidiary scheme for clearing the Soonderbuns and again his confident belief in the ability of Municipalities to govern themselves, are both directly to be attributed to that sanguine temperament which hopeth all things, and which is intimately connected with the firm and confident courage for which we have already given him credit. No doubt the most conspicuous instance of this sanguine temperament is to be found in his treatment of the Orissa Famine, but as we shall have to deal with that hereafter, it is not necessary to dwell on it at this portion of our paper. The above instances are only illustrative of difficulties in which this hopeful tendency may have been influential in involving Sir Cecil's administration, but it must not be forgotten how very little can be initiated or carried out without such a temperament to work on, and though it may lead a Governor into many difficulties and some failures; yet without it any Government would be reduced to the deadliest level of dry routine, no progress would be made, no experiment initiated; and the world owes not less perhaps to the failures in which the experiments of sanguine Governors have resulted than to the successes of those who being more cautious have profited by the other's failures. It is too much to say perhaps that Sir Cecil manifested an incapacity for believing in great disasters, but it is true that his tendency was invariably to take a hopeful view of matters, and this tendency though disastrous to his personal reputation, has been productive of quite as much good as ill to his administration. It is perhaps unnecessary to say much of the charge occasionally brought against Sir Cecil of his being a hunter after popularity. That he would have liked to be popular is probable, that a man of his tact and ability could have been popular had he chosen to follow wherever the hunt after popularity would have led him, is as certain as that towards the close of his administration he was not popular: the fact is that though open to new convictions, and inclined to lead public opinion where he could do so, he did not and would

not sacrifice principle to popularity. One of his first actions was to appoint as his Secretary, a man whom the recent Indigo disturbances had rendered more unpopular than any man in the Civil Service and whose aptitude for work, knowledge of general administration, and thorough independence of thought were the only qualifications, which could recommend him to the new Lieutenant-Governor. Again he went out of his way to incur at an early period of his career, the opposition of the "paper published at Serampore," and he certainly succeeded in securing it. He moreover broke through all the traditions of his own service by hunting out all the thoroughly incompetent and useless officers he could lay his hands upon, and forcing them, as far as he could, to resign, or at least into positions where they could do no harm. These are not the arts of a popularity-hunter and his omissions were quite as suggestive as his actions. If popularity had been his object what could have been easier, than when the Famine first began to show its true magnitude, to form a public committee and take the lead in a self-applauding and ostentatious benevolence. If popularity had been his object he would have done this, and would moreover at great expense have taken a Steamer down to Cuttack and leaving his Government to look after itself for a month would have visited three relief centres and half-a-dozen dispensaries, would have written a graceful letter reporting that he had personally seen the food cooked, and distributed; and a generous public would have applauded his personal exertions and his sympathy with the sufferers, forgetting that what he did could have been better done by his subordinates, and that what he left undone, no one but he could do. At the same time it would have been much better had he done all this, he would have gained somewhat in popularity, and popularity in a Governor is a force; in its way perhaps quite as useful and appreciable a force as ability and industry. Apart from this he would have seen something, however little, of the Famine for himself, and such encouragement would have been of infinite service to his subordinates. Altogether it is to be regretted that in this instance he was so little of a popularity-hunter. The fact of Sir Cecil's readiness to listen to all a man had to say, the cheerful urbanity with which he surrendered himself to bores with a grievance, bores with a new idea, bores who had been unappreciated, and bores with a relation to assist; his tendency in conversation to bring out points of agreement rather than points of difference, may often have led people to suppose that he assented more completely to their views than he did. But in reality in these matters, Sir Cecil was both cautious and strict: too cautious and strict a Governor

cannot be, but we may say that Sir Cecil very rarely indeed gave a promise, and never so far as we have heard, broke one when once given. Nor are we at all inclined to admit that it was a tendency of Sir Cecil's to sacrifice principle to expediency. Almost every point on which his administration has been least successful has been one in which he stuck to his principle in the face of expediency. It would have been far easier to allow the Bhooteas to make their annual raids into the plains unchecked, rather than adopt the perilous expedient of sending a mission : when war was decided on, it would have looked far better in the eyes of the public to ask for a very large force which should march on the capital and then leave the risk of failure to the military authorities, rather than to ask only for a couple of native regiments to supplement a few hundred native policemen. It would have looked far better, after Dewangari, to withdraw the offer of an annual allowance for the lands that we annexed, and to have recommended a march on Poonakha ; but on all these points, Sir Cecil's decision was formed after mature consideration, and the expediency of being led by what passes in this country for public opinion, did not commend itself to him. In his failures to check Ghat murders and Koolin polygamy the same thing is seen. Expediency would have said *Quieta non movere*. Principle said "these things are vile and hateful to God and man and should be got rid of." That they are not got rid of is due to the greater weight which expediency had in the eyes of superior authority.

It is needless to refer again to the Famine, where his refusal to import rice into Orissa on the part of Government, so long as he believed that there were stocks of rice otherwise available, was a persistent maintenance of a principle, (a wrong one perhaps, though two years ago universally believed to be the right one) in the face of what was at first sight an easy and obvious expedient, an expedient too, which was not only recommended by the instincts of the Governor-General, but was clamoured for by the native papers and was even suggested by the Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce !

The most that can be said with truth about his sacrificing principle and expediency is that in dealing with matters not of the first importance there was occasionally a half-heartedness about his work, that would lead him to go round a difficulty instead of facing it, and would induce him to escape from an adverse argument by the first loophole that offered instead of turning and overcoming it.

It is only fair to add that this tendency such as it is, was by no means a very marked characteristic of his work, that in

cases in which real political principle is concerned, it was scarcely to be found at all, and that it had no very important bearing, one way or the other, on the general character of his administration.

At the same time we should not be inclined to place Sir Cecil in the foremost rank of administrators. Though of a magnificent loyalty towards his subordinates, and capable of attaching them very warmly to himself, he was wanting in the power of infusing his ideas into them, of driving them by sheer force of character into his line of thought, and causing them to work out his ideas, with all the freshness and energy of an original conception. In this he was lacking, and for this reason perhaps he was a better Councillor than Administrator. He had, if not originality of idea, a quick receptivity and power of assimilation which was scarcely to be distinguished from it; he had a real and earnest desire to improve in every way the people committed to his charge; and he had a quick perception of the direction in which such improvements could best be attempted; as a suggester, a promoter of useful schemes, a guide for the channels of other's work, in fact in many of the elements that go to make up the character of a statesman, he was unsurpassed, but he had not the personal force and energy of character that exercises a constant pressure on those in contact with it, and subordinates their minds and wills, to its own. He approximated more nearly to the ideal Councillor than to the ideal Governor, and as most Indian statesmen are he was like St. Paul, far more ready with his pen than with his speech.

In speaking of the influence, his own personal character had on the general results of his administration, we ought not to overlook entirely the personal character of his Secretary. Sir Cecil in a farewell minute recorded his own sense of his Secretary's usefulness and ability in the following terms: "Mr. Eden's ability and devotion to the public service are too well known to need encomium from me, but I must express the respect I have for his independence and strength of character, his uncompromising love of justice, and his thorough knowledge of administration in every branch, I must also gratefully acknowledge the very valuable and ready assistance I have at all times received from him, and the important part he has taken in carrying on the business of the Government during by far the greater part of my incumbency." But if in these respects, the Secretary's qualities were a real source of strength to the administration, there can be little doubt that there was in them also an element of weakness. In the first place the distrust caused by his prominent antagonism to the Indigo-Planters not only

set them as a body against him, but it also alienated the very powerful commercial interest connected with Indigo in Calcutta. His own character and his contempt for public opinion did not assist in conciliating those who were personally unacquainted with him, his universal scepticism, his desperate acuteness in judging of human motives, his thorough belief in himself, his intense tenacity in retaining his convictions, and his unmeasured vigour in asserting them, all went to make up a character, useful for rough work rather than agreeable for a stranger to contemplate, and robust rather than conciliatory. At the same time no man ever had a firmer love of justice, a more thorough contempt for shams of all kinds, an acuter intellect in detecting them, a more untiring industry, or more courageous independence of thought. Had he not been tamed somewhat by his Secretariat training, he would have become a political Ishmael, with his hand against every man and every man's hand against him; as it is, he has gone on his own way caring nothing for the opinion of the world, and upholding the right against the wrong and the weak against the strong, wherever he saw his way to it; too sceptical to be a thoroughly good judge of character, too *acute* not to make mistakes, and too self-confident to admit them, disliked and feared by those who do not know him, liked and esteemed by those who do; with a mind strong in an audacious, incredulous, animalistic (if we may use the expression) vigour, holding to some great ideas and in carrying these out overbearing all scruple, trampling frequently on the delicacies and difficulties of lesser minds; he has forced his own way, in the teeth of difficulties to which any other man would have succumbed, to a political position rarely attained in his own service by one so young, and Sir Cecil's selection of him on public grounds as his Secretary when he knew personally very little of him, was an instance of courage, no less than of sagacity, which his own farewell order would seem to show has been justified by the results.

In speaking of Sir Cecil's career, its most important portion though the last in order of time, is undoubtedly his policy in respect to the Orissa Famine. For this he has of necessity been most severely and cruelly blamed, this is the cloud which has obscured the brightness of his otherwise well-earned reputation, and though public opinion is beginning to see that the whole unmeasured blame does not rest with him, and that others both below him and above him must bear their share of the responsibility, yet the main weight of the censure still rests undoubtedly on Sir Cecil.

His own friends have felt strongly, (and have demonstrated their feelings) *the injustice which in their opinion was done to*

him by the precipitate censure passed upon him by all the public journals, and we have no doubt that it was to some extent an injustice, but with the exception of such wilful misrepresentations as we shall have occasion presently to allude to, it was an injustice which was inevitable and which unless the newspapers were to keep the entire subject of the famine out of their columns, could not at that time and until the publication of the entire correspondence be in any way avoided. In fact some injustice in passing judgment is inseparable from all great calamities, and by the nature of things, such injustice is likely to fall first on the most prominent person concerned. This is part of the penalty which men in high positions pay for their exaltation and with such weakness of human judgment, it is weakness to be wroth.

We are inclined to say that even now it is too early to come to a fair conclusion about his conduct during the Orissa Famine. The disaster with all its horrors is too fresh in our memories to consider it in a perfectly unbiassed manner; the vastness and suddenness, of the famine and the horror of so many lives lost caused that feeling in the public mind that we saw during the Crimean War, and in this country during the early days of the Mutiny. A victim was necessary. Somebody must be hanged for all this misery. It is the instinct of a multitude that any great disaster pre-supposes incompetence or ignorance in those who rule and whose special business it is assumed to be to guard against such disasters, and the instinct is so far right; but the difficulty is, with that hot feeling of indignation which rises naturally in every man at the sight of misery and disaster, and which swells by sympathy, to judge carefully each person's responsibility and to adjust the hanging fairly. Of course it cannot be done—it is but a very wild justice at best that is meted out by excited multitudes, and the first prominent victim that comes to hand is naturally the best and most convenient for execution. In the case of the Orissa Famine, Sir Cecil Beadon was perhaps the most prominent, certainly the most convenient victim. He was directly responsible for the Government of the province, it was his business to prevent or at least to check a famine—the famine came unforeseen and at first unchecked, and carried off a population, whose numbers will never be known. Why should any one seek further, or attempt on the first cry of rage and indignation, to test the *exact nature of his responsibility*. There was the Board under Sir Cecil it is true, but the Board *having neither soul nor body* could not conveniently be made a victim, and the authorities over Sir Cecil were only indirectly responsible. It would have been foolish to expect therefore

anything but the universal condemnation to which the public and the Press committed itself, long before the famine correspondence saw the light, it would be equally foolish to suppose that even were the case against Sir Cecil less strong than it is that the public or the Press would now go back from their first opinion and relieve him from his responsibility. Other victims may be and indeed must be found, but on him rests the main burden; and the sweeping condemnation of an administration which failed in rescuing a whole province, from the horrors of famine, will necessarily concentrate itself on the one man who personally represents the administration.

It would be impossible, and is happily quite unnecessary for us, to review the very voluminous famine literature. We may accept in a general way the conclusions come to by the Commissioners with two or three important modifications. We do not believe, and certainly the evidence bears us out in our unbelief, that either Mr. Barlow or, with the single exception perhaps of Mr. Lacey, any other official in the province really understood, up till the middle of May, what the true nature of the calamity was. Mr. Barlow, it is true, had suggested importing rice into a particular strip of land which was cut off from the rest of Cuttack, and which was inhabited by men who had hitherto depended entirely on the salt manufacture for their livelihood, and in several places there are remarks as to the advisability of importing rice for the people at work, in the special public works, *provided always* the rice could be imported cheaper than it could be bought (till May it was believed by the officials that this could not be done) but nowhere throughout the correspondence is there anything like a clear expression of opinion that there was an absolute lack of rice in the province; it was not till May that it was understood that there was really gaunt famine through the length and breadth of the land, and even so late as June we find the Commissioner clinging to his belief that there are ample stocks of rice in the country, and that what is wanted is money to bring them out. Another very important modification as to Sir Cecil's part in the matter, must be made in our opinion to the Commissioner's Report. We cannot admit that he in any way discouraged a free expression of opinion or that the silence of the Cuttack officers was caused by a dread of speaking their mind boldly. It is possible, and very probable that the fact of the Lieutenant-Governor holding strong opinions would tend to induce officers who had no opinions of their own to look through his spectacles; it is the universal result of holding strong opinions that people

with weak opinions, who are at all under the influence of the holder invariably adopt them, and in fact this is what gives the public Press the greater part of its power; a newspaper-writer invariably writes strongly, and the ninety and nine readers who have no opinions unwittingly and unconsciously adopt what they read, and call the opinions by their own name, holding to them and believing them and investing them with that exaggerated value which a sense of proprietorship attaches to all our possessions.

But this unconscious adoption of another person's opinion, which is in the present case after all only hypothetical, is very different from a deliberate fear of representing their own opinions, which seems to be the charge brought against the Cuttack officials, and which in regard to their personal communications with Sir Cecil when in the province, is on the face of it incredible. Sir Cecil encouraged habitually the freest possible expression of opinion on the part of his subordinates, as any one who reads the correspondence connected with the Labor Transport Bill, or the remarks of the Assam Commissioner on Sir Cecil's frontier-policy may see, not without amusement, for themselves: neither can we at all admit that Sir Cecil was chargeable with apathy or want of personal attention. This is in fact admitted both by the Governor-General and the Government of India in their condemnation of him and the charge is repudiated with righteous indignation by Sir Cecil himself.

The fact is that there were two fundamental errors, as one sees now, at the bottom of Sir Cecil's policy in regard to the Orissa Famine. He believed that there was enough rice in the province to support the population, if only they had money to obtain it. And he believed that if the supply was deficient, rice would find its way there by the natural course of trade, and that Government interference with such trade was of all things to be deprecated.

The first error he shared with almost every official in Cuttack, in fact with every one to whom he could reasonably look for information, and the second error he shared with the Government of India and with almost every one who up to the very time when the famine was at its height, had either written, or spoken on the question. Both his expectations turned out wrong, and Government interference became necessary. The doctrines which every one held a year and a half ago, seem now so absolutely forgotten, that people have to be reminded that the importation of food for a whole province on the part of Government is not a normal state of affairs, that except under the pressure of overwhelming necessity, it is a most mischievous and dangerous



experiment, that the more Government does interfere, the more it will have to interfere, and that the injury to trade even under such exceptional circumstances as the present, is very severe indeed. The rumor that Government was in the market for the Orissa importations in the months of February and March last, caused a disturbance of prices in all the districts round Calcutta quite out of proportion to the amount required, and labourers in Burdwan, Jessore, and even Midnapore had their amount of available food curtailed by the mere fact of the importation being conducted by Government instead of by private agency. It is not to be denied for an instant that Sir Cecil held on to these beliefs far too long; it is contended that there was no evidence, or not sufficient evidence before him up till May to lead him to suppose that they were erroneous and it is contended that the error is not to be judged of solely by the light of results, but by the light of the evidence at that time obtainable; and it is also to be remembered that had Sir Cecil's facts only been correct, his measures were ample for the occasion, and his persistence in the policy of non-interference would have saved Cuttack from the wholesale demoralisation which the inevitable necessity for feeding a pauper population has caused, and which the system of relief centres would have caused none the less, had the necessity for importation been imaginary, instead of so horribly real as it became.

The question then of Sir Cecil's responsibility is really narrowed to one of how far the facts before him justified his belief. On this point, unless one goes to the length adopted in Sir John Lawrence's minute of imagining what Cuttack officials must have said instead of looking to what the evidence shows that they did say; in fact unless one deliberately disbelieves not only what Sir Cecil himself says, but what all the correspondence shows, and what the evidence elicited by the hostile cross-examination of the Commission universally points to, one cannot doubt that the belief was almost universal that there were stores of rice sufficient for the support of the population, and that wholesale importation by Government was unnecessary and inexpedient. It is to a certain extent true as pointed out by the Government of India that the facts previously known as to the failure of the crops, and the partial famine at the latter end of 1865 in the isolated portion of Cuttack between the sea and the Chilka Lake were such as to indicate the necessity of a close and careful enquiry into the circumstances of the province, and it is possible that had the enquiry been undertaken as suggested and an alarmist

tone given to it in the first instance, such facts would have been elicited, as to change the course of Sir Cecil's policy, and to save the lives of a portion at least of the population. It must be admitted that the Government of Bengal accepted too readily, in view of what was already known, the sanguine expressions of opinion of its local officers, and that had a man of a more timid or less hopeful disposition been at the head of officers, these opinions would probably not have been accepted so readily. It is perhaps in this view to be regretted that Sir Cecil's unwillingness to believe in disaster met in this crisis with efficient and continued support from his Secretary, that the contemptuously incredulous temperament of the latter should have been at hand to support the sanguinely incredulous temperament of the former, and that for this reason all the facts in connexion with the famine came to be looked at from only one point of view, but it must be remembered that during the last three months of 1865, when, after consultation with the Board of Revenue, the policy of non-importation though at that time it referred only to a very small part of Cuttack, was first definitely adopted and approved by the Government of India, Mr. Eden was absent on leave and took no part in the discussion. But allowing that the views of the Commissioner were accepted too readily, and that a different way of looking at things from the beginning might have led to a closer enquiry and a different tone on the part of local officers, we would ask taking the facts as they stand recorded what would have been said if Sir Cecil had deliberately over-ruled the opinions of his local officers, had said 'I know better than you,' and had insisted on rice being imported in the quantities in which it has been imported this year. In the first place it is highly unlikely that the Government of India would have supported him in "an excessive expenditure, no definite end to which is apparent, and which is undertaken merely on "instinctive feelings;" in opposition to the opinion of the Commissioner and of the most experienced local officers whose views on such a point must certainly be deemed entitled to more weight, than the mere conjectures of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal." He might have expected some such answer as this, but whether he got it or not, his wasteful expenditure of public money, his ignorance of the first principles of political economy, his endeavour to carry out *doctrinaire* views which have been held by none but superannuated Civilians during the present century, his arrogance in supposing that in the Capua of Darjeeling he could understand the requirements of Cuttack better than the Commissioner and local officers, and

even the public Press, his pernicious habit of centralisation, &c., would have drawn on him the wrath of a certain portion of the Press, and would have served for sensational attacks upon him quite as well as the Demon of Uniformity, Red Tape and Routine. Of course success would have justified him to a certain extent; and, as it turns out, the measure would have been a success, but it required a man of altogether a different temperament, a man perhaps of less ability but more doggedness, and a man of a cautious gloomily credulous disposition to foresee this, and if he had foreseen it and acted on his convictions, we should have hailed him as we have hailed other able administrators first of all as a genius; and a few years afterwards as a fortunate impostor. What we affirm is that nine men out of ten in Sir Cecil's place would have acted very much as he did. They might have been guided less by distinct and well understood principles in the first instance, but they would have taken alarm very much when he did, and if when alarm was once taken they had conducted the importation with the same sagacity and energy as were exhibited by Sir Cecil in the early months of this year, they would have done their work well and nobly. And now, though it is of course "scandalous and intolerable that the highly paid and honoured "authorities should not be blamed but only a system of "administration" we nevertheless venture to assert that the system of administration is at the root of the whole mischief, and that the blame does for the most part lie there and not on the honoured and highly paid authorities. In Bengal the Government can only see through the eyes of its subordinates, and the subordinates can see little or nothing for themselves. The system of administration has become so centralised, so controlled by departmental checks of all kinds, the work of the district officer and of the Commissioner, has become so entirely and hopelessly confined to the desk, that the officers of the present day with far more knowledge of their work, with a better knowledge of Bengalee, with twice the amount of work to do and we believe with more ability, and infinitely more conscience as a rule in performing it, yet know not one tithe as much of their districts and of the daily lives of the people over whom they rule as the previous generation did, and certainly not as the generation which produced administrators like Cleveland, and extortioners like Lindsay, knew. Such a system at a time of difficulty and distress inevitably breaks down. If all the Cuttack officers and the Commissioner and the Board of Revenue had been men of very exceptional sagacity and foresight they might have seen what was coming. That they

did not see it, is the result of their being gifted very much with the ordinary powers of mankind and not having very rare and exceptional faculties of observation. They saw what they could see for themselves and depended upon what was told them, but in Bengal there is no available machinery by which a district officer can arrive at a tolerably accurate conception of such commonplace facts as the state of the crops, the amount of land under cultivation in any crop, the total population, the population of any one large class such as cultivators or labourers for hire, the price for which grain is sold anywhere but in large towns, the amount of land importations or exportations, the places where, or the quantities in which it is stored. We say that on all these intensely important subjects there is in Bengal absolutely no means whatever of acquiring information; if a Collector was to neglect utterly all his other work and go about the district for six months, making personal enquiries and observations he might by that time obtain results which would be correct perhaps within a hundred per cent. but it is very few Collectors who can afford to neglect their work even for a day at a time, and except by a series of personal observations, any information which a Collector or even a Famine Commissioner, (as we have seen by painful experience) may obtain on such subjects is of no more value than if he had pitched a series of lottery-tickets into a hat, and written down each number as it turned up, against a separate column in his statement.

It is not for us at this time to suggest a remedy for an anomaly which is coeval with the Permanent Settlement, and which if not inseparable from the existing Revenue system of Bengal, has at all events been crystalised into its present shape under the pressure of many generations. We have pointed out the anomalies, not with an intention of suggesting how they are to be reformed, but that in judging of the responsibilities and shortcomings of the chief actors in this lamentable disaster, the state of things in which they had to work should be generally known, and the overwhelming nature of their difficulties be remembered. They were ignorant where knowledge was impossible, they were blind where no light was, they erred where every one shared the error. They are blamed for being wanting in foresight and sagacity, where the observations on which foresight and sagacity might be exercised were wholly and inevitably wanting.

We cannot quit this subject without noticing what seems to us the most unfounded of all the charges brought against the late Lieutenant-Governor. It has been said that his whole defence consists in trying to shift the blame from his own

shoulders on to those of his subordinates and others. Now if there is one quality which seems to us discernible throughout the defence, it is the loyalty with which he supports his subordinates and it is certainly a quality which marked his general administration in a most decided manner. His three papers on the subject are thus summarised by the *Friend of India*. "In his first defence, the Press and the public were blamed, in his second, Mr. Secretary Eden and the Board, and in this (the third) the late Mr. Cockburn and Mr. Grey are the culprits." We appeal to any impartial person who has read the papers if this is even approximately a true statement, if it is not in fact a complete and entire misapprehension or perversion of the whole tone and object of the defence.

Sir Cecil nowhere blames the public and the Press in his first paper: what he says is that the error into which he fell was general, and he proves that the view taken by him in the first instance was the view taken generally by the public and the Press. It is one thing to show that an error was at one time universally accepted as the truth, it is quite another thing to blame the universe for one's own mistake in believing it. In the second defence Mr. Secretary Eden and the Board are *not* blamed. In one paragraph he explains that a particular telegram, to which the Famine Commissioners attached great weight, as it distinctly asserted that Government would not import rice, was based by the Board on a misapprehension of an order, which was purely departmental, and referred only to importation by the Department of Public Works. He further explains that this order was not reversed at once, as the Secretary Mr. Eden not knowing what had gone before, did not bring it to his notice. The explanation will be found in para 32 of Sir Cecil's 2nd minute, a minute which has been spoken of contemptuously on account of its 66 paragraphs, and 21 folio pages, and while the whole tone of the minute is to the effect that the Board acted wisely on the information which they were able to obtain, that there was no general want of harmony between their proceedings and those of the Government, yet this single explanatory paragraph on an accidental misapprehension is made the foundation of the monstrous assertion, that Sir Cecil's line of defence is to throw the blame on his Secretary and the Board of Revenue. The remark as to the 3rd defence is equally if not more unfounded. There is absolutely not one word in it from beginning to end having the smallest reference to the late Mr. Cockburn, and the assertion that in it, Sir Cecil throws the burden of the blame from his own shoulders to those of Mr. Cockburn, is absolutely and

wholly imaginary; as regards Mr. Grey it is true that Sir Cecil quotes a letter of his written in June, in which he expressed great doubts as to the wisdom of the course (that of importing rice) they had embarked upon. The sole object of the quotation is to reply to the despatch of the Government charging Sir Cecil with incapacity to believe in disaster, and may perhaps be taken as an application of the proverb about those who live in glass-houses, and this is the whole basis and foundation for the charge of endeavouring to escape blame by transferring it to the shoulders of others. Never in this world was there such a beggarly ha-penny worth of bread to such an intolerable deal of sack, and with this specimen of fair dealing and impartiality before them, our readers will be able to judge of the justice of the assertion in the same article that "with the recklessness of despair he (Sir Cecil) blackens all around in the hope that he may seem less black himself."\*

*(To be concluded in No. 91.)*

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\* These remarks on the famine were written before the accounts of the recent debates in Parliament, and the general newspaper discussion on the Commissioner's report reached India.

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In reviewing in our next number the other points of Sir C. Beadon's administration, the writer of this paper will perhaps add a few more remarks on the later phase of the question.—Ed. C. R.

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## MR. WHEELER'S HISTORY OF INDIA.

ART. IX.—*The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; Secretary to the Indian Record Commission; Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c., &c. Vol. I. The Vedic Period and the Mahá Bhárata. London, Trübner & Co., 1867.

THE question, what kind and what degree of credibility can be given to early history? is not one that can be answered in general terms. For it is evident in the first place, that any given narrative may be regarded in three ways: either the narrative represents actual facts; or the narrator believes it to do so; or lastly, neither of these, and the story has no foundation either in belief or in fact. And, in the second place, if we consider how extensively poetical invention and the germs of philosophical conjecture go to make up early legend, it is impossible to doubt that in the case of most early legends, each of these views in turn may supply the interpretation of different parts. And it is by no means the sole object of the historian to determine the actual facts which lie, or are supposed to lie, at the bottom of each legend. He can gather from the mine of men's mere beliefs, treasures equally valuable in the historical point of view; and still more valuable when considered as throwing light on the history and development of thought. Further, in the case of baseless fictions, of inventions consciously made, far from being a source merely of bitterness of spirit to the historian, they may be made his most fertile materials. Once let the motive, the *raison d'être*, of such fictions be discovered, and he is immediately supplied with a powerful *elenchus* by which to separate, in all similar cases, the original belief from the dishonest addition.

Such then are the ways in which history or legend may begin: the statement of a fact; the record of a belief; or the invention of a story to serve some particular turn, as the glory of a god, of a hero, or of some special family or class of men. And

wherever attention is paid to any one of these sources of history to the exclusion of the others, so far will the history be one-sided and imperfect. And yet it is certain that this is the mistake most frequently committed by those who treat of the early records of a nation. Historians, in fact, may be divided into three classes, partly corresponding to the three points of view already indicated. These may be called the Sceptical, the Rationalistic, and the Mythological school, respectively.

As an exponent of the Sceptical Theory, Mr. Grote may be cited as the most famous example. In his view it is not possible to discriminate between the real and the fictitious in early Greek legend. "I recount these events," he says, "briefly but literally, treating them simply as mythes springing from the same creative imagination, addressing themselves to analogous tastes and feelings, and depending on the same authority, as the legend of Troy." And again: "They are a special product of the imagination and feelings radically distinct both from history and philosophy: they cannot be broken down and decomposed into the one, nor allegorised into the other." It follows, therefore, that it is impossible by means of the myths alone—and no other contemporary evidence can generally be got—to come at any conclusion regarding the early condition of the people among whom these myths sprung up and were cherished. And yet it is hard to be forced to confess that, with all the rich store of legend which most nations possess, we are unable, by any sifting process known to us, by any comparison with uncivilized tribes, hereafter, possibly, to become great nations; or by any of the instruments which Philology can supply, to determine what kind of a life it was that corresponded to such expressions of feeling. The ground taken by this class of historians is undoubtedly secure from attack; but the human mind is not content with safety in its speculations. In the history of thought, as well as in that of discovery and invention, it is the discontent, the dissatisfaction of the mind with systems or instruments whose chief authority was that they were received and safe, that has led to the world's mightiest revolutions. And so it happens that, as long as man has an inquiring mind, and has means at command which he rightly or wrongly believes can answer its inquiries, so long this sceptical theory of history will find few adherents. The application of the advice, "Rest and be thankful" to this department of human thought, is in the present age singularly out of place.

The question, "What principle then shall guide us in the interpretation of ancient legends?" finds its second answer in the Rationalistic Theory. The foundation of this theory is firmly



laid among the best established truths of human nature. It should never be forgotten that nations, no less than individuals, in their childhood, have an insatiable appetite for stories, but care little for their accuracy or truth. The power of discriminating between fact and fiction not only is not exercised, but in fact does not exist: it is the product of a far later set of feelings and associations which enter the national, as they do the individual mind, when a larger experience brings with it a long train of doubts and inconsistencies. Each man, each nation, passes at some time or other through such a period of "Aufklärung." But, before this critical period, there is hardly an assignable limit to the unhesitating credulity, the childlike faith, of a nation. So long as the story which is told chimes in with former beliefs and prejudices, so long as it is felt to be in accord with the prevailing sentiments of the age, and has its root deep in the national feeling, every requirement of belief is satisfied. It is felt to be real, and therefore true.

Hence, say the Rationalists, our task is easy. In this age of the world, we have passed through the "clearing-up" stage, into a phase of doubt and inquiry. Many of our most cherished beliefs have been given up, and we can apply the same searching analysis to the beliefs of others. Let us recognise the delight in the marvellous as one of the causes of the myth; and, making allowance for that factor in the product, we can reduce the story to something like its original elements. More and more every day is science establishing the universality of law; let us therefore cut out from the legend all that is miraculous, and we shall arrive at that substratum of truth, without which it could most surely never have won its way to the hearts of the people. In this way the first chapter of Genesis becomes a "psalm of creation;" the flood which swallowed up Pharaoh and his host is a tidal wave: the alliance of Athênê with the Greeks and of Aphroditê with the Trojans, typifies the contrast between the grave wisdom of the west and the sensuality of the East: the wolf that suckled Romulus is the "*lupa Laurentia*."

But is this method adequate to its purpose? We cannot think it is. In separating between the marvellous and the ordinary, there is no security that we are dividing the fictitious from the real; we may all the while be only distinguishing invention that consults probabilities from invention that disregards them. If fancy was busy in creating the supernatural, there is no reason to suppose it would let the natural alone. When events are looked at through the medium of excited observation, the high colouring will affect them all alike: and no selection of pale objects can present the scene as it would lie before us in the

white light of truth. By a rigid adherence to this theory, criticism is not advanced; it is rather thrown back.

It remains to speak, in the third place, of that which has usurped especially the name of the Mythological Theory. This theory, rendered popular by Professor Max Müller, and lately by the Rev. G. W. Cox in his charming "*Manual of Mythology*," is the most recent, perhaps also the most valuable, outcome of the study of Sanskrit and comparative Philology. Its principle cannot be better stated than in Mr. Cox's own words. "*Mythology*," he says in his preface, "is simply a collection of the sayings by which men, once upon a time, described whatever they saw and heard in countries where they lived. These sayings were all perfectly natural, and marvellously beautiful and true. We see the lovely evening twilight die out before the coming night, but when they saw this, they said the beautiful Eurydike had been stung by the serpent of darkness, and that Orpheus was gone to fetch her back from the land of the dead. We see the light which had vanished in the west re-appear in the east; but they said that Eurydike was now returning to the earth. And as this tender light is seen no more when the sun himself is risen, they said that Orpheus had turned round too soon to look at her, and so was parted from the wife whom he loved so dearly."

Now, is this merely a poetical fancy on the part of the interpreters of the myth? They reply that in all cases where such an interpretation is ventured on, they have some foundation for it in the etymology of the names. "If we read in Greek mythology that Helios was the brother of Eos and Selene this needs no commentary. Helios means the sun, Eos the dawn, Selene the moon; nor does it require any great stretch of poetical imagination to understand how these three heavenly apparitions came to be called brother and sisters. But if we read that Apollo loved Daphne, that Daphne fled before him and was changed into a laurel-tree, we have here a myth that yields no sense till we know the original meaning of Apollo and Daphne. Now Apollo was a solar deity, and although comparative philologists have not yet succeeded in finding the true etymology of Apollo, no doubt can exist as to his original character. The name of Daphne, however, could not have been interpreted without the aid of comparative philology, and it is not till we know that Daphne was a name of the dawn, that we begin to understand the meaning of the myth. Again, if we read that Pân was wooing Pitys, and that Boreas, jealous of Pân, cast Pitys from a rock, and that in her fall she was changed into a pine-tree, we need but walk with our eyes open along the cliffs of Bournemouth in order to see the

" meaning of that myth. Boreas is the Greek for north-wind, " Pitys for pine-tree. But what is Pân ? Clearly another deity " representing the wind in its less destructive character. The " name of Pân is connected with the Sanskrit name of wind, " namely, *pavana*. We have from *pâ*, to purify, the Greek Pân, " the purifying or sweeping wind, strictly corresponding to a " possible Sanskrit form *pa-van*."

We can now see therefore what a myth, in this point of view, is. The myth is a simple narrative of the ordinary or extraordinary phenomena of nature, wherein each of the natural agents—as is necessary in the earliest or fetishistic stage of religious belief—is represented as a person. It takes the narrative form in unconscious good-faith : but when language has widely varied from its original forms, and the names, while remaining fixed in the myth, have become more or less changed in men's ordinary use, a later and less imaginative generation, not recognising the identity, mistakes the myth for intentional history, and the natural agents for gods and heroes.

According to Professor Max Müller, the Sun and the Dawn are the great sources of Aryan myths. Consider then how an early and unscientific imagination would regard the various events that mark the sun's daily course. He is the child of night, or darkness ; the dawn preceded his birth, and died as he rose in the heaven. He strangled the serpents of the night ; he went forth like a bridegroom out of his chamber, and like a giant to run his course. He had to do battle with clouds and storms ; sometimes his light grew dim under their gloomy veil, and the children of men shuddered at the wrath of the hidden sun. Sometimes his ray broke forth only, after brief splendour, to sink beneath a deeper darkness ; sometimes he bursts forth at the end of his course, trampling on the clouds which had obscured his splendour, and bathing his pathway with blood. Sometimes he was the lord of heaven and of light, irresistible in his divine strength ; sometimes he toiled for others, not for himself, in a hard unwilling servitude. He might be the child destined to slay his parents, or to be united again in the evening to the gloaming, that mother from whose womb he had sprung in the morning. He might be the destroyer of all whom he loved, he might slay the dawn with his kindling rays, he might scorch the fruits who were his children ; he might woo the deep blue sky, the bride of heaven itself, and an inevitable doom might bind his limbs on the blazing wheel for ever and ever.

In this list of phrases, all of which might be used by ourselves to describe the phenomena of the outward world, every one has borne its part in the formation of Greek mythology. It

is evident that the transformation could not have taken place until the ordinary names for the sun, the dawn, and the darkness, had varied very widely from their mythological names. But granting this variation, it is easy to see how a subsequent generation accepted the myth for history, and how their poets added such embellishments as suited the feeling of the age, and the character of the heroes celebrated.

In this view of mythology there is, no doubt, a singular beauty; but in its beauty lies its greatest danger. To many minds there is great risk that its poetry, and not its truth, will fix the limits of its application. Mr. Grote, while he admitted the facts on which the theory rested, at the same time foresaw that an edifice might be raised on that foundation greater than it would bear. "To resolve the mythes" (he says) "into mere allegories, is unsafe and unprofitable: we then depart from the point of view of the original hearers without acquiring any consistent or philosophical point of view of our own. For, although some of the attributes and actions ascribed to these persons are often explicable by allegory the whole series and system of them never are so: the theorist, who adopts this course of explanation finds that, after one or two simple and obvious steps, the path is no longer open, and he is forced to clear a way for himself by gratuitous refinements and conjectures. The allegorical persons and attributes are always found mingled with other persons and attributes not allegorical; but the two classes cannot be severed without breaking up the whole march of the mythical events, nor can any explanation, which drives us to such a necessity, be considered as admissible. The mythology of the Greeks contains some cosmogonic ideas; but it cannot be considered as a system of cosmogony, or translated into a string of elementary, planetary, or physical changes."

There is, in fact, no certain criterion by which to distinguish those myths which have their origin in the life and actions of men, from those which are based on a poetical representation of natural phenomena. To a mind deeply imbued with the Mythological Theory, it is not difficult to discover, in the case of each myth, some natural phenomenon or another which may have served as its foundation. But to say that a myth, when translated into allegorical language, may have been based upon some phenomenon of the Sun or of the Dawn, is not the same thing as to say that this actually was its origin. It is, in fact, not difficult to find proofs of the destructive character (in a historical point of view) of the theory under notice. It is only necessary to refer to the use which Dr. Strauss has made

of an adaptation of this theory, in his criticism of the Gospel narrative. Stated briefly, it is as follows:—A people, or religious community, finds itself in a certain condition or round of institutions, of which the spirit, the idea, lives and acts within it. But the mind, following a natural impulse, desires to gain a complete representation of that existing condition, and to know its origin. Consequently, an image of that origin, coloured by the light of existing ideas, is thrown upon the dark wall of the past; which image is, however, but a magnified reflex of existing influences. Hence, just as the Hebrews conjectured the mystery of creation, and the Greeks that of the unceasing changes going on in earth and sky and sea; so the first Christians conjectured the origin of their faith, and those miraculous events which were needed to give it authority. And in each case these conjectures became, in a later age, congealed into historical facts, around which other guesses and wonders might cling, to be similarly transformed in aftertime.

Lord Byron, again, had

“stood upon Achilles' tomb

“And heard Troy doubted: Time will doubt of Rome.”

But, according to the mythological theory, Troy is not so much doubted as explained. Professor Max Müller sees in its story the hidden thoughts of our forefathers during those distant ages, when they knew nothing of an order of nature, and the fading twilight of every evening marked the death of the toiling Sun. He finds the germ of the tradition in the Rig-Veda, the proof of its origin lying, as he considers, in the real identity of the names. Helen appears in the earlier poem as Saramâ, Paris as Pani, Achilles as Aharyu, the Kentaurs as the Gandharvas; and in the earlier poem the names retain their original meanings. In the Sanskrit tradition, Saramâ is the twilight, Pani the darkness which mingles with it and carries it away. In the Greek story, Paris seduces Helen and carries her off to his own land. Similarly, Odysseus travels over many lands, the favourite and friend of clear-eyed Athênê; but in the Rig-Veda he is the Sun, who sees the face of the whole earth, and is clothed with light and glory for ever.

A theory which advances, with no hesitating step, into regions so near the domain of history, need not feel bound to stop at this limit. For example, the observation that the sun destroys the darkness from which he springs, gives rise to numerous legends of strong and brave children who destroy their parents. Thus Perseus kills Acrisios, Œdipus kills Laios, Romulus kills Amulius. But the story of Cyrus also is one of precisely similar character. He too is a fatal child, who fulfils

his prophecy by slaying Astyages. And when the name Cyrus, or Koresh, is connected with the Persian name of the Sun, *khor*, and Astyages with *Aji dahāka*, the biting snake; what room is left for doubt that Cyrus is only a solar hero who destroys the serpents of darkness, of the same character as Apollo who slays the Python, and Hercules who slays the Lernaean Hydra, and the Dragon of the Hesperides.\* But if this be so, what shall we say of the mention of Cyrus in the book of Daniel? The difficulty is equally great, whether we take the prophetic or the historical view of that work. To come to later times, the stories told of Robin Hood and William Tell are identical with the legendary tricks of solar archers in German mythology. Are they also, therefore, mythological?

Again, nothing is more natural or common than to represent the rays of the sun as his golden hair. From the shoulders of Phoebus Lykēgenēs, the light-born, flow the sacred locks, over which no razor might pass. In the case of Nisus, son of Pandion, an oracle had pronounced that his life and reign would never be in danger so long as he preserved one sacred lock. The similarity of this story to that of Samson will occur to everybody. The inference is confirmed unintentionally by Dean Stanley.† “He was full of the spirits, no less than of the strength, of a giant. His name, which Josephus interprets in the sense of ‘strong,’ was still more characteristic. He was ‘the Sunny,’—the bright and beaming, though wayward likeness of the great luminary which the Hebrews delighted to compare to ‘a giant rejoicing to run his course,’ ‘a bridegroom coming forth out of his chamber.’ Nothing can disturb his radiant good humour.” But after a time his light leaves him, and he gropes his way blindly behind the clouds of adversity. Yet not for ever: at the very close of his course, his strength and glory return to him; for one brief flash he triumphs over and destroys his enemies, and sinks with them into one common darkness. Here is a solar myth of the first order; but are we bound to accept this interpretation on such grounds? There is absolutely no limit to the application of the mythological theory. History and mythology, sacred and profane,—nothing is beyond its grasp. The spirit of God is the breath of the sky. The Paradise of Adam fades away into the Hyperborean gardens. The serpent that tempted Eve was the dragon that guarded the

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\* M. Breal, in his analysis of the myth of Hercules and Cacus, includes St. Michael the slayer of the dragon, in this list of solar heroes.

† Lectures on the Jewish Church, 3rd Edition p. 367.

golden apples of the Hesperides. "Time will doubt of Rome," as we see it has doubted of Romulus.

We have been led into these somewhat lengthy remarks, in the belief that they will help us to a clear perception of the point of view from which Mr. Wheeler, in the book before us, has regarded the early history of India. It has been seen that while, on the one hand, the bare statement of the legendary matter in the form in which the historian finds it, is highly unsatisfactory, and cannot be regarded as final; yet, on the other, a persistent adherence to either of the two critical methods, in the absence of any more definite standard of criticism than has yet been generally supplied, must lead to untrustworthy results. Each method, it is admitted, will supply us in its own domain (if that can be accurately determined) with solutions to many of the problems presented in early legend. But the difficulty is to determine the sphere in which each method is applicable. Now it may be observed that the order in which we have mentioned the three theories under notice, represents exactly the logical order in which they might be expected to occur to the mind. First, we should take the legend as it stands, and regard it simply as the outcome of the associations and feelings current among the people with whom it originated. When, secondly, we regarded the legend not as expressing feelings, but as recording events, the obvious method of criticism would be to separate the supernatural from the natural, and regard the latter as the actual, or possible, foundation of the story. And lastly, the mythological theory teaches us to consider not even this as a final analysis, and to resolve the supposed actions of living men into a poetical representation of the changes that go on daily around and above us. The common object of the two critical theories is, therefore, to separate a kernel of truth from a large husk of added fiction; but the second method goes beyond and supersedes the first. If then it is granted that each theory in its turn, when applied to different domains of legend, will provide us with the true interpretation, we ought to have some independent canon of the applicability of each. This it is perhaps impossible to give in a general formula. But it is evident that the particular method to be employed, must depend on an independent consideration of the special character of the legends that happen to be under examination. And notwithstanding the large pretensions which the mythological theory puts forward as supplying the only true interpretation of legend, we think there are two or three reasons which justify Mr. Wheeler in rejecting that theory, as he does, in his criticism of the *Mahá Bhárata*. It appears

to us that the method of the mythological theory is not applicable to Sanskrit, in the same way that it is to Grecian and German legend; and secondly, that it is less applicable to legends of the period of the Mahā Bhārata, than to those of an earlier date.

It has been seen that the foundation of the mythological theory lies in etymology. No one would have guessed that such an interpretation of the myth was possible, had not Daphné and Danaë, re-appeared in Sanskrit story as, Dahanā, the brilliant dawn; the Charites or Gratiæ as the Harits, the rays or horses of the sun; Erinys, the avenging fury, as Saranyū, the light of day that exposes men's crimes; Argynnis, beloved of Agamemnon, as *arjuni*, or dazzling beauty. Further, it was possible, only because the Sanskrit names had not passed from their original significations, but retained them even in the midst of a crowd of anthropomorphic conceptions. It would appear, therefore, that the Sanskrit language, the elder brother of the Aryan family, has retained its roots unimpaired; while the younger branches, varying more and more widely from the original type in their manifold wanderings, are forced to appeal to their relationship with it, in order to explain those legends which they carried away with them, and transformed out of all knowledge on the journey. But where is that still purer form to which the Sanskrit itself, when in doubt, must appeal? It has not been found. Hence since, all Sanskrit proper names are significant, and are easily connected with roots in that language, when we meet with a name in early tradition which is seen to be a mere personification of some natural phenomenon or agency, then obviously the mythological theory furnishes the true explanation. The natural agency has been personified, and has gathered round it a group of human attributes. There is this difference, however, between Sanskrit and other legends: namely, that while in Sanskrit the name continued to be applied equally to the divine being and to the natural agency, in Grecian and Teutonic legend the original meaning of the name had escaped, and it was applied only to the god or hero who personified it. Thus, though in some instances, as *e.g.* Jupiter (*dies-piter*), the name was given as much to the sky as to the God, yet in such cases as Perseus and Apollo, who ought to have represented the scorching and blasting power of the sun, this meaning had dropped out of the signification of the name. But among the Vedic deities, Indra is always the firmament as well as its lord; Sūrya is the sun as well as the sun-god: Agni, the fire and the god of fire. Those cases



therefore, in which the mythological interpretation is applicable, can be determined by simple inspection.

But what of all those other names of men and heroes which occur in the legends, and the meaning of which has no apparent reference to natural powers, but to human qualities? Here there is no foundation, etymological or other, for a mythological interpretation. Yudhishtira means "staunch in battle;" Pându "the pale;" Dhritarâshtra, "seizer of kingdoms." Of course it is not contended that every such name must necessarily imply a living man as its owner, but only that, here at least, the mythological mode of interpretation is inapplicable. If any critical theory is to be brought in, it must be the rationalistic, or some modification of it.

These considerations, therefore, bear out our second reason for justifying Mr. Wheeler's rejection of the mythological interpretation. That theory seems to be inapplicable wherever the names involved are plainly expressive of human qualities alone, as they are in the *Mahâ Bhârata*. But there is another argument which, though a negative one, our author might employ against the advocates of the Mythological Theory. In order to apply that method, it is first of all necessary to point out some group of natural phenomena which can be recognised as identical with the essentials of the legend, and which the imagination of an early people would be likely to represent in such a poetical form. But, so far as we know, no such adaptation has been attempted in the case of the *Mahâ Bhârata*. Until it has, Mr. Wheeler can deny the *possibility* of such an interpretation: and even after that, he is protected by all the space that separates "what may be" from "what is."

We have not dwelt upon the life-like character and vivid colouring of the events in the *Mahâ Bhârata* as an argument bearing its own testimony to the truthfulness in the main of the story, although to one who makes acquaintance with it in Mr. Wheeler's pages, this will seem no slight confirmation. But a theory which relegates the strikingly human characters of Helen, Hector, and Samson to the realm of poetry, is proof against such an appeal.

It will by this time have been surmised that Mr. Wheeler gives his adherence to the rationalistic method. This is true: but with a very important difference. The main defect of that method, as it has been generally presented to us, is that it takes too readily for granted that an analysis which separates the supernatural from the natural, separates the false from the true. But Mr. Wheeler's treatment supplies a much more definite criterion. While he reserves to himself the right of rejecting,—not

the marvellous, which may be the real point in the story,—but the supernatural or miraculous, at this point his labour is only begun. In the story of the great war of Bhārata, he sees a double element:—an earlier and a later legend. The original legend, the composition of which he conceives to be nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated, and therefore presumably historical, is recognised and verified by comparison with the Rig-Veda. Wherever the religious conceptions, the ceremonial observances, and the social usages can be identified with those current in a work of such undoubted antiquity as the Rig-Veda, there we have hit upon the genuine story. But in the later form in which we actually find it, two causes have been at work to falsify or embellish the original legend. These are, first, the desire of the Brahmans to prove from the sacred books the antiquity of the institution of caste and their own ascendancy from the beginning: and secondly, their desire to inculcate the worship of Krishna. All episodes of the story, therefore, that are at variance with the earlier ideas of the Rig-Veda, and the introduction of which can be explained by reference to either of those motives, may safely be rejected. Of the sufficiency and the success of the method, our readers may perhaps be able to judge from the outline which we proceed to give of the structure and execution of the work.

Mr. Wheeler's criticism centres on the fact that a long interval, estimated at from one or two thousand years, separated the composition of the Mahā Bhārata in its present form, from the events which it commemorates. These two epochs may be distinguished as the Brahmanic and the Vedic periods respectively. The name Vedic is borrowed from the Rig-Veda, an ancient collection of hymns expressing the simple religious conceptions of an early people. The "fair-complexioned" Aryans who used them are described as having migrated at an early period from a colder climate, and settled in the Punjab; whence they gradually made their way eastward and southward along the fertile valley of the Ganges, driving before them the dark-skinned aboriginals, a Turanian race.

We can gather, alike from the Vedic hymns and from the main tradition of the Mahā Bhārata, some details of their mode of life and thought. They had emerged from the pastoral into the agricultural state, and the gods to whom they prayed were personifications of those natural powers by whose influence their grain sprang up and ripened, and their cattle brought forth abundantly. They wanted rain, warmth, and fresh breezes. They prayed therefore to Indra, the firmament, which poured down the rain: to Agni, the fire, and to the Sun and Moon,

its conspicuous embodiments, which ripened their grain : and to Vayu, the refreshing wind of heaven. Their ceremonial was equally simple. Without idols or temples, their sole sacrifice consisted in the presentation of choice articles of food, through the medium of fire, to the deities whom they wished to propitiate. The light in which they regarded their deities, as well as the easy transition from the physical to the theological or personal view of natural agencies, is well illustrated in the following hymn from the Rig-Veda, (Wilson's translation) :—

"He who as soon as born is the first of the deities, who does honour to the gods by his exploits, he—at whose might heaven and earth are alarmed, and who is known by the greatness of his strength ; he, men, is Indra.

"He who fixed firm the moving earth, who tranquillised the incensed mountains ; who spread the spacious firmament, and who consolidated the heavens ; he, men, is Indra.

"He who, having destroyed Ahi [the serpent who confines the rain-cloud], set free the seven rivers ; who recovered the cows detained by Bala ; \* who generated fire in the clouds ; who is invincible in battle ; he, men, is Indra.

"He under whose control are horses and cattle and villages and all chariots ; who gave birth to the sun and to the dawn ; and who is the leader of the waters ; he, men, is Indra.

"He to whom heaven and earth bow down ; he at whose might the mountains are appalled ; he who is the drinker of the Soma juice, the firm of frame, the adamant armed, the wielder of the thunderbolt ; he, men, is Indra.

"May we envelope thee with acceptable praises, as youthful husbands are embraced by their wives."

Agni is an equally famous Vedic deity ; and we see the same personifying process condensing the ethereal element into a human form. There is no doubt that the personification was

\* This conception of the cattle of Indra is repeated in Greek and Roman mythology. The days are represented as the herd of the sun, so that the coming and going of each day may be likened to the stepping forth of a cow leaving its stable in the morning, crossing the heavenly meadows by its appointed path, and returning to its stable in the evening. The number of the solar herd is the number of days in the year. The Aryan of India regarded with peculiar horror the power of darkness, who stole the cattle of Indra, in other words, who spread his veil over the light of day, and buried the earth in darkness. So in Homer we read that Helios has seven herds of oxen, fifty in each herd ; and these 350 oxen are the days of the primitive year. Compare the remarkable story of Euenius of Apollonia, and the awful consequences of his neglect of the sacred cattle of Helios (Herod. IX. 93). The myth of Hercules (another solar hero) and Cacus is of precisely the same character.

helped by the great veneration in which fire was held in Vedic times. It was not only the power that consumed and purified, that dispelled the darkness, and the beasts of prey; but it was associated, in the minds of a people lately come from a colder climate, with all the feelings of affection that centre round the domestic hearth. And in both capacities his praises are sung, and his power declared. "When excited by the wind, the radiant Agni rushes among the trees like a bull, and consumes the forest as a Raja destroys his enemies. His path is blackened, and the birds are terrified at his roaring." Or again, he is the ornament in the sacrificial chamber, like a woman in a dwelling. He is young and golden-haired, the domestic guardian, the protector against evil spirits. "Such as thou art, Agni, men preserve thee constantly kindled in their dwellings, and offer upon thee abundant food: do thou, in whom is all existence, be the bearer of riches."

The god of waters was Varuna. It is needless to dwell on the prominent place which water holds in a country like India in the worship of the people. It is not only the symbol and the instrument of purity, but it is also, in the form of rain, the abundance or scantiness of which makes all the difference between plenty and famine, the precious assurance of life. In the Rig-Veda, Varuna appears under two forms. He was undoubtedly the deity of water; but the name is in some verses applied to the personification of day. If, as is now commonly admitted, Varuna is to be identified with the Greek Ouranos, it seems probable that the name at the earlier period was applied to the firmament of heaven; and that subsequently it became the representative of the waters—both those above the firmament and those below. In the Epics he is emphatically the god of Ocean. And, in this latter character, it is worth noticing that the Vedic Aryans were evidently acquainted with the sea: since their hymns contain references to merchants, to sea voyages, and to ships with a hundred oars. Unless these passages are to be referred to a later period than seems at all likely, we must suppose them, or a branch of their family with which they were in intimate relations, to have journeyed down the valley of the Indus, and to have met with the sea at Kurrachee. It is at any rate difficult to consider these references as later interpolations due to a time when the people had reached the Bay of Bengal.

In the worship of Sūrya, or the sun, we can trace the growth of the conception, from the mere personification of the orb, as the lord of light and heat, which is the primary form of fetish worship, to its later development in which the notion

of the divine sun is replaced by that of a god of the sun. In the original form, the object itself, whether sun, mountain, or river, is believed to be a person, possessing human faculties and swayed by human emotions. But at a later period the conception changes, and the divine spirit is separated from the object, in which it is now supposed to reside. In the Vedas we are brought face to face with the sun, traveling through the ether in a chariot drawn by white horses. But in the *Mahá Bhárata*, the god assumes a human form; and occasionally leaves the skies, and descends to earth to succour or console a suppliant. In this transformation of the conception can be traced a distinct advance towards polytheism. The separation of the divinity from the object is immediately followed by the representation of the divinity as presiding equally over a number of similar objects. There is indeed but one sun; but the change in the conception which has been noticed is identical with that which leads to a belief in a god of rivers and of mountains, in Naiads and Dryads.

Soma, the pale and peaceful moon, claimed the worship of the Aryans in an equal degree with her brighter and fiercer consort. The mythical genealogy of the Solar race of Ayodhya, and of the Lunar race of Bhárata, who claimed as their progenitors the Sun and Moon respectively, may probably be explained by such a difference in religious worship.

Ushas, the radiant dawn, is figured as a pure and lovely maiden, awakening a sleeping world; a conception peculiarly significant of the grateful influence of early morning in India. To quote Mr. Wheeler's words:—"In addition to the refreshing coolness and delightful stillness of the hour, there is a peculiar whiteness in the atmosphere, not so expressive as moon-light, but infinitely more delicate and more suggestive of innocence and purity." (p. 26.) The ardent and reverential devotion which she inspired in the breasts of the Aryan worshippers, is expressed with singular beauty in a hymn of the *Rig-Veda*:—

"Goddess, manifest in person like a maiden, thou goest to the resplendent and beautiful Sun; and, like a youthful bride before her husband, thou uncoverest thy bosom with a smile.

"Ushas, daughter of heaven, dawn upon us with riches; diffuser of light, dawn upon us with abundant food; beautiful goddess, dawn upon us with wealth of cattle."

Such were the gods of the primitive Aryan settlers in the Punjab. But in process of time a change came. The old Vedic gods lost their hold on the national sympathies, and were replaced by new objects of worship; those long dynasties of deities which are identified to the present day with the Brahman-

ical religion. Many centuries must have passed before such a change could have come over the national mind; centuries teeming with revolution. They had witnessed the growing power of Brahmanism; had seen it checked by the rapid rise of the religion of Buddha, striving after a purer faith; and had watched its final triumph over the new heresy. They had seen also the rise of a new and startling social system, the justification and the consequence of Brahmanism, and fraught with unforeseen results to the life of the people; namely, the institution of caste. This change had taken place concurrently with the advance of the people from the land of the five rivers, on which they had settled as colonists, to the districts of Delhi, Oudh, and Bahar, which they subsequently conquered and occupied. In the later Brahmanic age of which we are now speaking, the caste system was fully developed. It is worth while inquiring from what circumstances in the history of the Aryan people it had sprung into being.

Among the causes which can account for the institution of caste, conquest can certainly be reckoned. The tendency of all foreign conquests is to create a caste feeling between the conquerors and the conquered. But this is by no means the sole cause. The existence of a caste-system, more or less permanent, can be accounted for independently of any consideration of conquest. History is unanimous on this point. While a nation is advancing, and making its way against opponents, the class that is held in most honour is evidently that of the warriors. Side by side with, but subordinate to them are the priests, who, besides their domestic duties, help to insure victory by declaring the will of the gods on the direction of the campaign, the plan of the battle, and the days favourable for attack. But when the people have settled down upon their new conquests, the order of precedence is gradually inverted. When a new generation arises, the pride of victory has been forgotten, but the terror of the unseen is ever present: men cease to desire conquest and to fear defeat, but they are constantly in need of the rain and the sunshine which the gods may give or withhold. In Egypt, the priestly caste had enjoyed from time immemorial the supremacy which they possessed when Herodotus visited them: it was the same in Elis, in Lacedæmon, and in Gela, on the testimony of the same traveller. In Attica, the spirit of the caste-system had died away, and the four Attic tribes had become mere convenient divisions for political organisation, with no distinction of prerogative or of dignity; but the letter remained in the traditional precedence of the Teleontes, or Consecrators, over the Hopletes or Warriors.

And it need hardly be remarked that even to the present day, though in a modified degree, the same principle is to be traced. We should not therefore be surprised at discovering it among the traditions of the early inhabitants of India. Now although no caste-system appears in the Rig-Veda, yet we are there introduced to three distinct classes of worshippers. These are, first, a peaceful and religious class, who sacrificed mainly to the family and domestic deities, with bloodless offerings of butter, curds and milk. The second class immolated horses to Indra and to the sun; and this difference of sacrifice implies a difference of food, and therefore probably of avocation. A military community, to whom physical strength was a necessity, would delight in flesh-meat, and such they would offer to the gods. We may hence conjecture that these two classes may be identified with the ancestors of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas of the Brahmanic period. Glimpses can also be obtained of a third class, a mercantile and maritime community, who worshiped Varuna, the God of the ocean, and who may be the progenitors of the Vaisyas. If no class referred to in the hymns corresponds to the Sudras, we may suppose with Mr. Wheeler that this last division is the result of conquest; the Sudras being the dark-skinned aboriginals who were subdued during the march of the advancing power. This conjecture is supported by the demarcation of the three upper castes from the lowest, as the 'twice-born.'

In the Vedic period, the religious class was entirely subordinate to the warriors. The ancient Kshatriyas seem to have regarded the progenitors of the Brahmans with the same disdain which a feudal baron showed towards a mendicant friar. The Kshatriyas delighted in feasting, in war and the chase, and gloried most of all in the exploits of their ancestors. They had therefore a rich stock of traditions handed down from generation to generation in the form of ballads. These ballads seem to have been the materials from which the original story of the Mahá Bhárata was composed, embellished doubtless by the exaggerations of fancy, in order to gratify the pride of the audience. But the main source of exaggeration and confusion is to be found in the growing influence of the priests. In course of time, in the manner just pointed out, they formed themselves into a class, and exercised a vast spiritual influence over the masses; an ascendancy which, in times of peace and luxury, came to overshadow the mightiest Raja of the Kshatriyas. For the history of the past they cared nothing, except as a vehicle for religious teaching; and

in a later age they readily falsified the traditions for the purpose of promulgating Brahmanical ideas and exalting the pretensions of their own order. Their chief object was to assert their own supremacy as an hereditary sacerdotal caste, invested with supernatural powers, and superior not only to the Rajas, but to the very Gods of the Kshatriyas. Thus (to give Mr. Wheeler's illustration), "Ancient Brahman sages, under the name of Rishis, are abruptly and absurdly introduced in order to work miracles of the wildest and most senseless character, and to compel the reverence of such deities as Indra to Brahmanical authority. Moreover acts which are contrary to morality and common decency are occasionally introduced for the depraved purpose of representing the more famous Bráhmans as the ancestors of the more famous Rajas. Again, Rajas are described as paying a reverence to Bráhmans amounting to worship, and as rewarding them with extravagant profusion, probably as examples for later Rajas to follow." (p. 38)

The form in which Mr. Wheeler has exhibited the contents of the *Mahá Bhárata* is neither a mere translation, which alone would have taken a dozen octavo volumes, nor a bare analysis: but a condensed paraphrase interspersed with explanation, critical commentary, and historical references. His object has been to trace the main story of the fortunes of the royal house of Bhárata; and he has accordingly exercised a large discretion in omitting masses of merely supernatural and irrelevant matter, as well as Brahmanical discourses and religious myths, which he reserves for discussion in a future volume, in connexion with the religious ideas and belief of the people.

In treating of the Family Traditions with which the *Mahá Bhárata* commences, Mr. Wheeler devotes considerable attention to the probable extent of the Raj. Accustomed as we are, in ordinary intercourse with educated natives, to hear the whole continent of India called by the name of Bháratavarsha, and to be assured that the name represents no more than the actual fact, it may cause us much surprise to be told that the kingdom over which the Raja Bhárata ruled was a district of only a few square miles in extent. But, judging from the homely character of the details of the life and actions of the heroes of the poem, which the author brings into prominence in almost every episode, there seems little room for doubt on this point. In the poem however there is no limit to the exaggerations of the Kshatriya bards. The city of Hastinápura, which was the capital of the Raj, and the centre around which the whole action of the story revolves, was about sixty miles to the



north-east of Delhi. But in the episode of the marriage-festival of Draupadi, we are told that it was attended by Rajas from the remotest quarters of India. It seems that the ancestral hero of every Raja on the continent has been introduced into the poem by later compilers, anxious to gratify the chieftain by the discovery that his ancestor was associated with the heroes of the Mahá Bhárata. Again, in the account of the Horse-sacrifice, the travels of the horse are extended beyond the Bengal frontier to the city of Munnipore, and beyond the Himalaya mountains to the Northern Ocean. The country of Matsya or Dinajpore in the extreme east is associated with Dwáraka, the western boundary of Guzerat. Many of the stories indeed bear their own refutation in the mere statement. Bhishma is said to have driven to Kási, and to have driven back again with three young damsels; whence we should infer that Kási was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Delhi. But Kási is the ancient name of Benares, and Benares is five hundred miles from Hastinápura as the crow flies. In many instances, further, we can detect the motive of the Brahmanical compilers in introducing references to such distant places. Thus the story of the adventures of Arjuna during twelve years of exile is an account of pilgrimages to the most holy Brahmanical localities, in company with a crowd of Brahmanical sages. The references to Váranávata, or Allahabad, and to Ekachakra, or Arrah, both places of great sanctity in later ages, may be ascribed to the same cause.

The relation of Kshatriyas to Brahmans, according to Mr. Wheeler, has been inverted in the progress from the early to the late tradition. While the story, read by the light of our author's criticism, shows that the Kshatriyas looked down upon the Brahmans, its main purpose in its present form is to reverse that superiority. Throughout the poem, whatever has tended to exhibit the Brahmans, or their ancestors, in a dishonourable or inferior light, has been deliberately omitted or falsified. A few out of the numerous examples and proofs of this position advanced by Mr. Wheeler, will serve to indicate the character of the interpolations, and of his criticism upon them.

The hero Bhárata, the founder of the Raj at Hastinápura, was believed by the Kshatriyas to be descended from the Moon. The Brahmans, while admitting this, saved themselves from the concession of a fatal superiority by declaring that the Moon itself was begotten by a Brahman Rishi. The story of the birth of Bhárata himself has been corrupted in a way which is not so easy of detection. The Raja Dushyanta, his father, while hunting in a forest, met with a beautiful damsel named

Sakuntala, the daughter of a Brahman, and persuaded her to become his wife by the simple ceremonial of a Gandharva marriage. The fruit of this union was the child Bhārata. But when the mother reached the palace of the Raja, whither she had gone to get her son acknowledged by him, she found that his memory had left him, and that he would not acknowledge her as his wife. Unfortunately she had, while bathing in a pool, dropped the ring which the Raja had given her as a pledge of his troth. This combination of disasters is attributed to the curse of a Brahman sage, who, for some trifling act of neglect, had doomed her to be forgotten by the man she loved. But Mr. Wheeler throws a fresh light upon the story. "She had lost the ring, and in the absence of such evidence the Kshatriya conveniently forgot his engagement to marry the daughter of a priest. . . . The question of why the Kshatriya was reluctant to acknowledge the daughter of a Brahman to be his wife, will be solved hereafter, when it will be seen that in the Vedic period the Brahman held an inferior rank to the Kshatriya. The reason for the interpolation of the myth respecting the curse of Durvasa (the sage) will then, in like manner, become apparent; it was intended to explain the reluctance of the Kshatriya, without wounding the pride or lowering the presumption of the later Brahmans."

Santanu, the grandson of the Raja Bhārata, had three sons, the two youngest of whom died without issue. The eldest son, Bhishma, had taken a vow of celibacy, and refused to follow the ordinary custom of succeeding to his brothers' wives. A great Brahman sage named Vyasa was consequently requested to interfere; and he became the father of two sons. The first of the widows shut her eyes in terror at beholding his gaunt aspect, and she gave birth to a blind son, named Dhritarashtra. The second widow became pallid with fear, and her son was called Pandu, or 'the pale,' from his white complexion. Dhritarashtra and Pandu became the fathers of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, the rival cousins in the great war of Bhārata. Now in this story as in the others, Brahmanical interpolations can be traced. The Rishi Vyasa is the subject of a vast mass of Brahmanical legend. His name signifies "the arranger," from his having become famous as the compiler of the Mahā Bhārata and the Vedas; and it may be remarked that he is introduced on all occasions, and generally in a supernatural manner, for the purpose of giving advice or relating legends, tending to Brahmanical aggrandisement. The story of his miraculous birth from a fish-girl named Matsya, in Eastern Bengal, herself the offspring of a startling physiological process, is sufficient to throw discredit on

any event in which he is concerned. His introduction in this place is manifestly due to a desire to represent the great heroes of the house of Bhárata as the descendants of a Brahman.

Dhritarashtra being blind, Pandu obtained the Raj, and five sons were born to him, who were afterwards famous as the Pandavas. Here again Brahmanical falsification is not wanting. The legend asserts that Pandu, having been cursed by a Brahman, took a vow of celibacy; and his five sons are in consequence ascribed to Indra and Váyu and other gods, whom he had permitted his two wives to invite to their embraces. To Dhritarashtra likewise a family was born, who were called the Kauravas, from their ancestor Kurn. These two families were brought up together in the palace at Hastinápur, under the direction of Drona, a distinguished Kshatriya warrior. The compilers as usual have misrepresented Drona as a Brahmanical priest and preceptor, corresponding to the *Purohita* or family priest, who is so important a functionary in the modern Hindu system. As might be expected, great jealousy was felt by the sons of Dhritarashtra against the Pandavas, the princes of the younger branch of the royal family. This was caused partly by the circumstance that the father of the Pandavas had been the actual sovereign, and partly by their great superiority in all manly exercises, and the marked preference which Drona, as an experienced warrior, naturally felt for his promising pupils. Accordingly, when the Maharaja Dhritarashtra, by the advice of Drona, celebrated at Hastinápur an exhibition of arms, a festival bearing a striking resemblance to the tournaments of feudal times in Europe, the feelings of the Kauravas were much embittered by the success of the Pandavas. Their chagrin was further intensified by their own failure, and their cousins' success, in the attempt to regain for Drona the Raj of Panchala, which was the condition on which he had consented to undertake the instruction of the princes. And thus, when the time came for Dhritarashtra to nominate his heir, the Kauravas left no means untried to alter the determination of the king, whose choice had fallen on Yudhishtira, the eldest of the Pandavas. For a long time he failed, even when he stipulated for a division of the Raj; but at length he completely overcame his father's scruples, and the weak king was prevailed on to send the Pandavas to *Váranávata* or Allahabad, which even then is represented as "a renowned city, rich in gold and jewels"; there to dwell until he should recall them.

With the journey of the Pandavas to *Váranávata*, Mr. Wheeler considers that the authentic tradition is lost in a later

fiction. The legend describes the magnificent reception of the Pandavas at that city; and speaks of the College of holy men, where they paid every respect and reverence to the devotees, and received their blessings and good wishes; in return for which they bestowed costly presents on the College. But the Kauravas in the mean time had sent an emissary to Vārāṇāṣat, with instructions to destroy Yudhishtira with his mother and brethren. This design was detected and frustrated. Bhima, one of the brothers, put in operation against the agent of the Kauravas the very design which the latter had intended against their cousins, by setting his house on fire when he was asleep. The flames spread to their own house; but they made their escape into the jungle by a subterranean passage; leaving behind them the apparent evidence of their own destruction in the charred corpses of a Bhil woman and her five sons who had happened to be sleeping at the time within the building. Upon this episode Mr. Wheeler makes the following comment :

“ The whole story turns upon burning the house of kinsmen, whilst those kinsmen are asleep inside; and this idea would be altogether repugnant to the sentiment of honour which undoubtedly prevailed amongst the ancient Kshatriyas, who regarded an attack upon a sleeping enemy as a heinous crime.\* But at the same time, this idea would be perfectly familiar to the Brahmanical compilers of the Mahā Bhārata, who had only recently engaged in burning down the monasteries and temples of the Buddhists with all the deadly hate of religious persecutors. Again, the subordinate details of the fiction refer, in every way, to a later and more luxurious age. The city of Vārāṇāṣat is said to have been famous for gold and jewels. The College of holy men to which the Pandavas were introduced on their arrival, is either Buddhist or Brahmanical; whilst the alleged magnificence of the house in which the Pandavas were lodged, and the presents of gold and jewels, silk and cloths, belong altogether to a late period of Hindu civilisation. The story of the Bhil woman and her five sons who were burnt alive in the house, and originated the rumour that the Pandavas and their mother had perished in the flames, is also precisely one of those artificial turns in a narrative which betray the hand of the romancer or novelist. Altogether it seems most probable that the whole story is a later fiction,

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\* Compare the story of the terrible revenge of Aswatthāma, in the night of the last day of the great war; where it will be seen that Aswatthāma, even whilst bent upon being revenged on the murderer of his father, awoke his sleeping enemy before slaying him.

"introduced for the sole purpose of associating the Pandavas with the famous city of Vāranāvata." (p. 102.)

The Pandavas, having retired to Ekachakra, or Arrah, are described as living in the disguise of mendicant Brahmans. It was during their life here that their marriage took place; an event of so singular a character as to merit some degree of attention. Drupada, Raja of Panchala, had a lovely daughter Draupadi, who was about to hold a Swayamvara; a ceremonial which implies, as the name signifies, the right of choosing her own husband. The Pandavas, hearing of the proposed festival, determined to be present: and Arjuna, one of the brethren, was selected as their champion. His efforts were crowned with such success that he carried off the damsel from the crowd of suitors against whom he had to contend in archery and other feats of strength and skill. It is to be remembered that Arjuna appeared in the disguise of a Brahman; and all the real Brahmans, hearing of his intention, attempted to dissuade him from the trial, for fear the Rajas should be offended against their order. But great was their joy at finding their representative the winner of the prize. Equally great was the disgust and indignation of the Rajas at the humiliation which they had suffered, and at the treachery, as they conceived, of Drupada, in inviting them to witness their own defeat. "The Brahman's life" (they cried) "is sacred, but down with the guilty race of Drupada!" The Pandavas, however, succeeded in carrying off their prize, and returned with Draupadi to their mother, Kunti. On seeing her they cried "O mother, we have made a fine acquisition this day." Kunti, thinking they referred to the spoils of the chase, replied, "Go you five brothers, and share it amongst you". From this innocent remark the compilers of the Māha Bhārata affected to consider that mighty results depended. All the persons concerned are described as being startled and shocked at Kunti's words, which implied that Draupadi should not be given either to Arjuna, as the winner, or to Yudhishtira, as the eldest, but should be regarded as the joint wife of the five brethren. Accordingly, when the Raja Drupada, having learnt the true rank of the five brethren, sent the next day to congratulate them and to invite them to his house for the purpose of solemnising the marriage ceremony between Arjuna and Draupadi, he was met by the same difficulty. The mythical sage Vyasa appears, in his usual miraculous way, upon the scene, and declares that the will of heaven has already been decided by the words of Kunti, and that Draupadi must become the wife of the five brethren. They accordingly carried her away.

In this story we probably return to the true legend ; which is placed however in a false light by the compilers. They have affected to regard the marriage of one woman to five husbands as a thing so exceptional as to shock the social and religious sentiments of those concerned ; and they have, with dishonest ingenuity, extended the law that the commands of a mother are to be obeyed, to the absurd inference that a mother cannot recall her commands. But Mr. Wheeler makes some valuable observations tending to shew that polyandry as an institution was probably not unknown to the Vedic Aryans : and that the inference from Kunti's words, and the introduction of Vyasa to confirm that inference, were due to a desire to represent the customs of the earlier as identical with those of the later period. " This practice, repulsive as it is to all " civilised ideas, whether Hindu or European, is still the custom " amongst the Buddhists of Thibet ; where the elder brother " possesses the exclusive privilege of choosing a wife, who hence- " forth becomes the joint wife of all the brothers of the family. " The origin of this depraved institution has been ascribed to " various causes. It is said to have been adopted as a means " for preventing any undue increase in the members of the " family ; an object of some importance when the whole means " of subsistence possessed by a family is drawn from a certain " definite area of cultivated land. Again, it may have sprung " up amongst a pastoral people, where men are frequently " away from their homes for many months at a time, either " to seek new pastures for their cattle, or to dispose of " the cattle amongst the people of the plains ; and where, conse- " quently, these duties would be undertaken by the brethren in " turns, so that whilst some were away with the cattle, others " would remain at home with the joint wife of the family. " Amongst the ancient Kshatriyas, however, the practice may " have arisen from another cause. They were essentially a " martial and a conquering race, amongst whom the ties of " domestic life are always less valued, than amongst a more " industrious and settled population. They had migrated at some " primeval epoch from their cradle in Central Asia to seek new " homes to the eastward of the Indus ; and under such circum- " stances they would naturally bring with them as few " women as possible. But whilst the sexual instinct will " yield for a time to that more imperious instinct which " drives men to seek subsistence in a foreign soil, it will " speedily find a gratification even in the most revolting " practices, unless controlled by the dictates of sentiment or " reason." (p. 116.)

The real character of the progress of the colony is indicated by the next step in the history. The Kauravas, alarmed at the news that the Pandavas were alive and had strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Raja Drupada, are represented as holding a council, the result of which was that they offered the Pandavas a division of the kingdom. This supposed division, however, was in reality nothing more than an extension of the settlement along the valley of the Jumna. The emigrants settled on the right bank of the river some little distance to the south of Delhi, and therefore about eighty miles from Hastinapur. There they burnt down the jungle and founded the city of Indra-prastha.

This episode of the burning of the jungle, it may be remarked, as it is related in the *Mahá Bhárata*, can be looked upon as a strong argument in favour of what we have called the mythological interpretation of the story. We give it in Mr. Wheeler's version :

"Now it came to pass that Krishna paid a visit to the Pandavas at Indra-prastha, and Arjuna invited him to go out hunting in the great forest of Khandava. So everything was made ready, and Arjuna went out with Krishna to hunt in the great forest; and when they came to a pleasant spot they sat down and drank wine, whilst the musicians played before them, and the singers and story-tellers amused them with songs and stories. At length on a certain day a Brahman came to Krishna and Arjuna; and he was very large and fat, and his colour was yellow, and his form was frightful to behold; but when Krishna and Arjuna saw the Brahman, they received him with great respect, and seated him beside themselves. The Brahman then said, 'I am Agni (fire), and a great Rishi has offered sacrifice and poured oil upon the altar for the space of twelve years, so that my strength is gone and my colour has become yellow from drinking up the oil: I therefore desired to consume the great forest of Khandava, so that my strength and colour might return again to me; but whenever I began to devour the forest, Indra poured down abundance of rain and quenched the fire, for he is desirous of preserving the great serpents who are dwelling in that jungle; I therefore beseech you, O Krishna and Arjuna, to protect me from Indra.' At these words Arjuna agreed to make war against Indra, if Agni would provide him with celestial weapons; and Agni then gave Arjuna the bow which is called Gandiva, together with two quivers, and a chariot having the monkey-god for its standard. Then Arjuna and Krishna fought Indra,

“and Agni devoured the forest of Khandava; and all the serpents were devoured likewise, excepting their Raja Takshaka, who escaped from the burning.” (p. 140).

Mr. Wheeler's comment upon this passage is conformable to his ordinary method of interpretation. “The meaning of this myth, as far as it bears upon the clearing of the forest, will now be obvious. A Scythic tribe of Nagas were located in the jungle of Khandava, and naturally objected to the conflagration, which was however ultimately carried out. The actual burning of the forest, and war against the Scythic Nagas, seem to have been famous in Kshatriya tradition; and hence the gods and Brahmins, and especially Krishna, are associated with it. There is also a religious meaning in the myth which will be discussed hereafter.” (p. 141.) The religious question being reserved to the third volume, we are unfortunately left in doubt as to what this meaning may be.

Now to any one given to mythological interpretation, this legend will appear very significant. We seem here to come across the precise manner in which accounts of natural phenomena were transformed into stories of human or divine beings. Indra and Agni cannot be misunderstood; because, though personified, they are not transformed; they have not lost their original meanings. But this transformation has, it may readily be suggested, actually taken place with Krishna and Arjuna. The question therefore arises, what meaning can be assigned to these latter names, considering them as representative of natural powers? Indra of course is the firmament with its waters; and Agni is the fire. Krishna, in later Sanskrit, means black; but the adjective may well be a derivative from the substantive, and we can connect the word with the root *Kri*, to do. Krishna may then be the name of the toiling sun, who goes through his labours exactly as he does in the myth of Hercules. This inference is supported by the fact that Krishna is elsewhere represented sometimes as a mighty Raja, sometimes as a cowherd. In both of these capacities he might easily be the sun. The first is too obvious to need remark. The representation of the sun as a cowherd would be connected with that poetical fancy, already mentioned, which spoke of the days of the year as the cows of Indra, conducted across the heavenly fields by the sun. It may be added that Krishna, alike in his great strength and his radiant good-humour, bears a strong resemblance to Samson; and the possible solar character of Samson has been previously pointed out. Again, who is Arjuna? The name means “bright” and it appears in the Vedic hymns under the name Arjuni, where it is applied to the bright and glistening



dawn. There is little doubt that this is transformed in Greek legend into the name Argynnis, beloved of Agamemnon : one of the many myths relating to the dawn, the bride of the sun. The epithet Arjuna, in its masculine form, is evidently applicable to the sun : and thus these two names Krishna and Arjuna, distinct, but united in the legend, might represent two different attributes of the same object. We can extend the same interpretation to the serpents befriended by Indra. The darkness that lies coiled around the dawn is, as we have seen, always represented by a serpent or dragon, such as those slain by the solar heroes Hercules, Perseus and Bellerophon ; and (if we may apply the same method to Christian legend) by St. Michael and St. George. But that power also which imprisons and confines the rain-cloud we have already seen to be called by the name Ahi, or serpent. It is true that in that passage, as in others of similar character, Indra is represented as being at perpetual war with this serpent, in order to pour down showers of rain upon the earth. But it can easily be conceived possible, and indeed we have Mr. Wheeler's express authority for the statement (p. 16) that the name has been transferred from the serpent to the clouds themselves ; just as in the case of the Sphinx, whose dark enigmas were the unintelligible mutterings of the thunder-cloud. In this case it would of course be natural to represent Indra as the friend and protector of the cloud serpents : and the meaning of the myth would at once become apparent. The destruction of the forest and its serpents by Krishna and Arjuna in conjunction with the yellow Brahman, Agni, and in opposition to Indra, will be the poetical way of saying, " The sun, in his strength and his brightness, " with yellow glare and fiery front, has dried up the rain-clouds " and scorched the face of heaven."

It is evident therefore that the application of the mythological theory to this episode is possible ; and if the resemblance is an accident it is a very remarkable one. And it must be remembered that it is not possible to allow the mythological interpretation in this case and to refuse it in others. That answer might be given if the names of the characters were confined to the episode under consideration ; but Krishna and Arjuna are found in almost every page of the *Mahá Bhárata* ; and if this interpretation holds good once, it holds good always, and the story of the great war of *Bhárata*, like the siege of Troy, becomes a legend of the labours and the victories of the sun. Are we, on this evidence, to adopt such an explanation ? The strongest argument against this interpretation lies

in the significant fewness of those passages in the life of Arjuna which are susceptible of it. This episode, and perhaps another,\* are so far as we can discover, the only instances in which an explanation by reference to natural phenomena is at once suggested to us. But if this explanation is the true one, we have a right to expect the non-natural or mythological interpretation forced upon us in the great majority of instances, not merely in an isolated passage here and there. Some, too, of the most significant characteristics in the life of Arjuna are positively inconsistent with the solar theory.

What explanation, for example, can be given of the five brethren, two of whom at least are equally prominent in the story with himself: while in all well-accredited myths, the solar hero stands out in conspicuous and solitary relief? If there is one attribute, again, which must always distinguish a solar hero, it will be a fierce and undying hatred towards the serpents of darkness: but in one part of the legend Arjuna is represented as actually in love with a Naga damsel, and as becoming the ancestor of the Naga Rajas. Further, Mr. Wheeler gives too exhaustive an account of the Nagas to leave much doubt as to their real nature. "These Scythic Nagas worshipped the serpent as a national deity, and adopted it as a national emblem, and from these circumstances they appear to have derived the name of Nagas, or serpents. The seats of these Nagas were not confined to India, for they have left traces of their belief in almost every religious system, as well as in almost every country of the ancient world. They appear to have entered India at some remote period, and to have pushed their way towards the east and south; but whether they preceded the Aryans, or whether they followed the Aryans, is a point which has not yet been decided. In process of time these Nagas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity and emblem of the Nagas and the Nagas themselves. The great historic fact in connection with the Nagas, which stands prominently forward in Hindu myths, is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brahmans. The destruction of serpents at the burning of the forest of Khandava,

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\* The legend in which Arjuna recovers the cows stolen by the Kauravas seems to point to the cattle of Indra stolen by Bala, and to the myth of Hercules and Cacus, before-mentioned; but the incident is so natural an accompaniment of the border warfare then existing, that little stress can be laid upon it.

“ the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms one of the opening scenes in the Mahá Bhárata, and the supernatural exploits of the youthful Krishna against the serpents sent to destroy him, are all expressions of Brahmanical hatred against the Nagas. Ultimately this antagonism merged into that deadly conflict between the Brahman and the Buddhist, which after a lengthened period of religious warfare terminated in the triumph of the Brahman. From these data it would appear that the Nagas were originally a race distinct from the Aryans, and wholly without the pale of Brahmanism; that those who became Buddhists were either crushed or driven out of India during the age of Brahmanical revival; and that the remainder have become converted to Brahmanism, and appear to be regarded as an inferior order of Kshatriyas.\* But there is a vitality in certain religious ideas which seems to render them immortal; and whilst the Nagas as a people have almost disappeared from the Indian continent, the worship of serpents, or a reverential fear of serpents as divine beings, is still to be found deeply rooted in the mind of the Hindu. The general question perhaps properly belongs to the history of the Hindu religion; but it should be distinctly borne in mind whilst considering every legend which seems to point to the Nagas.” (p. 146.) It is indeed easy to conceive how the snake, in countries where it abounded, would be one of the first objects of worship. Its mysterious power of life and death, and its disappearance beneath the ground, mark it out in an especial manner as the deity of the under-world. The fact of the worship is certain. It prevails largely in the northern and eastern districts of Bengal, and in the Madras presidency. But Munnipore, between Bengal and Burmah, is the chief seat of the worship. “ The people appear to be a genuine relic of the ancient Nagas. They are a barbarous race, who have as yet learnt very little Brahmanism from their Hindu neighbours. They have no early marriages, and no ideas of *sati*, and their widows remarry. The Raja’s deity and ancestor is a serpent, and a cavity is shown in which the ancestral deity resides, and the throne of the Raja is fixed over the cavity.” (p. 149.)

We have seen the Pandavas building their town at Indra-prastha, clearing the jungle of Khandava, and driving out the Scythian tribe known as the Nagas. They had thus founded

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\* This is the opinion of Sir, H. M. Elliot, and is confirmed by the present status of the Naga tribe in the neighbourhood of the Munnipore valley, who, whenever they profess Hinduism, at once receive the thread of the Kshatriya.—McCulloch’s *Account of Munnipore*. (p. 18.)

a new Raj : and after a period of twelve years of prosperity, they determined to invite their kinsmen and neighbours to a *Rajasuya*, or royal sacrifice, and in the presence of all, to inaugurate their eldest brother *Yudhishtira* as *Raja* of *Khandava-prastha*. For this purpose it was necessary to subdue every other nation or tribe to their authority, and consequently the four younger *Pandavas* are represented amid a mass of fabulous matter, as going out with their arms into the four quarters of the world, and taking tribute from all the *Rajas*. As might be expected, the exaggerations of the story are most marvellous ; but the actual ceremonial seems to have been simple and interesting. A chieftain, newly established in a country, invites his neighbours to a friendly gathering and feast, the real purport of the meeting being to assert his power to maintain his own authority in his *Raj*. But as time went on, and the luxury and power of the *Rajas* assumed enormous proportions, "the bards and eulogists, who chaunted the ancient story before the later *Rajas*, could scarcely have related the primitive details of olden time in which Princesses milked the cows, and Princes tilled the land." At any rate, the *Rajasuya* was completed, and *Yudhishtira* acknowledged as *Raja* by his neighbours.

The *Pandavas*, to the delight of the reader, whose sympathies are always on their side, now seem to have reached the height of worldly prosperity ; but alas ! *Nemesis* is watching them. The *Kauravas*, jealous of their cousins' power, lay a trap for them. The means adopted is to invite the *Pandavas*, under the guise of friendship, to a gambling match at *Hastinapur*, and to use the unscrupulous skill of their uncle *Sakuni* in robbing them of their property. The invitation, when sent, was as a point of honour accepted ; and the brethren, with their wife and mother, proceeded to *Hastinapur*. The scene that follows is too good to be mutilated :—

"And when the assembly had all taken their places, *Sakuni* said to *Yudhishtira* :—'The ground here has all been prepared, and the dice are ready : come now, I pray you, and play a game.' But *Yudhishtira* was disinclined, and replied :—'I will not play excepting upon fair terms ; but if you will pledge yourself to play without artifice or deceit, I will accept your challenge.' *Sakuni* said :—'If you are so fearful of losing, you had better not play at all.' At these words *Yudhishtira* was wroth and replied :—'I have no fear either in play or war : but let me know with whom I am to play, and who is to pay me if I win.' So *Duryodhana* came forward and said :—'I am the man against whom you are to play, and I shall lay my stakes against your stakes : but my uncle *Sakuni*

“ will throw the dice for me.’ Then Yudhishtira said :—  
 “ What manner of game is this, where one man throws the dice  
 “ and another lays the stakes?’ Nevertheless he accepted the  
 “ challenge, and he and Sakuni began to play.

“ So Yudhishtira and Sakuni sat down to play, and whatever  
 “ Yudhishtira laid as stakes, Duryodhana laid something of equal  
 “ value : but Yudhishtira lost every game. He first lost a very  
 “ beautiful pearl : next a thousand bags, each containing a  
 “ thousand pieces of gold : next a piece of gold so pure that it  
 “ was as soft as wax ; next a chariot set with jewels, and hung  
 “ all round with golden balls : next a thousand war elephants  
 “ with golden howdahs set with diamonds : next a lakh of slaves  
 “ all dressed with good garments ; next a lakh of beautiful slave-  
 “ girls all dressed from head to foot with golden ornaments :  
 “ next all the remainder of his goods : next all his cattle : and  
 “ then the whole of his Raj, excepting only the lands which had  
 “ been granted to the Brahmans.

“ Now when Yudhishtira had lost his Raj, the Chieftains  
 “ present in the pavilion were of opinion that he should cease  
 “ to play, but he would not listen to their words, but per-  
 “ sisted in the game. And he staked all the goods belong-  
 “ ing to his brothers and he lost them, and he staked his  
 “ two younger brothers, one after the other, and he lost them ;  
 “ and he then staked Arjuna, and Bhima, and finally himself :  
 “ and he lost every game. Then Sakuni said to him :—‘ You  
 “ have done a bad act, Yudhishtira, in gaming away yourself  
 “ and becoming a slave. But now stake your wife Draupadi,  
 “ and if you win the game you will again be free.’ And Yudhishtira  
 “ answered and said : ‘ I will stake Draupadi !’ And all  
 “ assembled were greatly troubled and thought evil of Yudhishtira,  
 “ and his uncle Vidura put his hand to his head, and fainted  
 “ away : whilst Bhishma and Drona turned deadly pale, and  
 “ many of the company were very sorrowful ; but Duryodhana  
 “ and his brother Duhshasana, and some others of the Kauravas,  
 “ were glad in their hearts, and plainly manifested their joy.  
 “ Then Sakuni threw the dice, and won Draupadi for Duryodhana.

“ Then all in that assembly were in great consternation, and  
 “ the Chieftains gazed upon one another without saying a  
 “ word, and Duryodhana said to his uncle Vidura : ‘ Go now  
 “ and bring Draupadi hither, and bid her sweep the rooms.’  
 “ But Vidura cried out against him with a loud voice and said :—  
 “ ‘ What wickedness is this ! will you order a woman who is of  
 “ noble birth, and the wife of your own kinsman to become a  
 “ household slave ? But Draupadi has not become your slave,

“ for Yudhishtira lost himself before he staked his wife, and  
“ having first become a slave, he could no longer have power to  
“ stake Draupadi.’ Vidura then turned to the assembly and  
“ said :—‘ Take no heed to the words of Duryodhana, for he has  
“ lost his senses this day.’ Duryodhana then said :—‘ A curse  
“ be upon this Vidura, who will do nothing that I desire him.’

“ After this Duryodhana called one of his servants and  
“ desired him to go to the lodgings of the Pandavas and  
“ bring Draupadi into the pavilion. And the man departed  
“ out and went to the lodgings of the Pandavas, and entered  
“ the presence of Draupadi, and said to her : ‘ Raja Yudhishtira  
“ has played you away, and you have become the slave of  
“ Raja Duryodhana : So come now and do your duty like  
“ the other slave girls.’ And Draupadi was astonished at these  
“ words, and exceedingly wroth, and she replied :—‘ Whose  
“ slave was I that I could be gambled away ? And who is such  
“ a senseless fool as to gamble away his own wife ?’ The  
“ servant said :—‘ Raja Yudhishtira has lost himself and his  
“ five brethren and you also to Raja Duryodhana ; and you cannot  
“ make any objection : rise, therefore, and go to the house of  
“ the Raja.’ Then Draupadi cried out :—‘ Go you now and  
“ enquire, whether Raja Yudhishtira lost me first or himself  
“ first : for if he played away himself first, he could not stake  
“ me.’ So the man returned to the assembly and put the  
“ question to Yudhishtira ; but Yudhishtira bowed down his  
“ head with shame, and answered not a word.

“ Then Duryodhana was filled with wrath, and he cried out  
“ to his servant :—‘ What waste of words is this ! Go you and  
“ bring Draupadi hither that, if she has aught to say, she may  
“ say it in the presence of us all.’ And the man essayed to go  
“ but he beheld the wrathful countenance of Bhima, and he was  
“ sore afraid, and he refused to go, and remained where he was.  
“ Then Duryodhana sent his brother Duhshasana : and Duhshasana  
“ went his way to the lodgings of Draupadi and said :—‘ Raja  
“ Yudhishtira has lost you in play to Raja Duryodhana, and he  
“ has sent for you. So arise now, and wait upon him according  
“ to his commands ; and if you have any thing to say, you can  
“ say it in the presence of the assembly.’ Draupadi replied :—  
“ ‘ The death of the Kauravas is not far distant, since they  
“ can do such deeds as these.’ And she rose up in great  
“ trepidation and set out, but when she came near to the  
“ palace of the Mahārāja, she turned aside from the pavilion  
“ where the chieftains were assembled, and ran away with  
“ all speed towards the apartments of the women. And Duhsha-  
“ sana hastened after her, and seized her by her hair which

"was very dark and long, and dragged her by main force into the pavilion before all the chieftains. And she cried out : ' Take your hands from off me ! ' And Duhsasana heeded not her words but said ; ' You are now a slave-girl, and slave girls cannot complain of being touched by the hands of men.'

"When the chieftains thus beheld Draupadi, they hung down their heads from shame ; and Draupadi called upon the elders amongst them, such as Bhishma and Drona, to acquaint her whether or no Yudhishtira had gamed away himself before he had staked her : but they likewise held down their heads and answered not a word. Then she cast her eyes upon the Pandavas, and her glance was like the stabbing of a thousand daggers, and they moved not hand or foot to help her ; for when Bhima would have stepped forward to deliver her from the hands of Duhsasana, Yudhishtira commanded him to forbear and both he and the younger Pandavas were obliged to obey the commands of their elder brother. And when Duhsasana saw that Draupadi was turning her eyes towards the Pandavas he took her by the hand and drew her another way, and said ;— ' Why, O slave ! are you turning your eyes about you ? ' And when Karna and Sakuni heard Duhsasana calling her a slave they cried out :— ' Well said ! Well said ! '

"Then Draupadi wept very bitterly, and appealed to all the assembly, saying ;— ' All of you have wives and children of your own, and will you permit me to be treated thus ? I ask you one question, and I pray you to answer it'. Duhsasana then broke in, and spoke foul language to her and used her rudely, so that her veil came off in his hands. And Bhima could restrain his wrath no longer, and spoke vehemently to Yudhishtira : and Arjuna reproved him for his anger against his elder brother but Bhima answered ;— ' I will thrust my hands into the fire before these wretches shall treat my wife in this manner before my eyes.' Then Duryodhana said to Draupadi :— ' Come now, I pray you and sit upon my thigh ! ' But Bhima gnashed his teeth, and cried out with a loud voice :— ' Hear my vow this day ! If for this deed I do not break the thigh of Duryodhana, and drink the blood of Duhsasana, I am not the son of Kunti ! ' " (p. 178-182.)

Duryodhana, however, was not even now content with his victory ; and he prevailed on the blind old Raja to let them play one more game.

"And the Mahārāja granted the request of his son, and messengers were sent to bring back the brethren ; and the Pandavas obeyed the commands of their uncle, and returned

“ to his presence ; and it was agreed upon that Yudhishtira  
“ should play one more game with Sakuni, and that if Yudhishtira  
“ won, the Kauravas were to go into exile, and that if  
“ Sakuni won, the Pandavas were to go into exile ; and that  
“ the exile was to be for twelve years, and one year more,  
“ and during that thirteenth year, those who were in exile  
“ were to dwell in any city they pleased, but to keep themselves  
“ so concealed that the others should never discover them ; and  
“ that if the others did discover them before the thirteenth  
“ year was over, then those who were in exile were to continue  
“ so for another thirteen years. So they sat down again to  
“ play, and Sakuni had a set of cheating dice as before and  
“ with them he won the game.

“ When Duhsasana saw that Sakuni had won the game, he  
“ danced about for joy ; and he cried out :—‘ Now is established  
“ the Raj of Duryodhana.’ But Bhima said :—‘ Be not  
“ elated with joy, but remember my words : the day will come  
“ when I will drink your blood, or I am not the son of Kunti.’  
“ And the Pandavas, seeing that they had lost, threw off their  
“ garments, and put on deer-skins, and prepared to depart into the  
“ forest with their wife and mother, and their priest Dhaumya ;  
“ but Vidura said to Yudhishtira :—‘ Your mother is old and  
“ unfitted to travel, so leave her under my care,’ and the  
“ Pandavas did so. And the brethren went out from the assembly  
“ hanging down their heads with shame, and covering their faces  
“ with their garments ; but Bhima threw out his long arms and  
“ looked at the Kauravas furiously, and Draupadi spread her long  
“ black hair over her face and wept bitterly. And Draupadi  
“ vowed a vow, saying :—‘ My hair shall remain dishevelled from  
“ this day, until Bhima shall have slain Duhsasana and drunk his  
“ blood ; and then he shall tie up my hair again whilst his  
“ hands are dripping with the blood of Duhsasana.’” (pp.  
183-184.)

We have no space to follow the Pandavas in the deeply interesting story of their thirteen years' exile. Their adventures are various and wonderful ; but they all present the same characteristics of later embellishment : the object of the compilers being, as before, to maintain the association of the Pandavas with the worship of Krishna, their intimate relations with the greater gods, and the reverence which they paid to Brahmans. The years of their exile came to an end, and negotiations were commenced with the view of effecting the restoration of the Pandavas to their Raj. The latter were not as powerless as might be supposed ; for besides their long-standing alliance with their father-in-law, the Raja Drupada, they had succeeded



in gaining the friendship and support of the powerful Raja of Virāta, in whose service they had lived in disguise during the last year of their exile. They could rely also on the powerful aid of Krishna, who was their ambassador throughout their negotiations with the Kauravas. These negotiations, however, through the self-willed obstinacy of Duryodhana came to an end, and no alternative remained but war.

The hostile armies met on the plain of Kurukshetra. The description of the battle, or rather the war, for it lasted eighteen days, is in the highest degree grand and exciting. We seem to be reading over again, but with infinitely greater variety of events, the Homeric epic. The conflict of masses of men is relieved by single combats: and the hopes of the reader, carried away by the vivid picture, are alternately raised and depressed with the varying fortunes of the side to which he has given his sympathy. We give an extract or two, almost at random.

“And the sun set in the heavens, but the warriors would not stay the battle in the evening as they had done on all the previous days of the war, but they fought on and cared not for food or sleep; and there was much slaughter, for every man was in great wrath. And when the darkness came on they fought at hazard, not knowing friend from foe. And the night became terrible beyond all telling; fathers slew their sons and sons their fathers, and they cut and hewed like men that were mad. Then Yudhishtira, seeing that the darkness was filling the plain with unutterable horror, ordered many lighted torches to be brought; and every man took a torch and fought with it in his hand, and ten torches were fastened to every chariot. And the whole plain of Kurukshetra was as light as day; and the golden cuirasses of the Rajas were as radiant as the sun; and the jewels on their arms and hands sparkled in the glare, and the swords and spears flashed like lightning. And they threw large stones at each other, and hurled chariot-wheels; and when a man threw his enemy down he cut off his head, and carried it in his hand; and their mouths were stained with blood as they thirsted for the blood of each other, and the plain was filled with dead corpses.” (p. 315.)

In the next extract we see the Pandavas exacting a terrible vengeance for the insults they had endured.

“All this while Bhima had engaged in a deadly conflict with Karna and Duryadhana; when Duryadhana's brother, Duhsasana, came up to their aid, and shooting an arrow from one side, he slew Bhima's charioteer. Now Duhsasana was that wicked Kaurava who had dragged Draupadi into the

“ gambling pavilion, and treated her like a slave girl; and Bhima had sworn a great oath that the day should come when he would drink the blood of Duhsasana. And when Bhima saw Duhsasana he was filled with wrath; and he aimed such a stroke at Duhsasana with his mace, that he drove him, chariot and all, to the distance of a bow-shot; and Duhsasana fell with such force to the ground that he broke all his bones, whilst his chariot was dashed to pieces. Duhsasana trembled for a moment, and began to give up the ghost, when Bhima running up to him lifted him from the ground and whirled him round his head, and shouted with a loud voice:—‘ O Kauravas! Behold Duhsasana has come to the aid of Karna, and see how I have smitten him: whoever of you has sufficient strength and courage, let him come and release Duhsasana from my hands!’ No one, however, dared to approach, and Bhima continued thus:—‘ This day I fulfil my vow against the man who insulted Draupadi!’ Then setting his foot on the breast of Duhsasana, he drew his sword, and cut off the head of his enemy; and holding his two hands to catch the blood, he drank it off, crying out:—‘ Ho! ho! never did I taste anything in this world so sweet as this blood.’ At this sight the Kauravas began to weep very bitterly, whilst the Pandavas rejoiced, and the Kauravas threw away their arms and fled; saying:—‘ This is not a man, for if he were, he would not drink human blood!’” (p. 327.)

The great war terminated on the eighteenth day in the utter rout and destruction of the Kauravas, only three of whom were left alive on the field. The account of the return of the Pandavas to Hastinapur, and of the grief and recrimination of the blind old king for the extermination of his sons and kinsmen, is affecting in the highest degree. A reconciliation was however effected; and the Pandavas resumed the kingdom which had belonged to their father. It was indeed but a hollow truce; the guilt of blood could not be forgiven; and Dhritarashtra leaves the hateful society of his nephews, and retires to the jungle to die. Before his death however Vyasa the sage re-appears, and promises the widows and kinsmen of those that were slain in the war, that they shall once more see the faces of those they love. The description of this event is one of the grandest passages in the whole poem; and we give it entire.

“ After this, whilst all were talking together of the husbands and the sons and the kinsfolk whom they had lost in the great war of Mahá Bhárata, the sage Vyasa appeared amongst them, and said:—‘ I will this day heal all your griefs: Go you all to the river Ganges, and bathe therein, and there each one

“ of you shall behold the kinsmen for whom you have been  
“ sorrowing.’ So they all went down to the river, and chose a  
“ bathing-place for themselves and families ; and Vyasa said to  
“ them :—‘ You shall see this night all whom you desire.’ And  
“ the day passed away so slowly that it seemed like a whole year  
“ to them, but at last the sun went down, and they all bathed in  
“ the river by command of Vyasa, and said their prayers, and  
“ went and stood near him ; and Raja Yudhishtira and his bre-  
“ thren were on the side of Vyasa, and Mahárája Dhritarashtra  
“ stood before them, and everybody else stood wherever places  
“ could be found. Vyasa then went into the water and prayed and  
“ bathed ; and he then came out and stood by Dhritarashtra and  
“ Yudhishtira, and called out the names of each of the persons  
“ who had been slain, one by one. At that moment the river  
“ began to foam and boil, and a great noise was heard rising out of  
“ the waters, as though all the slain men were once again alive,  
“ and as though they and their elephants and their horses were  
“ bursting into loud cries, and all the drums and trumpets and  
“ other instruments of music of both armies were striking up  
“ together. The whole assembly were astonished at this mighty  
“ tempest, and some were smitten with a terrible fear, when  
“ suddenly they saw Bhishma and Drona in full armour seated in  
“ their chariots, and ascending out of the waters, with all their  
“ armies arrayed as they were on the first day of the Mahá  
“ Bhárata. Next came forth Abhimanyu, the heroic son of  
“ Arjuna, and the five sons of Draupadi, and the son of Bhima  
“ with his army of Asuras. After them came Karna, and  
“ Duryodhana, and Sakuni, and Duhsasana, and the other sons  
“ of Dhritarashtra, all in full parade seated upon their chariots,  
“ together with many other warriors and Rajas who had been  
“ slain. All appeared in great glory and splendour, and more  
“ beautiful than when they were alive ; and all came with their  
“ own horses and chariots and banners and arms. And every  
“ one was in perfect friendship with each other, for enmity  
“ had departed from amongst them ; and each one was pre-  
“ ceded by his bards and eulogists who sang his praises ; and  
“ very many singing men and dancing girls appeared with  
“ them, singing and dancing. Now, when these warriors  
“ had come out of the river, their widows and orphans and  
“ kinsfolk were overjoyed, and not a trace of grief remained  
“ amongst them ; and widows went to their husbands, and  
“ daughters to their fathers, and mothers to their sons, and  
“ sisters to their brothers, and all the fifteen years of sorrow  
“ which had passed since the war of the Mahá Bhárata were for-  
“ gotten in the ecstasy of seeing each other again. Thus the

" night passed away in the fulness of joy ; but when the morning  
 " had dawned, all the dead mounted their chariots and horses,  
 " and disappeared ; and those who had gathered together to be-  
 " hold them prepared to depart. And Vyasa the sage said that  
 " the widows who wished to rejoin their dead husbands might  
 " do so : and all the widows went and bathed in the Ganges,  
 " and came out of the water again, and kissed, one by one, the  
 " feet of Dhritarashtra and Gandhari ; and then went and drowned  
 " themselves in the river ; and through the prayers of Vyasa  
 " they all went to the places they wished, and obtained their  
 " several desires." (pp. 439—441.)

The interest of the poem now rapidly culminates ; and the closing scene portrays the resignation of the kingdom by Yudhishtira, and the retirement of the Pandavas to the Himalaya Mountains.

" After this, Arjuna returned towards Hastinapur, and on his  
 " way he met with Vyasa the sage ; and Vyasa told him that  
 " his prosperity was now at an end, and that his strength had  
 " gone from him, and that he would no more be able to string  
 " his bow ; and that his worldly reign was over, and he must now  
 " think only of the salvation of his soul. When Arjuna reached  
 " Hastinapur he told Raja Yudhishtira and his brethren all that  
 " had occurred, and of the advice which had been given to him  
 " by Vyasa ; and they were much grieved at the tidings brought  
 " by Arjuna, and determined one and all to follow the counsel  
 " which had been given by the sage. . . . .

" Yudhishtira then took off his earrings and necklace, and  
 " all the jewels from his fingers and arms, and all his royal  
 " raiment ; and he and his brethren, and their wife Draupadi,  
 " clothed themselves after the manner of devotees in vestments  
 " made of the bark of trees. And the five brethren threw the  
 " fire of their domestic sacrifices and cookery into the Ganges,  
 " and went forth from the city following each other. First  
 " walked Yudhishtira, then Bhima, then Arjuna, then Nakula,  
 " then Sahadeva, then Draupadi, and then a dog. And they  
 " went though the country of Banga towards the rising of the  
 " sun and after passing through many lands they reached the  
 " Himalaya Mountains, and there they died one after the other,  
 " and were transported to the heaven of Indra." (pp. 453-454.)

We have been unable for want of space to give any account of Mr. Wheeler's examination of the celebrated Horse-sacrifice of the Raja Yudhishtira, or of his able and original treatment of the life and worship of Krishna, the relations of Buddhism to Brahmanism, the *Sati* rite, and many other equally interesting topics. But we have been able, we hope, to show the

readers of this *Review*, that Mr. Wheeler's work is a most valuable contribution to Indian history. Until his book appeared, the character of those legends which are "the Bible, the Newspaper, and the Library" to the inhabitants of India, was utterly unknown to all but a few professed scholars. Now he who runs may read them, with no less profit than pleasure. Mr. Wheeler has succeeded in investing the early history of India with all the charm of a novel. The orthodox Brahman will no doubt, be chagrined at finding the mighty hero Bhārata displayed as a petty chieftain over an insignificant tract of territory. He may be enraged at the proposition that his order have not been free from the infirmities of human nature, and have garbled, to their own aggrandisement, records of which they have had the sole custody for many generations. But we believe and hope that to Europeans and Hindus alike this book will be acceptable, as a fearless attempt to clear away, by a masterly criticism, the clouds which have hitherto obscured early Indian history.

## ANCIENT ASSAM.

ART. X.—1. *The Maha Bharata.*

2. *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

**A**LL ancient history shades off into the mists of the legendary ; and the history of Assam is no exception. But even myths have their value. They hold scattered rays of light which, when focused, help us to discern some of the realities of the olden times. Indeed, whenever we find a mythus forming an integral part of the ancient memorials of a people, we may safely conclude that there is in it a substratum of historic truth.

The history of ancient Assam, the outlines of which we are about to attempt, belongs to the general history and chronology of India, and in this is its chief value. Points of special interest may here and there reward us for the trouble of wading through prolix local histories and sifting marvellous legends ; but we shall be content if we succeed in producing a readable narrative of times and events that are already all but swallowed up in fable.

We must go back to a period beyond the boundary-line of legitimate history for the earliest mention of Assam ; for, there can be no doubt that properly organized states existed in this region long before the struggle between Brahminists and Buddhists celebrated in the Maha Bharata, and that in those remote times Assam had a powerful voice in the affairs of the Indian continent. In the upper portion of the valley, in the section known in ancient annals as the Bidhorbo country, there were, at the time referred to, two princes whose names have been saved from oblivion by their association with the history of Krishna. These were Bishmukh, the king of Knndilpore, and Sisupal, of the city of Chundari or Chunpura. The remains of two forts said to have been built by them are still to be seen embedded in the forests to the north and west of Sadiya. The fort attributed to Raja Sisupal stands on an elevated plain on

the banks of the Di-phon-pani, not far from the point at which this river debouches from the Mishmi Hills. "The extent of it," observes Captain Rowlatt in his "Report of an Expedition into the Mishmi Hills," "is considerable, as it took me about four hours to walk along one side of its faces. The defence is double, consisting of a rampart of stiff red clay which, as the surrounding soil appears of a different nature, must have been brought from some distance. Below this rampart is a terrace of about twenty yards in breadth, beyond which the side of the hill is perpendicularly scarped and varies from ten to thirty feet high; the principal entrance and the defences for some distance on either side, are built of bricks, and on many spots in the interior I observed remains of the same materials. The fort seems to be composed of three sides, the steepness of the hill at its north face precluding the necessity of any other works."

Raja Bishmukh's fort stands about sixteen miles to the north-west of Sadiya, and occupies the high table-land at the foot of the hills between the rivers Di-khrang and Di-bong. It was visited in the year 1848 by Colonel S. F. Hannay, who thus describes it:—"We proceeded for some distance along the edge of the steep bounding the table-land on our left, in the hopes of finding a road or path which might lead to a gateway; and perceiving in our course one or two paths well-worn by wild animals in their progress to water, we passed down one of these, and were fortunate enough, after turning and winding through the hollow ground formed by the steep we had just left and an opposite spur of the elevated land, to discover that a high rampart of earth crossed the opening towards the plain. Crowning this, we found ourselves amongst bricks scattered about, with a low wall running along the top of the outer edge, which on nearer inspection proved to be an upper parapet overtopping the rampart, the lower portion showing a solid facing of hewn sandstone blocks of more or less height according to the nature of the ground. This rampart ran in a direction about north-west, and in the distance of a quarter of a mile which we inspected, the brick wall continued on the left, sometimes to the height of five feet, loop-holed in several places apparently for arrows and spears, but more frequently in a very dilapidated state from huge trees having taken root in the rampart, and wild animals passing over it. At the distance of a quarter of a mile, a spur of the table-land touched upon the rampart and a brick wall crossed it, ascending the spur apparently to the level land above. Here also must have been a gateway or passage of some kind through the cross-wall, but

“ all had disappeared in the heaps of bricks lying about. The wall and rampart, however, still continued to the north-west; but having little local information about the place, and being limited in our researches to that day only, it was considered advisable to return. We therefore confined our further observations to that portion of the works we had passed.

“ The table-land to the east being naturally strong from the steepness and difficulty of ascent, required no artificial defences, and from the circumstance of the rampart and wall abutting upon the southernmost point of the table-land, it appeared to me evident that those works to their utmost extent westward—probably to the banks of the Di-bong about four miles distant,—were merely intended to enclose the table-land at the foot of the hills, and thus form a place of refuge in time of invasion. No buildings are said to be on this hill fortification; but the Mishmis (the hill tribe occupying the adjacent heights) who describe it as of great extent, speak also of a gateway by a hill-stream, where there are fragments of large earthen-ware vessels of various shapes, and the truth of this is confirmed by the numerous debris of earthen vessels found in the bed of the Di-khrang river, of a description totally different from the manufactures of the present day in Assam, being more (as regards quality of material and shape) like that of the earthen ware of Gangetic India.

“ Although bearing the appearance of great age, for in many places the wall has bulged and fallen down, it has evidently been well and substantially built; the sandstone blocks, varying from 10 to 8 inches thick, a foot broad, and 20 inches long, are rudely but evenly chiselled with the point, and they are closely and regularly laid. The bricks are first rate, varying in size from  $8 \times 5$  to  $6 \times 4$  inches, and from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, and the parapet wall formed of them about 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in thickness. The sandstone facing of the rampart may be somewhat less, but the whole masonry work is laid without cement or fastening of any kind; immediately over the sandstone are two rows of bricks, and over these, two others projecting so as to form a rude cornice, which gives it an appearance of neatness. The rows or layers of masonry (sandstone) alternate from 5 to 7 and 9 from the bottom of the wall outside, a difference which may be accounted for either from the natural steepness of the ground in some parts requiring less wall, or from the earth having accumulated against the wall from natural causes during a long period of time. Close to where the wall abuts against the table-land, there is a turn at right angles, given evidently to form a flank defence.”



Raja Bishmukh, according to an old legend, had a daughter Rukmoni, who is described as having the eyes of a deer, the voice of the *kokil* (the Indian cuckoo), the complexion of the *champa* flower, the gait of the elephant, and a face effulgent as the moon. Playing at hide-and-seek on one occasion, her companions refused to continue the game with her, complaining that wherever they might conceal themselves, the light of her countenance was sure to betray them ! The father of so beautiful a girl was naturally unwilling to affiancé her to any save the worthiest prince. His ministers were consulted, and the virtues and good qualities of many men of noble birth were discussed, until, yielding to the entreaties of his eldest son Rukom, Bishmukh consented to his daughter's marriage with Raja Sisupal. But Rukmoni had already made her choice. She had heard of the exploits of Krishna, and lived in hope that he would some day claim her hand. Her secret love was confided to her younger brother through whom Krishna became aware of her preference. In the meanwhile, preparations were in progress for the marriage with Sisupal who, when the nuptial day was near, entered Kundilpore in splendid procession, accompanied by his kinsman Jarasandho, prince of Mugudh, and their respective armies. Scarcely had the customary festivities begun when Krishna, followed by a regal retinue, also made his appearance at Bishmukh's capital. On the day appointed for the nuptial ceremony, Rukmoni, according to a preconcerted plan, went with an offering to a temple to the east of the city, and on her return was met and carried off by Krishna. Sisupal lost no time in pursuing the audacious adventurer, and a bloody battle ensued between the armies of the rival suitors. Sisupal was discomfited, and fled out of the country with his friend Jarasandho who had accompanied him in the pursuit. On hearing of the discomfiture of the man whose suit he had helped to advance, Rukom got together his father's army and hastened himself to give battle to Krishna. In the engagement which followed he was defeated and taken prisoner ; but though he was released soon after, owing to the entreaties of his sister, he felt too humiliated ever to return to Kundilpore.

Some time before the events just narrated, the lower section of the Assam valley, since known as Kamroop, was ruled by a race of princes known as Danobs, or Osurs. The words signify *demon*, *titan*, or *evil spirit*, and were epithets of reproach not uncommonly applied to men of the Buddhist faith by their Brahminical brethren. The first of these Buddhist princes of whom we have any record was Mohirong Danob. He is said

to have fixed his residence on mount Moiroka, five miles south-east of the modern town of Gowhatty. A deep cave on the summit of the mountain and a few carved stones still mark the spot where he held his court. He was succeeded in order by Hatoek-osur, Sombor-osur, Rotnasur, and Norok-osur. This last took up his residence at Gowhatty, or Pragoitishpore, *i. e.*, "the city of former renown,"—the same place, we may add, which Ptolemy speaks of as *Asono-marō*, "the destroyed throne." Norok-osur was slain in battle by Krishna who, elated with his victory over Jarasandho, marched his forces against the Assamese King because he was allied to the house of Mugudh, and professed the heretical faith of Buddhism. The Bhagavat Puran which gives an account of the invasion, relates that when Krishna, the champion of Brahminism, felled Norok with his quoit, the snake on which the world rests trembled, joy filled the three worlds, and the gods who had gathered to watch the conflict, shouted with applause, and rained down flowers from their chariots.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the kings of Mugudh were, at this time, Lords Paramount of India, their country being the centre of learning, civilization, and commerce. Among the noblest of these princes was Jarasandho who, as the champion of the Buddhists, waged long and sanguinary war with Krishna who represented the Brahminic party. Krishna had taken possession of Mathura after putting to death its king, who was son-in-law to Jarasandho. Jarasandho on this besieged the city, and after a protracted conflict forced Krishna to flee to the west coast of India, where he built the city of Dwarka. The power of the Mugudh prince interposed no common barrier between Krishna and that undisputed sovereignty over India which he coveted. He accordingly persuaded the Pandava princes to arm in his behalf, and, accompanied by Bhima and Arjuna, he set out on an expedition against Behar (Mugudh). Adopting a circuitous route, and passing under the hills of Goruckpore and Tirhoot, he came upon his enemy all unprepared to meet him. In one of the engagements that ensued, Jarasandho was slain by Bhima. But though Jarasandho was slain, Krishna failed of his ultimate design. The vacant throne was seized by an illegitimate descendant of the late king, and the Kaurava princes vigorously upheld his interests. The breach between the Pandava princes and the Kaurava was thus widened, and it eventually led to the great war of the Maha Bharata.

It was after the Mugudh campaign that Krishna, moved no doubt as much by the prospect of plunder as by any fanatical

spirit, marched against the capital of Norok-osur. Indeed, it may be regarded as more than probable that the Pragoitishpore of the Hindu annals and the Kusawati of the Pali and Thibetan records, were one and the same city. Turnour in his Introduction to the *Mahawanso* mentions Kusawati as one of the chief cities in India at this period, which were noted as the seats of government of the different branches of the Mngudh family. It received its name from the *Kusa* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) with which this part of the country abounds; and we are much mistaken if the modern *Gowhatty* is not simply a corruption of the olden name. The Assamese notoriously substitute a soft for a harsh sound, and the aspirate for a sibilant. Thus *g* would be substituted for *k*, and *h* for *s*. With these substitutes, *Kusawati* would become *Guhawati*, and with the further substitution of *h* for *w*, Gu-ha-hati. This last represents precisely the mode in which the word is universally pronounced by the people. So that if we accept the identity of Kusawati with Norok's capital, we have the political and commercial importance of Assam established at a period anterior to the great war of the Maha Bhafata.

As Krishna's object in marching against Norok was only the plunder of his capital and not its permanent possession, he soon returned to Dwarka laden with spoil. On his withdrawal, Bhogodott, Norok's son, succeeded to his father's throne; a prince, from all accounts, of considerable note in his day. It was during his reign that the fierce rivalry between the hostile sects of Budh and Brahma broke into a flame, and the contending parties met to decide the question of supremacy on the fatal field of Kuru-khettri. It was not likely that Bhogodott would keep aloof from such a contest, and we are not surprised to find him marching a large army into north-western India. His forces were engaged in support of Duryadhana, but he himself died in battle at the hands of Arjuna, brother of Yuddhishtira.

In several instances in which data have been obtainable, astronomical calculations have helped us to determine the epochs of Indian history. Thus, the situation of the equinoctial colure at the time of the astronomer Porasor who flourished under Yuddhishtira, has been fixed by Davis in 1391 B. C.; by Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, and Bentley, in 1180 B. C. This latter date is probably the correct one, as it closely accords with the epoch of the cycle of Porsuram in the Deccan, 1176, B. C.,—a fact in all probability unknown to these authors. This will enable us to determine approximately the period of Bhogodott's reign.

The original extent of Bhogodott's dominions we have no means of ascertaining, nor can we be sure of the general designation they received in his day. That he ruled a much larger territory than that subsequently included in Kamroop may be inferred from the traditions still current respecting him in Bengal, and the situation of the principalities held by the younger branches of the family after the dismemberment of the empire. Dr. Buchanan, in his official Topography of the district of Goruckpore in Behar, gives the following description of the ruins of a remarkable fortress ascribed to Bhogodott :

"Immediately opposite to Bhanguipore, on the other side of the Dewha, and in the district of Ghazee-pore, is a very old ruin called Khay-ra-gor, and evidently a fortress, which may contain thirty acres, although part has suffered from the river. This place was built by Bhogodott, king of Kamroop, when he came to the assistance of Duryadhana at the commencement of the iron age." Not far from this fort, observes Dr. B., "is a stone pillar, which is a mere cylinder, with a small flat cap, and totally destitute of elegance. There are no traces of buildings round it, and a considerable portion is probably sunk in the ground. It has contained a long inscription in an ancient character which the Pundits cannot entirely read, many of the letters being of obsolete forms. The inscription is, besides, very much defaced, partly by the action of time, and partly by some bigot having attempted to cut through the pillar just in the middle of the inscription. This *Lath* or pillar, it is alleged, was erected by Bhogodott."

Moreover, the Buddhist dynasty of Bengal, commonly known as the Pal dynasty, and of whom Bhupal was the first, are mentioned in the *Ayin Akberri*, as the descendants of Bhogodott. And a Buddhist inscription found near Benares, a copy of which will be found in Vol. V. of the *Asiatic Society's Researches*, states that Sthiro-pal and his brother Vesanto-pal, the sons of Bhupal, king of Gour, and descendants of Bhogodott, erected a most sumptuous monument near Benares, at a place called Sarnath. The inscription bears date, 1083 of the era of Vikramaditya, corresponding with A. D. 1027. But whatever inference we may be disposed to draw from these memorials, of the probable westward limit of Bhogodott's dominions, we may safely assume that, as on the one hand they embraced the upper portion of the Assam valley which was parcelled out among Buddhist princes of the Kshetriya tribe who were probably allied to their chief by family ties, so on the other, they included all Eastern Bengal. Of Bhogodott's descendants we have no record beyond an imperfect list of names, on which little dependence

can be placed. In some manuscripts the list is more extensive than in others, but to the earlier princes of the family are assigned reigns each of which covers the extravagant period of 105 years. The manuscripts which may be most depended on have a break after the reign of the fifth prince from Bhogodott, extending, if we adopt the extravagant chronology of the records, over 525 years from 651 B. C., the date assigned to that prince's reign. During this period, the country is said to have been governed by Barro Bhinya, or twelve lords, a phrase used to indicate the joint government of several chiefs. We have no means of determining the actual period covered by this interregnum; but the regal power ultimately passed into the hands of a prince of the ancient line, and the list closes with Subahu who, it is said, was defeated by Vikramaditya and constrained to seek refuge in the mountains of Thibet.

The Vikramaditya just mentioned, is assumed to be the famous prince of Onjein who 'after expelling the Mlechas and destroying the Sacas (Budhists,) established his power and influence throughout India.' In the list of countries conquered by him are *Bongo* or Bengal, *Kooch-Behar*, which is the western portion of the old kingdom of Kamroop, and *Utter-hol*, a term applied to the part of Assam lying on the north bank of the Berhampooter, and east of the territories belonging to the old kingdom of Kamroop. It would be vain to attempt to reconcile the discrepancies that occur in the reign of this prince. He is said to have given his name to a distinct era beginning in the year 56 B. C., which, in the absence of any reliable data, we may assume as the period of the overthrow of Bhogodott's dynasty in Assam. As the enemy of the Sacas, however, Vikramaditya is contemporaneous with Salivahana (A. D. 78) with whom, indeed, notwithstanding a difference in date of 134 years, all the Hindu accounts represent him to have been engaged in hostilities.

It is worthy of remark that Thibetan authorities trace the descent of their first king, Nya-khri-tsan-po, from one of the Kshetriya princes of Vesali who, being expelled from his own dominions, found refuge in Thibet. We think it could be proved that Vesali is Assam; in the meanwhile, assuming the identity of the two countries, it is noteworthy that the historians of Thibet are corroborated by an Assamese tradition. Vikramaditya had declared a war of extermination against all the Sacas or Budhists, and in pursuance of his fanatical purpose had advanced at the head of a large army into Assam :

'This son of might, with hideous slaughter drave  
'The Buddhist chiefs, the Bravest of the Brave.'

When no longer able to cope with his adversary, the king of Assam with a large number of followers sought refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Thibet; whilst those of his subjects who refused to escape were either put to death, or they purchased their lives at the cost of their creed. It was this circumstance that suggested the application of the term *Kulita* to a large section of the population of the valley,—a term still to be met with in Assam, but unknown among the Hindus of other parts of India. It signifies the *caste* (*kul*) that has become *extinct* (*ita*). Tradition goes on to state that there is a tract of country extending along the plain beyond the frontier mountains to the north-west of Sadiya and watered by the Di-hang, which is to this day possessed by a powerful nation called Kulitas, who are described as having attained a high degree of civilization, and as holding a dominion and resources superior to those of Assam in its most prosperous days. At one time intercourse seems to have been kept up between the two states, but this has long since ceased. We are informed, however, that about nine generations ago, another colony of Assamese under two sons of a Bura Gohain (prime minister of the Ahom king) took refuge in the country of the Kulitas, and for many years after their removal continued to hold intercourse with the parent state. The eastern part of their country is said to adjoin that of the Lamas, and, if we may believe the Mishmi tribes on their border, the Lamas and Kulitas are always fighting with one another.

After the overthrow of the Buddhist dynasty in Assam, the government of the country once more fell into the hands of certain chieftains some of whom claimed lineal descent from Bhogodott, but regarding whom our records give little information. Indeed, for four centuries after the invasion of Vikramaditya, the history of the country is a blank. But during this interval, civil feuds which had been rife in Thibet, having probably been transmitted from Tartary, rolled down a tide of emigration into the valley of Assam which all but swept before it the original occupants enfeebled by contending factions. The Boros soon established themselves in the eastern extremity of the valley, the western section being broken up into petty principalities. The modern name *Assam* is only a corruption of the word *Hachom*, which was the name they gave to their new territory; *ha* signifying land, and *chom*, low,—the low land, or valley. So also the word *doi*, or when contracted, *di*, is the Boro synonym for water, and is used to signify a river; as, Di-hang. The Boros appear never to have been acquainted with the art of writing, so that we have very little authentic information

respecting this period of Assamese history. Tradition states that under their rule, the country was thickly populated and reached a high state of cultivation. It was divided, for the purposes of Governmental administration, into numerous districts, and the executive consisted of a body politic selected from the most wealthy and respected men residing in each division. The king exercised but a nominal control over these deliberative assemblies. His residence was at Gar-gaong, more properly Gra-gaong; from the Boro word *gra*, which means *head*, or *chief*. This town was situated in the modern district of Sibsagor, which was in those days included in the division still known as Serica. We think it could be shown that the Serica of Ptolemy is identical with Upper Assam; but we must leave this question for future discussion, and for the present go on with our narrative.

Whilst the Boros held dominion in the upper portion of the valley, Kamroop, or the western country, was broken up into several principalities. These seem, for the most part, to have been independent of one another, the one thing common to both rulers and ruled being the Buddhism for which their fathers had suffered and died. As a consequence of the great religious war between the Brahminical and Buddhistic parties, vast bodies of Buddhists forsook their homes to escape from their oppressors, and carrying with them their peculiar tenets helped to disseminate them far and wide. Many immigrated into the remote province of Cashmere and gradually leavened its people with Buddhist sentiment. The first prince of Cashmere whom we read of as having adopted the Buddhist faith was Megh-bahon, whose reign is said to have extended from 23 to 57 A. D. Shortly before ascending the throne, he presented himself as a suitor for the hand of the beautiful princess of Pragjoitishpore (Gowhatty) in Assam, whom, in due course, he married. This alliance greatly strengthened the Buddhist party in Cashmere, and their numbers rapidly increased. The prince being of a warlike disposition, was frequently engaged in military expeditions, and he is said to have crossed over to Ceylon whose king voluntarily submitted to the invader. The latter was, however, re-instated in the sovereignty of the island on condition that he would inhibit the expenditure of animal life. In other words, Megh-bahon, if the story of this expedition is to be believed, was the means of introducing Buddhism into Ceylon. "Whatever credit," observes Professor Wilson, "it may be thought that these "Cashmerian tales of a conquest of Ceylon by one of their kings "deserve, they are curiously enough connected with the Singalese "traditions of foreign invasion and consequent introduction of "the Buddhist faith."

Sometime after this alliance between the sovereign of Cashmere and a descendant of the Buddhist kings of Assam, Kamroop, according to the Jogini Tontro, was subjugated by one Debeshwor (Devasa), a king of Mithila, or Tirhoot. He was reported to have been a Sudra, and flourished about the beginning of the era of Saca (Salivahana),—an era which dates from 78 A. D. The name of this prince occurs in certain annals preserved in Rungpore and referred to by Dr. Buchanan in his official statistics of that district. It also occurs on some copper coins having on the obverse, a bull and two tiers of mountains surmounted with a double cross, just as in Indo-Bactrian coins which, however, show an additional tier. On the top there is written in ancient Pali, the word *Dhana Devāsa*. On the reverse, there is the figure of a warrior standing in the centre. The Tontro has a prophecy that during the reign of this prince the worship of Kameswori or Kamikhya, hitherto confined to the learned, would be introduced among the vulgar; thus, probably, intimating the introduction of Hinduism into the western extremity of the valley. From the same source we learn that some time after this event, a Brahmin born of the Korotoya river and named Nagasonkor, would be king, and extend the doctrines of Hinduism. After him again, but at what interval is not mentioned, there would be a Raja named Jolpeswor, who would build the celebrated temple of Jolpis. This temple which has been rebuilt by several successive princes, is situated at the north-east extremity of the modern zillah of Rungpore in Bengal, and in the division of Fakirgunj which, it will be borne in mind, formed part of the old kingdom of Kamroop. The temple is still a place of some repute among the Buddhists of Bhootan who bring their offerings to this shrine. The natural inference is that it was originally a Buddhist fane. Dr. Buchanan observed some very considerable ruins which, he says, "are ascribed to one Prithu Raja who may have been a person of the same family with the prince who built the original temple. This Prithu Raja, from the size of his capital, and the numerous works raised in the vicinity by various dependents and connections of the Court, it is supposed, must have governed a large extent of country and for a considerable period of time."

From these statements we deduce the fact that after the disruption of Bhogodott's empire, the Western and Lower parts of Kamroop were exposed to successive inroads from Bengal; and though one dynasty followed close upon the heels of another, the rulers were all alike influenced by the spirit of proselytism which helped to give ascendancy to the Brahminical priesthood.



In the ancient capital, however, and the immediate dependencies, the people seem still to have held tenaciously to the old faith.

Sometime between the years 57 and 87 A.D., Porovor Sen, known also as Shreshto Sen, the son of Meghbahon and ruler of Cashmere, hearing of the political difficulties in which Chin or Eastern Kamroop, his mother's native country, had been plunged, brought it under his own authority, making it a dependency of his empire. This event synchronizes with the period assigned in the Jogini Tontro, to the conquest of Lower Kamroop by Debeshwor, the king of Mithila; so that it is not unlikely that the Cashmerian was enabled to save from the ruthless hands of Brahminic fanatics, the spots sacred to the founders of the religion he had adopted. But domestic discord prevented Shreshto Sen from profiting by his new but remote possession, and he was ultimately obliged to relinquish it to its own independent princes.

When the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Tshang, was travelling through India, between the years 629 and 642 A. D., this part of Assam was still governed by a Buddhist prince. "Hiouen Tshang," as we are told in the history of his life and voyages, "had composed a work in which the doctrines of the Mahájána Sútros were declared to be the only true ones, and in which was exposed the fallacy of those of the Hinájána Sútros. This work of the foreign Buddhist was communicated by a Brahmin to Kumar, the king of Kamroop, or Lower Assam, who was so pleased with it that he invited Hiouen Tshang to visit him. He accepted the invitation of the king; but Siláditya, the more powerful monarch of Mugudh, coming to hear of it, Kumar was threatened with his displeasure if he did not send back the celebrated stranger. Kumar at once resolved in company with Hiouen Tshang to pay his homage to the king of Mugudh. Siláditya received the foreign teacher with great honours, and being convinced of the excellence of his work, resolved to convocate at Kanouj a great assembly of priests learned in the sacred writings, from the several kingdoms of India, in order to discuss the true doctrine with the Chinese teacher. As during eighteen days in which this convocation lasted, no one was found to oppose the foreigner, the assembly was dissolved. On Hiouen Tshang was then conferred the honorable title of Moxadeva, or *god of deliverance*, and he was overwhelmed by Siláditya and Kumar with other marks of distinction."

For nearly a century from this time, the history of Assam is a perfect blank, and we have nothing on which could be based even a conjecture as to the probable condition of the coun-

try during this interval. The next event of importance was the invasion of the country by Lalitaditya, the king of Cashmere, whose reign extended from 714 to 750 A. D. He seems to have been bent on acquiring the sovereignty of all India, for, after having made the circuit of Hindoostan and received the homage of its numerous princes, he directed his steps to Assam. His march is represented as a series of conflicts and triumphs. 'The pale-faced Bu'thias scarcely attracted his regard, as the cold wind, impregnated with the blossoms of the safflower and the secretion of the musk-deer, fanned the tresses of his soldiers.' The city of Pragjoitishpore was empty on his arrival, and he turned thence to the country of Jaintia, called the *Stri-Rajya*, because it was governed by a Queen. The Queen and her subjects, it is said, triumphed over the monarch and his soldiers by other weapons than those of war. After a short detention here, he advanced to Uttor-kul, that section of Central and Upper Assam which lies on the north bank of the Berhampooter; and at last, being laden with plunder, he returned to his own dominions. Wherever his arms succeeded, his policy was to make amends for the evils of war by instructing the subjugated people in the arts of civilized life, and by erecting statues and temples in honour of the gods. Accordingly, in Jaintia he erected a large image of Nrihori, and built one or two temples. Whether the temples at Purapur, the modern Tezpore, owed their origin to him, we have not the means of deciding. It is worthy of note that the Assamese annals nowhere mention the name of this prince. He is referred to merely as a *Kshetriya-jitari*, a conqueror of the *Kshetriya* caste, who came from Cashmere and made himself master of Uttor kul. When Lalitaditya left the country, one of his sons, named in the Assamese chronicles Subalik, was entrusted with the reins of Government, and the new dynasty thus established ultimately extended their sway over Eastern Kamboop.

Returning to Assam after some years, Lalitaditya resolved to explore the uttermost limits of Uttor-kul, and penetrate into the country inhabited by the followers of Kubir, a region believed to be 'equally inaccessible to the steps of man and the rays of the sun.' This was the country of the *Chutias*, a mountainous tract that bounds the district of Lukhimpore on the north. In prosecuting his enterprise, Lalitaditya first crossed the mountains inhabited by the Damars. These were, in all probability the *Damnæ* of Ptolemy, and the same as the *Dimals* or *Damals* of the present day, a race sprung from the same stock as the *Chutias*. The king describes them in a letter to

his ministers as 'a fierce intractable race, lurking in caves and fortified places, possessed, of considerable wealth, and equally devoid of government and religion.' In the same dispatch he mentions it as not unlikely that he would never return; for, he adds, 'there are no limits to the advance of the ambitious, as there is no return of the water which the rivers running into foreign countries bear far away from its native springs.' He accordingly directed his ministers to crown his son Cuvalayaditya as his successor, and with this order they mournfully complied. The king's anticipations were realized: neither he nor his army returned, and their fate was never exactly known. Some reports say he was slain in battle; others that he and his hosts perished in the chasms and snows of the Himalayas.

Native historians are by no means agreed as to the names and number of the princes of the new dynasty that reigned in Uttor-kul; some giving four, and others as many as eight reigns in the interval between the accession of Subalik, called also Sotanik, and that of Protapira who is likewise known as Ram Chundra. For some cause which we are unable to discover, the seat of government was in the interim removed from Pura-pur (Tezporé) to Konyokagram in Gomiri, east of Bishnath. To Protapira, however, are ascribed the extensive forts, field-works, banks and bund roads in Gomiri, and also a stone fort situated on the side of a hill at the foot of which flows the Burhoi river, about twelve miles north-west of the village of Gomiri. Captain Dalton has furnished the following account of the antiquities to be met with here. He says:

"The mud forts are of considerable size, with lofty ramparts and deep ditches, and having tanks of good water within the defences. That nearest the village of Gomiri has, raised above its ramparts, high mounds of earth which may have been constructed over the graves of deceased kings and used also as watch towers. The broad roads are well thrown up, and as they lead from the Berhampooter to the gorge of the Burhoi, they show that the settlement in the low hills on the banks of that river, of which a high stone wall is all that remains, must have been of considerable importance. The massiveness of the wall, and the labour and trouble that seem to have been bestowed upon it point to it as having been the appendage of no mean work. It is about a hundred yards in length, of great breadth, and built of solid blocks of stone squared and piled with great nicety. A gateway in the centre opens towards the river. In some places, the interior is faced with brick, and seems as if buildings of that

“ material had been built against it. The hill has been levelled  
“ to some extent, but no further traces of buildings are now  
“ discernible.

“ About a mile higher up, there is a cave on the left bank  
“ of the river, which is said to have been constructed by the  
“ king for devotional purposes. The river having forced its way  
“ into this cave, has carried away a considerable portion of it,  
“ and its appearance is doubtless very much altered from what  
“ it was; but in its present condition, there is no reason for  
“ supposing it to be a work of art.

“ Above this again, at a considerable elevation on the side of  
“ the mountain, there is a natural niche in the bare rock, and  
“ above it a mass which from the river appears to the naked eye  
“ to be a group of figures with as much resemblance to humanity  
“ as idols generally possess. The only people now frequenting  
“ this region—the gold-washers—believe them to be gods, and  
“ worship them as such; and being in view of the cave, if the  
“ latter ever was used as a place of worship, it may have been  
“ for the adoration of these gigantic figures. A telescope  
“ dissolves the illusion of their bearing any resemblance to gods  
“ or mortals, and of course a closer inspection would do the same.  
“ But no one has ever ventured to approach the phenomenon,  
“ and if they did, they would consider the reality as the illusion,  
“ and report with some truth that the mysterious figure blended  
“ into the mass of rock as they approached, and consequently  
“ that a closer inspection of their awful forms than that obtained  
“ from the view at the cave, was not given to mortal eyes.”

Protapira, according to native legends, had a wife distinguished for her beauty, named Chundro-Probha,—the effulgence of the moon. She was also known as Radha, which name, we are informed by Captain Dalton, “ is handed down  
“ to us attached to a large tank near the Di-khrang in Moujah  
“ Naryonpur (Zillah Lukhimpore). On the banks of this tank  
“ are collected materials for the construction of a stone edifice,  
“ and these may still be seen there,—nothing further having been  
“ done. The work was perhaps arrested in consequence of the  
“ catastrophe that occurred to its beautiful founder.” The legends  
of the period go on to say that, living near the Berhampooter,  
the queen was in the habit of bathing in the sacred stream,  
until one day, the son of Brahma (Brahmaputra) having become enamoured of her beauty, acquainted Protapira with his passion in a dream, and demanded her of him on pain of his severe displeasure. But the king was resolved not to give her up, and removing his Court into the hills, he required his queen, for the future, to make her ablutions in the Burhoi.

Not understanding the reason for this injunction, she took an early opportunity to disregard it. One day, when her husband was out of the way, she went to the Berhampooter, but the moment she stepped into the river she was swept away by the current. After fifteen days she emerged at Bishnath, and taking up her residence there is said, in course of time, to have given birth to a son who was called Arimuri, or Arimot, from the circumstance of his head resembling the Ari fish. This Arimuri became, in due time, the leader of armies, and not only conquered all Western Kamroop, but overran a part of Bengal, and finally proceeded to attack Protapira's fort at Gomiri. His mother had not confided to him the secret of his birth or the fact of her husband's existence, but had merely prohibited him from advancing his arms in an easterly direction, not wishing him to come into collision with Protapira. But he disregarded her injunctions, and meeting Protapira on the field of battle, transfixing him with a javelin as he was attempting to cross a stream. This stream goes, to this day, by the name of Bollom-nodi. the river of the javelin.

Whilst Arimuri was thus making himself master of Kamroop and the northern section of Central Assam, Joypira the king of Cashmere (A. D. 772-808), following the example of his predecessors, advanced into the country. His first exploit was the reduction of a strong fort belonging to Bhim Sen, king of the Eastern region, and he thence proceeded against Arimuri who is mentioned as 'the magician king of Nepal.' There is no such name, however, in the list of the Nepal kings, and it is not unlikely that Arimuri was an adventurer from that country, who had usurped the throne of Protapira. The Cashmerian prince advancing into the country, found Arimuri posted with his forces on the bank of a river. Excited with the hope of a speedy triumph, he plunged into the stream, but found when it was too late, that he could not stem the current. Many of his soldiers followed him into the water and were drowned, and he, powerless to defend himself, was captured by a party of Arimuri's men who launched out into the torrent on inflated skins. He was confined in a strong castle on the banks of the 'Gondhica,' the same river, in all probability, as the Gunduck which, at that time, formed the Western boundary of Kamroop; whilst the remnant of his army returned in dismay to Cashmere. The tidings of this discomfiture and of the captivity of the king spread consternation throughout Cashmere. The ministers immediately met for deliberation, when one Deva Surma undertook to effect the liberation of the monarch. Proceeding with a considerable

force into Assam and encamping his men on the banks of the river opposite to where the fort stood which held his master captive, he himself repaired to the Court of Arimuri. At a private conference with the king, he intimated his readiness to give up to him the treasures of Joypira, which he represented to be with the invading army; but he at the same time intimated that as the amount and distribution of the money were known to the prince only, it would be necessary for him, the minister, to have an interview with Joypira and on some pretence or other elicit from him the required information. The artifice succeeded, and Deva Surma was admitted into his master's presence. In the interview that followed, the minister urged Joypira to let himself down from the window of his prison and swim across the river to his troops, but the latter declined to make an attempt that must fail on account of the impetuosity of the torrent below. After some further discussion, the minister withdrew to an adjoining chamber, promising soon to return; but as a considerable interval elapsed and he did not re-appear, the king went to seek him. He found him lying dead on the floor, strangled by means of his own turban. Beside him lay a leaf on which he had scratched some words with his finger-nail. In these words the devoted minister instructed Joypira to inflate the dead body and using it as a float to escape with all expedition to the opposite shore. Penetrated with admiration, at this proof of attachment, Joypira hastened to obey his friend's counsel, and reached his troops in safety. Eager to wipe off his disgrace, he made a sudden attack upon Arimuri, slew him, and left his country a depopulated waste.

Arimuri had been assisted in his government by twelve chieftains known in the Assamese annals as the Baro Bhuiyas, who appear to have acted as leaders of his armies, councillors of state, and heads of the different divisions of the kingdom. Omirodh was the ancestor of the present high priest of the Muttucks, and according to his account, the twelve Bhuiyas immigrated into Assam from Nepaul. This harmonizes with the tradition that Arimuri himself was from that country; and the idea of a council of twelve may have been suggested by the Banadar, or grand council of state of Nepaul, which consists of twelve members. On the death of Arimuri, the government continued to be administered by the Bhuiyas; each Bhuiya ruling over his own distinctive portion of territory, but uniting with the rest whenever occasion required, for the determination of questions of general interest. We learn of no dissensions among them, a fact all the more remark-

able when we remember the dense population of the country they ruled. They maintained their independence till A. D. 1680, when their territories were wrested from them by the *Ahoms* who thenceforward became masters of Upper Assam.

Not long after Joypira had withdrawn his forces from the country, his father-in-law, Joyontopal, subjugated Kamroop and there founded a new dynasty. He was a great patron of Brahmins, and is said to have introduced not only many Brahmin families but Hindoos of other castes into his newly acquired dominions. It is from this period, that is, about the commencement of the ninth century, that we may safely date the introduction of Hinduism into Assam. The worshippers of Budh, however, do not seem to have been molested, nor were their temples destroyed. Indeed, it is a noteworthy fact that no Hindoo temples were erected in Assam during the reign of the Pal dynasty. Joyontopal, the founder, was connected with the sovereigns of Gour, and may, from this circumstance, have claimed descent from Bhogodott and the early Buddhist princes of the country. A 'Tamro-pottro' or copper plate conveying a grant of land made by one of the princes of this dynasty, which has been recently discovered, may throw some light on this period of our history. It accidentally came to light in the year 1840, after having lain buried for ages in the ground near the station of Tezporé. It consists of three plates of copper fastened together by means of a ring of the same metal, to which is appended the royal seal. The character of the inscription is an antiquated form of the Nagri alphabet, now no longer used. The document conveyed to a Brahmin named Indoka, a grant of the village of *Abhissuravatok* and the fertile lands attached thereto, situated on the west of the Boshisto Gunga. This river which is said to possess all the sin-cleansing virtue of the great Ganges, runs along the western side of the modern town of Gowhatty. The engraving on the seal attached to these copper plates represents the head of an elephant, an emblem found to have been invariably adopted by kings of the Buddhist faith, but curiously enough, retained by the kings of the Pal dynasty even after the change of their religion. Below this device is the name of the sovereign Bonmala (Vanamala) and the date, 19 of an undicated era. The inscription on the plate informs us that Pralombho (surnamed Joyontopal) was a lineal descendant of Bhogodott, the son of Norok and lord of Pragjoityshporé, and that he was succeeded by his son Hojora, the father of Bonmala. The era was in all probability the one adopted as their own by these Hindoo conquerors; so that we may assume the grant

of land to have been made by Bonmala in the 19th year of the dynasty of which he was the third king.

A similar *pottro* consisting, however, of only two plates, each measuring twelve inches in length by eight and a half in breadth, is now in the possession of the Basottaria (72 families) Brahmins settled at Shual-Kuchi in Kamroop. The seal which in all respects resembles Bonmala's, is made of brass and may weigh about 6lbs. It bears the name of Dhormmopal, and the date is 36, probably of the same era as the afore-mentioned *pottro*. The first plate, the one on which may have been recorded the genealogy of the prince, has unfortunately been lost, and the two that remain are of little historical value.

Of the sixteen princes that made up the dynasty of the Pals little or nothing is known beyond their names. Their sovereignty extended over three hundred and seventy-five years, or down to about A. D. 1175. The origin of the dynasty that succeeded the Pals in the government of Kamroop is given by native chroniclers with the customary admixture of extravagant fiction. The founder is said to have been a cowherd who suddenly awoke one day to the discovery that he was destined for kingly rank. This cowherd prince belonged to the Khyen tribe, a tribe without the pale of Hinduism. But however much the Brahmins affected contempt for impure tribes, they never failed to hold out the hand of fellowship to those members of them who became powerful and had favours to confer. Accordingly, this prince and the whole of his tribe were elevated to the dignity of pure Hindoos; and having assumed a Hindoo title he was thenceforward known as Niladhoj. He placed himself under the tuition of the sacred order, and a Brahmin was installed as prime minister. He built a city called Komotapur, on the west bank of the Dhorla—since included in the dominions of the Raja of Kooch-Bihar,—and he and his successors were known as Komoteshwor, or lords of Komota. Dr. Buchanan in his Topography of the district of Rungpore, describes the city as “a most stupendous monument of rude labour. It is “about nineteen miles in circumference, of which perhaps five “were defended by the Dhorla; the remainder was fortified by “an immense bank of earth, and by a double ditch.” Most of the buildings appear to have been constructed of bricks, which are still to be seen in loose piles mixed up with the ruins of the city. Dr. Buchanan mentions having seen stones in several places, but most of them were rude and uncut. There were, however, some fragments of carved columns, entablatures, &c., but from the positions assigned them in the buildings in which they were found and the total neglect of symmetry



with the adjacent parts, it was clear that they were not originally designed for the places they were occupying. In all probability, they had been abstracted from the old Buddhist temples in the eastern extremity of the country, which were despoiled for the benefit of the new city.

Niladhoj was succeeded by his son Chokrodhoj, to whom are attributed some extensive lines of fortification and well raised causeways that led through the length and breadth of the land, intended, no doubt, to facilitate commercial intercourse. The third and last prince of the family was Nilambor, who seems to have followed in the steps of his predecessor and to have governed with wisdom; but his overthrow was accompanied by deeds of the most savage barbarity. On entering his seraglio one day, he was seized with a suspicion that some stranger had intruded within its precincts. The offender who was discovered to be the son of the prime minister, was instantly but secretly put to death, and the father was invited to an entertainment at which the son's body was cooked and served up. To avenge himself on account of this act of hideous savagery, the minister escaped to the Court of Gour and persuaded the Mahomedan king to invade Assam. After a siege of twelve years, Komotapur was taken by Gyas-ood-deen, in A. D. 1240. The inhuman Raja was seized in his own palace, and his death closed the dynasty to which he belonged.

From this time to near the close of the 15th century, Lower Kamroop was held in subjection by the Koch and Mech tribes who had emigrated from the northern mountains. About the year 1491, the Mahomedans once more invaded the country. Bengal was at the time governed by Ala-ood-deen Hussein Shah, who after certain necessary reforms in his kingdom, began to aspire after foreign conquest. His march does not seem to have extended beyond Tezapore; and though he succeeded in demolishing their capital and loading himself with plunder, he was ultimately repulsed by the Baro Bhuiyas and was obliged to content himself with his possessions in Kamroop. He returned to his capital after appointing his son-in-law, Newab Dulal Gazi to the government of this province. On Dulal Gazi's death, his imbecile son was superseded by Sultan Gyas-ood-deen who received his commission from the Court of Gour. This prince introduced a colony of Mahomedans into the country, and made large consignments of land for the maintenance of the Moslem religion. Most of the land is, by permission of the British Government, still retained for this purpose. Extreme measures were also adopted for making proselytes, and temples were indiscriminately plundered and demolished. The

stone temples of Kamikhya on the Nilachol and of Moha Muni at Hajou, together with several others equally distinguished as works of art, were sacrificed to Moslem fanaticism. Gyas-ood-deen resolved to build a grand mosque which was to stand on the top of a high hill known as the Gorúrachol. There is a tradition that in order to give it peculiar sanctity, it was to have been built upon a stratum of earth that had been brought for this purpose from the holy city of Mecca. The hill is known to this day as Pao-mekka, and the Mahomedans of the country believe that four pilgrimages to it are equal in meritorious efficacy to one made to the tomb of the prophet. But Gyas-ood-deen died before he could complete the arrangements for the erection of the mosque. He was interred beneath the holy earth, and the materials he had collected were used in raising a monument over his remains, which also serves the purpose of a mosque.

We have already said that previous to the last Mahomedan invasion, Western Kamroop had been overrun by mountain tribes of whom the Koch were one of the most important. On the death of Gyas-ood-deen, Hajo the leading chieftain of the tribe, succeeded in uniting all the little principalities of the country under his authority, and so constituting himself master of Kamroop. His successor, in the year 1581, transferred all the western portion of his kingdom to his nephew from whom have descended the kings of Kooch-Bihar.

In the mean time, another race descended from the great Shyan family of the East, had come across the mountains that formed the southern boundary of the Boros. These were the Ahoms, a fierce, independent people who were destined eventually to supplant all the existing dynasties, and bring the entire valley under subjection.

The history of the Ahom dynasty brings us to comparatively recent times, and we may here leave the narrative in the hands of those who have already written on the subject. Before we close this paper, however, we should like our readers to take a glance at some of the architectural ruins of Assam, which likewise have their tale to tell of the magnificence of by-gone days.

The evidences of Gowhatty having once been an important city are both numerous and extensive. Its ruined gateways and the fortifications which connected the hills encircling the city, serve to this day to mark the extent of the ancient citadel which formed an amphitheatre twenty miles in circumference. This citadel was encompassed by a moat one hundred feet wide, backed by aggers or parapets of earth thrown up at different heights in a continued line along the outer face of the hills. For the greater part of their circuit these

ramparts are curvilinear, with as few sharp angles as possible, and evidently constructed with a view to deny protection to besiegers. The earth used in building them appears in several places to have been combined with masonry as if for greater security. Behind these walls so constructed, there is an even platform of considerable breadth, designed for the accommodation of the defenders. But the earth-works particularly deserving of attention are the high embankments that served to connect the hills together. These, still measuring from 25 to 40 feet in height, have a breadth of 150 feet at the base, and of 30 feet on the summit. The entrances to the city, of which there were ten, are set considerably back and stand in well-guarded passes which were protected by curtains. These curtains extending for about a hundred yards parallel to the outer moat, were themselves defended by projecting bastions. The covered gateways appear to have been originally built of stone, but massive brick-work was substituted in after times. They are vaulted through their whole length and were provided with double gates, as the holes in the pavement in which the pivots turned which served for hinges, clearly prove.

It is but a small portion of its former grandeur that now remains to this once important city. At what period, or under whose government these surprising works were executed, it is impossible to determine; but their magnitude evinces a high degree of civilization, an immense population, and a strong government. There is a tradition that the Berhampooter which now bisects the city, used in remote times to flow to the north of it. Appearances still indicate a well-defined water-course to the north of the ancient city to which even at the present time the waters of the Berhampooter flow during the rains. A high causeway the remains of which are still to be seen, issuing from one of the western gates of the city and extending about five miles in a north-westerly direction, led to the river, at which point it was spanned by a massive stone-bridge. Built of large slabs of granite and gneiss, this bridge still exists to remind us of former greatness. It is doubtless the bridge referred to in the account given by the Mahomedan historian, of Bhuktyar Khilijy's attempt to invade Thibet, A. D. 1205-6. He is said to have crossed the river by a stone-bridge consisting of twenty-two arches, but on returning discomfited from the hills, to have found to his dismay that the Assamese had dismantled the bridge and taken down two of the arches to cut off his retreat. In this dilemma he ordered his troops to proceed a little lower down the stream and take possession of a temple in the vicinity, which contained

many massive idols of gold and silver, whilst a party was employed in cutting down wood and bamboos out of which to construct rafts. But just at this juncture, the Assamese came upon them with a large army and caused them to retreat precipitately to the banks of the river. One of the troopers having discovered a spot at which the river was for a short distance fordable, was impetuously followed by the rest of the troops who discovered the mistake they had made only when it was too late to return. The greater part of them were swept away by the force of the current, and the general and a few of his best mounted soldiers were the only persons that reached the opposite bank.

With the exception of the injury the bridge received on the occasion of its dismantlement, when the slabs that spanned two of the water-ways at the two extremities (for, arches there were none,) were removed, it may be said to be still entire. It measures 146 feet in length as it now stands, and 9 feet in width. The under-structure consists of sixteen rows of pillars placed three in a row, and these are equally divided in their course across the river by three large, solid buttresses, each projecting from a circular mass of masonry, while the remains of two similar ones stand at the extremities of the bridge, making five buttresses in all. This arrangement gave twenty-two passages for the water between the rows of pillars and the buttresses. The pillars consisting of octagon columns, are supported on large slabs of stone, forming a basement of twelve feet, four inches in length, by four feet four inches in breadth. On this basement, at intervals of only fourteen inches apart, are laid two or more horizontal blocks, each two feet square, upon which rest the octagonal shafts of the pillars, having circular projecting capitals, and surmounted by architraves which support the road-way. The buttresses project a good deal beyond the width of the bridge and are rounded off, apparently with a view to lessen the resistance to the force of the current. They measure at their base, 16 feet 10 inches by 8 feet 10, and gradually tapering as they rise, are only 8 feet by 3 immediately under the road-way. The road-way is composed of large slabs, each measuring  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length by 2 in breadth, and 6 inches in thickness. The centre of the bridge is nearly twenty feet above the water. There is nothing in the construction of this stupendous but simple piece of architecture to show that the people of the times to which it belongs, had any idea of the principle of an arch. The only idea the architect seems to have had in his mind was a stone structure to be set

up in the same way as the wooden bridges common in the country; hence pillars, architraves and slabs take the place of posts, beams and planks.

The exterior surface of the stones employed in this structure, have been carefully worked to an even plane, and each block appears to be kept in its place by means of iron pins wedged into the stones and fitting into corresponding holes made in the blocks above and below them. These iron pins are still to be seen even where the stones have been displaced. Many of the slabs on the platform have small holes cut into them on the upper edge, about 4 inches square and three feet apart, apparently for the insertion of supports to a balustrade. But most of these slabs are evidently not in the situations originally intended for them; a proof that they must at some time have been removed and then re-laid by less skilful workmen.

The temples and other sacred edifices whose ruins still survive to attest the ancient importance of the province, are well worthy of notice. But we must reserve our description of them for a future paper in which we shall attempt an account of the religious history of the Assamese.

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## SHORT NOTICES.

*Poems and Ballads.* By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London, 1866.

ALMOST every year we see published in England some book which achieves instant and wide notoriety, chiefly owing to the unmeasured abuse with which it is hailed on all sides; and whose fame is as ephemeral as it is brilliant. Such were the famous 'Essays and Reviews,' such was 'Ecce Homo,' and such a book is this volume of Mr. Swinburne's poems. The mere fact of its having been generally decried must have procured for it a large sale. But when the lover of literary delicacies has bought it on this recommendation, we can promise him that he will find in it certain real attractions, marred, we are bound to add, by much that is repulsive, and tinged throughout with the fantastic colours of the author's morbid philosophy of life. For the scholar and lover of poetry there is provided here a treat which he will thoroughly appreciate, and though it is a treat which has been compared to a 'surfeit of raspberry jam,' there are some palates for which a dish cannot be found too lusciously sweet. The real value of these poems lies not in the thought but in the language: and this is not slight praise. Mr. Swinburne has shewn a power of moulding the language which belongs to genius alone. The language is at his feet, and he is as much master of it as the potter of the clay. And the result of this power is seen in an exquisitely musical versification, a melody and perfection of cadence in the rythm of his lines which cannot fail to charm the genuine scholar. This is the first and chief title of the poet to fame; and if it is not his only title, it is the only one of which he ought to be proud. But unfortunately there is very much also in his philosophy and his views of the great problems of life that will attract numberless readers who, like the poet himself, are far from indifferent to these problems, but whose indolence and natural love of the voluptuous, and shrinking from the battle of life find the simplest and pleasantest solution in that fatal philosophy deduced by degenerate followers from the great teaching of Epicurus. For our part we are glad Mr. Swinburne has come forward so bravely and has clothed in such an exquisite garb—rather we might say, exposed in such nude perfection—theories of life which are at this time so universal, though seldom so openly

avowed; because we believe that they only require to be thus broadly proclaimed and expounded to convince every healthy mind of their hollowness and hatefulness. We are glad to see this refined 'philosophy of the sty' exposed so boldly by so powerful a believer in it; and we were astonished to hear of a body of civilized men like the members of the Cambridge Union actually debating upon the admission of the book into their library: as if every book should not stand or fall upon its own merits. Now this volume has very great merits, and if these are out-weighed by the falseness of its moral tone, it is only an exploded and contemptible weakness which would for that keep it out of the hands of readers.

At the same time, though we are averse to any censorship of the kind, we must maintain that this is a book which no modest man would like to see in the hands of his wife or daughter; and it is to the shame of its author that to a large class of his readers the chief attraction of his poems should lie in the appeal made to their lowest passions, in a tone characteristic of the worst parts of Byron. We do not hesitate to affirm that the book is bought and read by numbers of young voluptuaries simply and solely for the food which it affords the most detestable side of their character: simply for the sake of those pieces which, whatever people may say about works of art, do stamp the book as the product of a mind that has learned to

"Call the unlovely lovely, and the filthy pure."

Of course a bad mind might be equally harmed by the sight of a beautiful nude sculpture, but we appeal not to a morbid imagination of this kind, but to the healthy judgment of a sound mind, whether this plea of artistic beauty is not a false one in this case.

Let us turn however from the contemplation of this degrading aspect of the work before us, to look at one or two instances of the exquisite melody of language in which it is so rich, coupled as it is with the pathetic sadness of a hopeless philosophy. One of the most musical and least moral of the poems is "*Dolores*," which fully develops the poet's theory of life, and one stanza of which, appealing to the voluptuous gods of the Pagan mythology, has been often quoted:

What ailed us, O gods, to desert you  
For creeds that refuse and restrain?  
Come down and redeem us from virtue  
Our Lady of Pain.

Here is the essence of the Swinburnian philosophy: 'live like the swallow' as he elsewhere expresses it: how opposed to the faith which holds that the service of God is perfect freedom! In the same piece we have his view of death, a view which he is continually repeating under various and beautiful forms of expression:

We shall change as the things that we cherish,  
Shall fade as they faded before.  
As foam upon water shall perish,  
As sand upon shore.

Then less hopelessly, but with infinite scepticism,

We shall know what the darkness discovers,  
If the grave pit be shallow or deep;  
And our fathers of old, and our lovers,  
We shall know if they sleep not or sleep.  
We shall see whether hell be not heaven,  
Find out whether tares be not grain,  
And the joys of thee seventy times seven,  
Our Lady of Pain.

So again in his 'Illicit'

Outside of all the worlds and ages,  
There where the fool is as the sage is,  
There where the slayer is clear of blood,  
No end, no passage, no beginning,  
There where the sinner leaves off sinning,  
There where the good man is not good.

'Félise' is one of the prettiest pieces in the volume, though again the morality is of the lowest. The poet's mocking denunciation of prayer is really powerful:

For none shall move the most high gods,  
Who are most sad, being cruel, none  
Shall break or take away the rods  
Wherewith they scourge us, not as one  
That smites a son.

By many a name of many a creed,  
We have called upon them, since the sands  
Fell through time's hour-glass first, a seed  
Of life; and out of many lands  
Have we stretched hands.

When have they heard us? who hath known  
Their faces, climbed into their feet,  
Felt them and found them? Laugh or groan,  
Doth heaven remurmur and repeat  
Sad sounds or sweet?



Do the stars answer ? in the night  
 Have ye found comfort ? or by day  
 Have ye seen gods ? What hope, what light,  
 Falls from the farthest starriest way  
 On you that pray ?

Are the skies wet because we weep,  
 Or fair because of any mirth ?  
 Cry out ; they are gods ; perchance they sleep ;  
 Cry ; thou shalt know what prayers are worth,  
 Thou dust and earth.

O earth, thou art fair ; O dust, thou art great ;  
 O laughing lips and lips that mourn,  
 Pray, till ye feel the exceeding weight  
 Of God's intolerable scorn,  
 Not to be borne.

We admit that no quotations can do justice to the genius displayed in the poet's finished scholarship, and to the scholar, and to him alone, we recommend the book. For the philosophical position also we are little inclined to blame so young an author : Let him not flatter himself that his is that infamy of which a man may be proud, the infamy shared by the leaders of thought in all ages :—It is not for his crude philosophy, it is for the grovelling voluptuousness in which he loves to wallow, and because he can choose and gloat over such loathsome scenes as are described in his ' Leper ' and ' Les Noyades, ' that we think he cannot be too severely censured. This is not Art, but the prostitution of Art. Here is the spectacle of a mind of the most delicate culture, which has given the rein to an imagination the most exquisitely refined, and revelled in the contemplation of every most bestial form of the voluptuous, till it has exalted debauchery into its religion : and a more lamentable spectacle can hardly be imagined. It is some years since a poet, before whose name that of Mr. Swinburne pales indeed, asked

Oh, if we held the doctrine sound  
 For life outliving heats of youth.  
 Yet who would preach it as a truth  
 To those that eddy round and round ?

But he is answered now, and we think even Mr. Swinburne might blush to own himself the priest of so hateful a creed.

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2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Edited by the Philological Secretary. Part I. No. IV., 1866.

THE Asiatic Society was founded under such distinguished auspices, and has numbered so many eminent scholars among

its members, that its present repute is almost greater than its actual constitution appears to warrant. Being at the same time under the direct patronage of the State, and also the parent of all the Literary Societies which have more recently sprung up in British India, it occupies both officially and popularly a pre-eminent position. Hence its publications become a matter of national interest: since they are considered on the Continent as a trustworthy exponent of oriental development and a sure test of the educational progress effected under Government direction. It is not too much to say that the character of British rule as a civilizing power is mainly gauged by this criterion. It is therefore most desirable that the Proceedings and Journal of the Society should be occasionally subjected to contemporary Indian criticism, in order that the Managing Committee may be kept alive to the importance of the functions which they have undertaken to perform.

The number of the Journal, quoted at the head of this notice, though dated 1866, has been circulated amongst members only during the present month, August, 1867. It contains four articles. The first is a topographical description of some of the principal sites and buildings in the neighbourhood of Delhi; and like most of the many brief sketches of a similar character which have followed in the wake of Major Cunningham's admirable survey, settles no disputed point and reveals no new fact of any importance. At the same time it explains a few minute details, which would probably escape the observation of any one who had not been long resident on the spot; and articles of the kind, however meagre, are always deserving of encouragement, since they tend to create and foster an intelligent interest in local antiquities, which in past years have suffered so much from European ignorance or indifference.

The concluding article is by Rājendralāl Mitra, and displays all that accuracy of scholarship which invariably characterizes the contributions of the learned Babu. It consists of a transcript of a Sanskrit monumental inscription discovered at Aphsar in Bahár, accompanied by a literal translation, and illustrated by comparison with two mutilated fragments, also from Bahár, which many Pandits of inferior note had long vainly essayed to decypher.

Between these extremes and occupying by far the greater part of the number are two collections of notes, both of the very roughest description, and one so utterly devoid of any apparent merit that the casual reader cannot resist the surmise, that the Committee who tolerated its insertion must have

been the victims of a literary hoax. It is entitled 'Notes on Pilgrimages in the country of Cashmere,' and aims at an account of the different routes adopted by the Hindu pilgrims, with a list of all the stations and the order in which they are visited, noting in each case the derivation of the name, the legend attached to the spot, and any architectural remains to be found in the neighbourhood. The writer's exordium is not very perspicuous, but he would probably accept the above as a perfectly correct analysis of his design; and upon such a basis it would no doubt, be possible to construct a very interesting paper. But the antiquarian notes either fail altogether, or refer only to the ordinary phallic emblems of Mahádeva which are to be found in every village throughout Hindustan: and the writer's architectural calibre may be adequately estimated by his remark upon a certain temple, which he says, "is dedicated to Siva and is not a Buddhist temple as stated by some," evidently unconscious of the fact that the modern dedication is not the matter in dispute, but the character of the original building which may have been subsequently converted to a different purpose.

His literary and linguistic qualifications are of such a singular character that they deserve a more detailed examination; and in order that our criticisms may be perfectly fair, it will be better not to select the most glaring absurdities that the whole article could afford—in such an *embarras de richesses* selection would be difficult—but to follow our author's guidance as closely as we can along one only, say the first, of his fourteen routes. This, he says, comprises twenty-two stations: at the second "appears the footstep of Suttee, the wife or active principle of the destroyer." Here is an obvious confusion between the two very different words *sati* and *sakti*. "(3) *Jubroroo* (love of youth) sacred to Siva and Mahádevi." It would seem that the derivation intended is from *jawán* and *rati*, but the name is given in such a corrupt form as to defy conjecture. "(4) *Awentipore*. The city of King Vena or Awenti." Both these names are well known to fame, but they are not generally considered synonymous; Vena being the father of Prithu, the first king, and Avanti the ancient designation of the city Ujain. There was also a King of Kashmír, whose name Avanti-varma is occasionally found in the shorter form Avanti, and this may be the personage intended. "(6) *Hurriepore*. The city of Ganesh, the elephant-headed, yellow." This notice is as concise and also as obscure as a formula of Panini: is it possible that the writer considers 'Hurrie' equivalent to Ganesh. and 'nore' a

corruption of *púra*, yellow? “(7) *Wagahamoo*. House of Wág (spirit of the air, aider of the immortals.)” Here the words kindly given in the parenthesis suggest a conjecture that the portentous word ‘Wág’ is our writer’s idea of the Sanskrit *Váyu*. “(8) *Hasti-ki-nar-keoun-nargum*. The breathing of the ears and mouth of the elephant.” Both the initial words in the unknown language and their English equivalent no doubt have a meaning, but it is one quite unfathomable by ordinary intellects. “(10) *Deokie-zan*. Wife of Hurrichundra Rajah.” The writer’s extensive linguistic experience has possibly familiarized him with the use of the letter *z* in Sanskrit, though to less advanced students it appears an uncommon feature. Probably the word intended is *Devaki-nandan*, i. e., Krishna, the son of Devaki. “(11) *Wuzzeeshur*. A name of Mahádeva, signifying the conqueror.” Some faint reminiscence of the word *Visveshwar* was perhaps floating in the writer’s mind when he penned the above lucid comment. “(13) *Huriceeshur*. The word signifies father or giver of all”!!! At this startling etymology words become inadequate to express the amazement of the critic. “(14) *Soorie Goophar*. Caves of the sun. At this place it is fabled that Mahadevi was pursued by the demon, Bamasoor (enemy of the whirlwind) she thereupon prayed to Siva for power to destroy the demon, who was accordingly annihilated by fire, and his name hence changed to Bamásvár (the enemy burnt by fire)” the above is quoted *in extenso*, since otherwise it would be impossible to do full justice to the confusion of ideas. If the real meaning of the words in italics is ‘caves of the sun,’ they must be intended for *Súrya guhá*, and the legend will be the well known one of Kámadeva (Váma) who was reduced to ashes (Bhasmasát) by Siva for having disturbed his devotions and rendered him enamoured of Parvati.

To continue the criticism any further, even to the end of the first route as was originally intended, would be insufferably tedious: suffice it to say that in the whole article of fourteen pages, there is scarcely a single paragraph that does not contain some gross blunder, obvious to the merest tyro in oriental studies. Indeed Western as well as Eastern mythology appears to be a *terra ignota* to our philological pilgrim; for at the end of the first route we find the following sentence, “they pass by the holy rocks of Amreeshur (giver of immortality) whence issues the philtre of immortality proceeding from the crested head of Mahadeva, the drink or ichor of the immortals.” According to this, the beverage of the Homeric Gods is not nectar, as is generally supposed, but their own blood, ichor!

The writer is modest enough to conclude with the following admission : " the notes from which the above pilgrimages have been taken were made 14 years ago, and in a few instances may contain inaccuracies as my almost total ignorance of Sanskrit may have led me to misunderstand in some few instances the translator who read to me in Persian his own version of the Brahminical fables. For myself I confess to an utter distaste for this especial branch of research." Seeing then the low estimate which the writer puts upon his own production, it is inconceivable why the Committee did not at once consign it to the waste-paper basket. For although the treasurer has a standing grievance in the difficulty of realizing subscriptions and is naturally unwilling to lose a solvent member, still a contributor who spoke so slightly of his own performance would not be likely to resent its refusal very strongly.

Perhaps the only existing parallel to this curious composition is to be found in that repertory of puerile derivations, that bewildering travestie of Hindu history and mythology, which the Government of the North-West Provinces has recently been misguided enough to publish to the ridicule of the world in the report appended to the Census Returns, compiled under the supervision of Mr. Plowden of the Board of Revenue. As a specimen of the accurate scholarship which distinguishes this, the last literary essay of the Government, take the following sentence from the most elaborate of all the District Reports, *viz.*, the one compiled by Mr. Hume of Etáwa. "The Singhurs claim like the Goutum Rajpoots to be descended from Singhee or Siringhee Rish and a daughter of the then monarch of Konouj, but (as is added in a note) curiously enough many deny that the then royal race of Konouj were Rathores and assert that they were real Khattriahs, which none of the Rajpoots, nor indeed any existing race are by many schools admitted to be." Mr. Hume's orthography is so unusually eccentric that it is almost impossible ever to identify any of the characters that he mentions, but from other names given in the context it appears certain that 'Singhee or Siringhee Rish' is intended for the famous Rishya Sringa, the circumstances of whose marriage are related in an episode of the first book of the Ramayana. This event was of course long antecedent to the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasurám; and therefore the epithet 'curious' must be transferred from the facts to Mr. Hume's private interpretation of them. Blunders equally gross, and most of them far more obvious, may be found on every page, indeed the whole report may be most aptly described as a mass of errors, only occasionally relieved by a brief and scanty ray of sense. Thus in the

report from Mathurá, which is one of the shortest and perhaps mainly on that account almost free from actual absurdities, we find the following expression. "The Jadon Thákurs claim descent from Krishna through Jadu." It would be a precisely similar blunder to say, the sovereigns of England were descended from Edward the Confessor, through Alfred the Great. The word 'Jadon' is of course meant for Jadav; but the preposterous spelling which runs through the whole return is no doubt in a great measure due to the supervising care of Mr. Plowden; for it may be taken as a rule of general application, that a Civilian's knowledge of oriental letters varies inversely with his position in the service, the acme of kakography being ordinarily attained by a Commissioner.

As these reports were originally compiled by the Tahsildars and then systematized by the Collectors or their Assistants, the results form a faithful indication of the amount of knowledge possessed both by European and native officials of the earlier history of the country. It cannot be doubted that the deplorable amount of ignorance disclosed is mainly owing to the exaggerated importance attached by the Government to the study of such an artificial language as the Urdu. It is itself entirely a modern invention, and it renders all Hindu history and literature up to the beginning of the present century a *tabula rasa*; for when a Munshi who can only read and write in the Persian character attempts to articulate Sanskrit, the result is far more painful and ludicrous even than a Frenchman's pronunciation of English. And as the writer in the Asiatic Journal admits that he derived his facts from such an informant, we have at once an adequate explanation of his otherwise unaccountable errors. No doubt some of the ultra-devotees of Exeter Hall think it a good thing to get rid of the Hindi language, imagining that thus they will be enabled to make a clear sweep also of Hindu mythology: or as the argument is sometimes put, Persian has the chief claim upon our attention because it is the language of monotheism, while Hindi is that of polytheism. But thus stated, the argument is most superficial and utterly confounds the categories of Property and Accident. For although the modern religion of India has developed into a monstrous mythology, and words must of course conform to popular ideas, there is no such intrinsic conformity in the genius of the language. This becomes at once apparent to a translator; to give a correct and intelligible Persian rendering of an abstruse theological discussion on the unity of the Godhead, such for instance as the Athanasian creed, would be a task of very considerable difficulty;

whereas in Sanskrit every term could be readily expressed with the greatest neatness and precision. Moreover the some argument would condemn the study of the two classical languages of the West; and even with greater force, for however grotesque the legends of the Purānas may be, they are never so gross as the parallel fictions in the mythologies of Greece and Italy. Yet Greek was selected by Providence as the exponent of the fullness of divine Revelation; and Latin has for eighteen centuries been par excellence the ecclesiastical language of the greater part of Christendom.

The above remarks may appear somewhat foreign to the primary subject of this notice, but in reality they explain the origin of the errors criticized. We must now however return to the third article in the Society's Journal, which still remains to be discussed. It is entitled a "vocabulary of English, Balti and Kashmiri," and consists of a variety of words and phrases arranged in parallel columns; and if the selection had been made by a competent philologist, the comparison would no doubt have been curious and interesting. But the writer has such an extremely vague idea of Hindustani grammar and orthography that to interpret his Kashmiri by the Hindustāni translation is frequently only to illustrate *ignotum per ignotius*. Thus his first Hindustāni phrase is "Kit na beehṭa seb," not one single word in which is recognizable. Again, "under lao jaldi gaong se," where the principal word 'under' is unintelligible, unless we suppose it to be a cockneyism for 'ande.' This is probable because in another place we find 'mewur' given as the Kashmiri for 'fruit' meaning of course 'mewa.' Lower down we see 'tum atcha hy,' this is no doubt intelligible; so also is such English as 'me is a good boy,' but it is a style of construction which is not often heard beyond the walls of the nursery. Again it is of no service whatever to philology to bring together phrases from different languages, when the only ground of union is that their meaning is nearly identical; the object should of course be to select as parallel some phrase which is similar in origin as well as meaning, and to bring other languages to bear in illustration. Thus to give 'wahn jao' and 'hoar gutz' as Hindustāni and Kashmiri respectively for 'go there' does not contribute much to our knowledge of either language; whereas it would be of interest to indicate that 'hoar' is a corruption of the Hindi 'udhar' and 'gutz' of the Sanskrit 'gachchh.'

From a paragraph in the Society's Proceedings for May it appears that the Philological Committee have at length determined to adopt a uniform system for the romanizing of oriental

words, and intend for the future to return all linguistic vocabularies to their respective authors in order that they may be revised according to the system adopted. At present it is highly discreditable to a Philological Society to see the same word spelt two or even three different ways in a single page, and it is to be hoped that the new rule will be strictly enforced. May we also suggest that members would generally prefer to receive a few really learned articles rather than many volumes of waste-paper; and that if the Society would preserve its ancient prestige, it will be necessary to exercise a little more discrimination and firmness in the rejection of contributions which are obviously unsuitable.

F. S. G. -

10th August, 1867.

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3. *An Essay on the Philosophy of Lord Bacon.* By Bholanath Paul, M. A.

WE hardly know whether an essay of this description should be regarded as useful or pernicious in the present stage of Hindu thought. The Hindus are so prone to allow all their attention to be engrossed by metaphysical philosophy, and are so reluctant to assign a proper value to physical science and positivism, that an essay looking in the opposite direction may be beneficial, however intolerant it may on the other hand be of the importance and necessity of deductive philosophy.

The author of the essay appears to be thoroughly impregnated with the errors of the most exaggerated Baconians; his studies have evidently been one-sided and so are his views; his opening pages exhibit as clear a specimen of the effects of the 'idols of the den' as any of those which he afterwards quotes in illustration of this. Absurd as it may seem, he appears soberly to believe that Aristotle, who is one of his abominations, was nearly canonised! As we have said some admixture of this class of mind with the speculative type which is more prevalent among his countrymen may be useful, but if there could be no medium we would decidedly prefer to see all educated Hindus disciples of Rajah Radhakant than of Bholanath Paul. The style of thought which he seeks to foster is to our mind, far more pernicious than that which he seeks to overthrow.

No philosophy, as Guizot so emphatically argues in his latest work, can be true which ignores an important side of human nature. Positivism which is undoubtedly the legitimate development of Baconian principles ignores the soul with its sorrows and its aspirations. It ignores the mystery which



envelopes man's origin, his existence and his end, and boldly tells him in plain language that it is a waste of time to direct his thoughts to that which cannot be known by observation, or to build up any conclusion which cannot be tested by experience.

It is worthy of remark that Comte, the author and far the most consistent advocate of modern positivism, invented an extraordinary substitute for religion on the model of Catholicism of which he was a great admirer; and so impressed was he with the profound conviction of the emptiness of positive philosophy by itself only, that he protested energetically, but vainly as the event shews, against any one, and more particularly English literary men, adopting his philosophy without his religion.

Positive science like political economy has its own sphere in which it is of the greatest utility, and Bacon by his 'method' may be regarded as a real benefactor of mankind, however contemptible he may have been as a man and as a statesman. But the great danger of too exclusive an attention to physical science is the narrowness of view which it engenders; persons who are too devoted to it are, we speak from experience, the most incredulous and the most unreasonable of all men when confronted with facts which do not harmonize with their preconceived systems, while all the time they profess that the mission of positivism is to war against preconceived systems and exalt facts only.

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We acknowledge with thanks the Calcutta Police Report for 1866 and 'Thoughts from a Bengalee Cottage No. 1,' in the latter we recognise many old friends that have occupied English cottages, before they made their way into the office of P. N. Doss, printer.









